SINGHI JAIN SERIES

[NUMBER 38]

SHRI BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI MEMOIRS

[VOLUME 5]



STUDIES IN INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY

VOL. II

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs



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2 Late Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Memorial Volume. BHARATIYA VIDYA [Volume V] A. D. 1945.

3 Literary Circle of Mahāmātya-Vastupāla and its contribution to Sanskrit Literature, by Dr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, M. A., Ph. D.

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SHRI BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI MEMOIRS

[VOLUME No. 5]

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VOL. II

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

Curator

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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PUBLISHED BY

SINGHI JAIN ŚĀSTRA ŚIKSHĀPĪTH

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ BHAVAN

BOMBAY

V. E. 2010] **First Edition : Five Hundred Copies** **[1954 A. D.**

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SHRI BAHADUR SINGHJI SINGHI

BY

Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni

On the 7th of July 1944, Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi left his mortal coils at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine. His loss has been widely felt. His aged mother received this rude shock so ill that she did not long outlive him. His worthy sons have lost an affectionate and noble father, the industrialists and businessmen of the country one of their pioneers, the large number of his employees a benevolent master, scholarship one of its best patrons and the poor people of his native district a most generous donor. To me his loss has been personal. My contact with him was a turning point in my life. Whatever I have been able, during the past fifteen years, to achieve in the field of scholarship is due directly to him. The financial assistance with which he backed up my activities was the least of his contributions. But for his love of scholarship with which he inspired me, this chapter of my life would have been entirely different. To his sacred memory I am penning these few lines. This volume is brought out in his memory.

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji was born in Azimganj, Murshidabad, in Vikram Saṁvat 1941, in the ancient family of the Singhis, who were of old the treasurers of the Mughal emperors. The family had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in the 17th century it migrated from Rajaputana to Bengal, but thanks to the energy and enterprise of Singhiji's father, Babu Dalchandji Singhi, the family firm became a very flourishing concern.

At an early age Singhiji joined the family business and by pushing ahead with father's enterprises, succeeded in making the firm the foremost in the mining industry of Bengal and Central India. Besides he also acquired vast zamindaries and had interests in many industrial and banking concerns. This early preoccupation with business affairs prevented his having a college education. But Singhiji was studious and introspective by nature. Unlike many other wealthy men who spend their money and time in such fads as the races, the theatres, and the like, he devoted all his spare time to study and cultural development. He acquired an excellent command over several languages. Art and literature were the subjects of his choice. He was very fond of collecting rare and invaluable specimens of ancient sculpture, paintings, coins, copperplates and inscriptions. His manuscript collection contained a large number of rare works of historical and cultural importance, among which mention must be made of a unique

manuscript of the Koran which was handed down from Baber to Aurangzeb and bears the autographs of all of them. It is recorded therein that it was considered by them all as more valuable than the empire. His numismatic collection, especially of Kushan and Gupta coins, is considered the third best in the world. He also had a good and large collection of works of art and historical importance. Singhiji was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London), a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Research Institute and a Founder-Member of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. He was also the President of the Jain Swetambara Conference held in Bombay in 1926. Though he had made no special study of law he was well up in the legal matters. On one occasion when he found that his lawyers were not properly representing his case he himself pleaded out the case successfully, much to the surprise of the bench and the bar who took him for an accomplished advocate.

Though a highly religious and leading figure in the Jain community he had an outlook which was far from sectarian. More than three fourths of the six lakhs and over of his donations were for non-Jain causes. More often than not he preferred to give his assistance anonymously and he did not keep a list of his donations even when they were made in his name. To the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan Calcutta, he gave Rs. 10,000/-, when Mahatmaji had been to his place for the collection of funds; to the Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, Rs. 15,000/-, to the Taraqi-Urdu Bangala 5000/-, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad 12,500/- to the Vishuddhanand Sarasvati Marwari Hospital 10,000/-, to several maternity homes 2,500/-, to the Benares Hindu University 2,500/-, to the Jiaganj High School 5,000/-, to the Jiaganj London Mission Hospital 6,000/-, to the Jain Temples at Calcutta and Murshidabad 11,000/-, to the Jain Dharma Pracharak Sabha Manbhum 5,000/-, to the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta, 15,000/-, to the Jain Pustak Prachar Mandal, Agra, 7,500/-, to the Agra Jain Temple 3,500/-, to the Ambala Jain High School, 2,100/-, for the Prakrit Kosh 2,500/-, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 10,000/-. At the Singhi Park Mela held at his Ballyganj residence in which Viscount Wavell, then Commander-in-Chief and Lord John Herbert, Governor of Bengal and Lady Herbert participated, he donated Rs. 41,000/- for the Red Cross Fund.

The people of the district of Murshidabad, his native place, will ever remain grateful to him for having distributed several thousand maunds of rice at the low price of Rs. 8/- when rice was selling at Rs. 24/- in those terrible years of 1942-52, himself thereby suffering a loss of over three lakhs. In May-June 1944

he again spent Rs. 50,000/- for the distribution of cloth, rice and coins for the people of that place.

My close association with Singhiji began in 1931, when he invited me to occupy the Chair for Jain Studies which he was starting at the Vishvabharati. Due to unfavourable climatic conditions of Shantiniketan I could not continue to work there for more than four years, but during those years was founded the Singhi Jain Series. During the period of ten years of my principalship of Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad, and even before that I had been collecting materials of historical and philological importance and folk-lore etc. which had been lying hidden in the great Jain Bhandars of Patan, Ahmedabad, Baroda etc. I persuaded Singhiji to start a series which would publish works dealing with the vast materials in my possession, and also other important Jain texts and studies prepared on the most modern scientific lines. On the works of the Series he spent through me more than Rs. 75,000/-. During this long period of over a dozen years he not even once asked me as to how and for what works the amount was spent. Whenever the account was submitted he did not ask for even the least information, but sanctioned it casting merely a formal glance on the accounts sheets. But he showed the most discriminating interest in the matter that was being published and on the material and manner in which they were being brought out. His only desire was to see the publication of as many works as possible during his lifetime. In May 1943 at my instance he gave over the Series to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In September 1943 I had been to Calcutta to negotiate the purchase, for the Bhavan, of a well-equipped library of a retired professor. Singhiji casually asked me what arrangements had been made for meeting the cost. I promptly replied that there was no cause for worry as long as donors like himself were there. He smiled; he had decided. Eventually he persuaded me to go in for the Nahar Collection which was a still more valuable one. He did not live long enough to present this literary treasure to the Bhavan; but his eldest son and my beloved friend, Babu Shri Rajendra Singh has fulfilled his father's wish though he was totally ignorant of it and has got this unique collection for the Bhavan and spent Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose.

By the end of 1943 his health began to decline. In the first week of January, 1944, when I went to him at Calcutta in connection with the work of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti I found him extremely unwell. Notwithstanding his ill-health he talked to me for more than a couple of hours on the day of my arrival there. The first thing he said in the course of this lengthy, though very

sweet talk, was to give me a mild reproof for undertaking the long and tedious journeys to Calcutta, Benaras and Cawnpore in spite of my ill health. He discussed with absorbing interest the details of the Samiti's proposed History of India, a subject of great interest to him. Our talks then drifted to the subject of the History of Jainism in which connection also he expressed his opinion about the material to be utilised for such a work. At the termination of our talks, which this time lasted for over three hours, I found him much exhausted and drooping in spirits.

On the 7th January his health took a turn for the worse. On 11th January I went to take leave of him, which he, full of emotion, gave with a heavy heart, exclaiming "Who knows whether we shall meet again or not?" I requested him to take heart and remain buoyant. He would be soon restored to normal health. But while I was stepping out of his room, my eyes were full of tears and his last words began to eat into my heart. Ill-luck prevented our second meeting. That lofty and generous soul finally left its mortal habitat at mid-day on 7th July, 1944. May his soul rest in peace!

His sons, Babu Rajendra Singh, Babu Narendra Singh and Babu Virendra Singh are treading in the footsteps of their revered father. During the past year on the Singhi Series alone they have spent over Rs. 20,000/-. I have already mentioned how Babu Rajendra Singh purchased for the Bhavan the valuable Nahar collection. Babu Narendra Singh has also spent Rs. 30,000/- for a foundation of a Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Singh and Babu Narendra Singh have also very generously promised me to continue to meet all the expenses of the Singhi Jain Series and requested me to bring out as many works as possible, at whatever cost so that this unique series founded and cherished by their late lamented father may continue to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Jain literature and culture.

In recognition of his unique assistance the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to perpetuate Singhiji's memory by naming its Indological library after him. Further, one of its main halls will bear his name. The Bhavan's Jain Department will also be known as the **Singhi Jain Shikshapith.***

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Bombay
July 7, 1945

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

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* Reprinted from Babu Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi Memorial Volume of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, [Volume V] 1945.

GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD

I am very happy to present to the world of scholars Vol. II of Prof. P. K. Gode's "*Studies in Indian Literary History*", which is being published as the fifth volume of *Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī Memorial Series* established in the sacred memory of my esteemed friend the late Bābu Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī, the noble founder of the *Singhi Jain Series*.

The present volume is a continuation of Vol. I of Prof. Gode's *Studies*, which I had the pleasure to keep before the scholars assembled at the session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad from 30th October to 1st November 1953. In my Foreword to Vol. I of these studies I have duly indicated the reference value of Prof. Gode's articles both on the literary history and the cultural history of India and the necessity of publishing all of them in a book-form with exhaustive Indices of the type published by me in the two volumes of his studies now appearing in the *Singhi Jain Series*. I feel confident that the Committee of scholars formed in July 1951 for the express purpose of collecting funds for the publication of the remaining volumes of Prof. Gode's *Studies* will get the necessary financial support from all scholars and learned bodies to enable the Committee to publish these volumes expeditiously under the editorial care of Prof. Gode himself.

In bringing out the two volumes of Prof. Gode's *Studies* in tha *Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhī Memorial Series* I feel doubly happy as these volumes not only enrich this Series, which commemorates the name and fame of my noble friend the late Shrī Bahādur Singhji Singhi, but provide a dependable compass to all new explorers in the field of Indian literary history. Prof. Gode's researches in the history and chronology of Sanskrit and Prakrit works have given a direct stimulus to the critical editing of some of these works. While studying the history of an author and his works Prof. Gode lays bare all available manuscript material pertaining to these works. Any scholar, who is interested in the critical editing of unpublished texts, can examine this manuscript material and choose some work or works for critical editing. The history and chronology of the selected text and its author which are required for his Introduction will be found ready made in Prof. Gode's paper on the pertinent author and his works. Apart from this aid to the critical editing of texts rendered by Prof. Gode's

papers on literary history every historian of Sanskrit literature will have to recognise their direct service to the cause of the history of Sanskrit literature as observed by the late Dr. A. B. Keith in one of his letters to Prof. Gode. The writing and publication of more than 250 research papers of acknowledged merit in the field of Sanskrit literary history alone speaks volumes for Prof. Gode's firm devotion to *Sarasvatī*, which has been the main stay of his life and sustained literary activity of more than 37 years. It is the firm conviction of Prof. Gode that no comprehensive history of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature can be written unless the history of every author and his works in this field is proved and recorded. I fully endorse this conviction and wish Prof. Gode long life and plenty of energy to continue his studies in the fields of literary and cultural history of India. The details of the technique of productive research developed by Prof. Gode will be found in his Introduction to Vol. I of his studies. Independence of thought and judgment characterises all the writings of Prof. Gode. In fact it has been the motive force of his life and dynamic literary activity of more than three decades. I strongly hope that the lesson of this exemplary literary activity will not fail to inspire the younger generation of scholars in this country to undertake and execute new plans of research in the fields of study selected by them.

In concluding this brief Foreword I have to convey my best thanks to Prof. Gode for his willingness to allow me to publish in two volumes a major part of his articles on Indian Literary History and in particular for his arduous editing of these volumes during the last four years. I have also to thank heartily my esteemed friends Babu Rajendra Singh Singhi and Babu Narendra Singh Singhi, the two worthy sons of my affectionate friend Babu Bahādur Singhji Singhi for their continued benefaction in promoting the cause of the *Singhi Jain Series*, in which the two volumes of Prof. Gode's writings are being published. Finally I have to thank Shri S. R. Sardesai, the Manager of the Samarth Bharat Press for the efficient and careful printing of these volumes in spite of all difficulties encountered by him especially at the commencement of the work.

Rājasthān Purātattva Mandir,
Jaipur.
20th November, 1953.
Kārtiki Pūrṇimā, V. S. 2009

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

POSTSCRIPT BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

In my foreword to the first volume of Prof. Gode's *Studies in Indian Literary History* (Shri Bahādur Singhjī Singhī Memorial Series No. 4) the present volume was announced as shortly forthcoming. But due to certain unavoidable difficulties of the press, the original time schedule was disturbed, for which I crave indulgence of the learned admirers and eager subscribers of the Singhi Jain Series.

But to-day looking at the matter from another point of view, I rather feel that the hidden hand of the favourably disposed Destiny must be at work behind that delay in the publication of this fifth volume, and consequently instead of having a sense of regret I am now somewhat happy about it. And here is the reason for such a change in my reaction. It was about five weeks since I had received from Prof. Gode the final proofs of the preliminaries of this second volume for approval, but due to prolonged indisposition I could not attend to them. Three days back as I came to Bombay from my peaceful forest resort at Chanderia, I brought these proofs with me, intending to glance through them and return them as early as possible. Accordingly to-day while I was taking them up, quite casually I happened to throw a glance at the calendar. It was the seventh of July ! And instantly sad memories welled up in my mind. From the very first sentence of the biographical sketch of Shrī Bahādur Singhjī Singhī given by me a few pages further, the reader will find that the seventh of July is the day of passing away of that noble friend of mine and a day of mourning and sorrow for me. It was on the seventh of July 1944 that that noble soul's journey through this mortal world ended and he left for that divine abode from where nobody ever returns. And since that day ten years have rolled down —— imperceptibly as it were ! To-day is Singhījī's tenth anniversary.

Every time on his anniversary, I am in the habit of praying for the great soul or of putting on record my loving reminiscences of him and in some such way I keep green his sacred memory. To-day over and above offering the usual inner prayer for him, I am getting this quite unexpected opportunity of penning these few lines by way of dedication in this fifth volume that commemorates his name. And hence, as I said at the outset, I feel that the little delay in publishing the present volume has been amply compensated. It looks as if some hidden purpose was working to

bring about this welcome coincidence of the appearance of the fifth volume of the memorial series just on the tenth anniversary of Singhīji.

As I have stated elsewhere my original design was to publish such a memorial volume every year, but who can hope to have every one of his designs fulfilled? Man has to cultivate the spirit of resignation. Accordingly also so far as the future continuation of this memorial series is concerned, I cannot hope, expect or presume anything with a semblance of definiteness. For the body that has stood me in good stead continuously for the last twenty-five years in shouldering the General Editorship of the Singhi Jain Series, now feels weary. The journey's end appears nearing. I feel, therefore, little inclination for any fresh undertaking. The work of editing several other texts in the Singhī Jain Series still stands at various stages of completion. To see the successful end of that task before the end of this life would provide the last satisfaction of having fulfilled a long cherished desire.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
7th July, 1954 } *Jinavijaya Muni.*

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INTRODUCTION

On the *Vijayā-Daśamī* day (17th October 1953) the printing of Vol. I of my *Studies in Indian Literary History* was completed by the Samarth Bharat Press and some copies of it were sent by me to Muni Shri Jinavijayaji at Ahmedabad, where a session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held from 30th October to 1st November 1953. The publication of this volume along with that of other volumes in the *Singhi Jain Series* was announced at this Session and scholars assembled at Ahmedabad had an occasion to see the completed volume after my labour on it for the last four years. In Muniji's Foreword to this volume he has referred to the printing of Vol. II of my *Studies in Literary History.* This volume could not be released on the *Vijayā-Daśamī* day as the printing of the *Indices* to it was not then completed. This printing has now been finished and I have great pleasure in presenting it to the world of scholars with all its short-comings for which I crave the indulgence of the learned readers.

In the selection of articles reprinted in the present volume, I could not follow the relative chronological order which I have generally followed in the first volume as the offprints of all my papers on Literary History were not available with me. The editors of some of the journals and volumes, in which these articles originally appeared, were not able to supply me any offprints of my articles published by them especially during the period of the world-war. The first volume contains articles on authors and their works from about A. D. 500 to A. D. 1300. The second volume contains articles on authors and their works between c. A.D. 1200 and 1800. This is a broad plan adopted by me for the reprinting of my articles in the two volumes. The exhaustive Indices to these volumes prepared by my friends Dr. A. D. Pusalkar and Prof. N. A. Gore enhance the reference value of these volumes and I record here my most grateful thanks to them for their labour of love spent so ungrudgingly in the preparation of these Indices, a work of considerable merit and importance for research students in the field of Indian literary history. I myself hope to benefit by this labour in my future studies in this field.

The present volume is a continuation of Vol. I of my studies. The two volumes together comprise more than 1000 pages of my research output out of a total of about 3500 pages so far

published by me in the form of articles during the last 37 years. In his kind Foreword to Vol. I of my Studies, Muni Shri Jinavijayaji has expressed a hope that the remaining volumes of my studies in Indian Literary and Cultural History excluding the articles in the two volumes kindly published by him in the *Singhi Jain Series* as an act of personal friendship, will be brought out by my friends and learned bodies in the near future. In this connection I am happy to announce that in July 1951 a Committee was formed in Poona with the express purpose of collecting funds for the publication of my writings in a book-form with Principal J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B., as President, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., as Treasurer and Professors Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., and N. A. Gore, M.A. as Joint-Secretaries. This Committee has collected some money and about six months ago the work of printing Vol. III of my *Studies in Indian Literary History* was started in right earnest. The Committee hopes to bring out this volume as early as possible. I cannot adequately express mysense of gratitude to all the members of this Committee for their appreciation of my humble work in the field of Indology coupled with an intense desire to put it in a permanent book-form.

With the publication of the present volume I complete happily my promise to Muni Shri Jinavijayaji about an expeditious editing of the two volumes, which he undertook to publish in the *Singhi Jain Series* some years ago. This meritorious and brotherly undertaking of Muniji has proved to be the auspicious harbinger of a further undertaking in this line as I have indicated above. But for the self-less and enlightened editorship of Muniji the *Singhi Jain Series*, in which the two volumes of my studies appear, would not have made its present distinguished progress, which owes so much to the pious liberality of the late Babu Bahadur Singh Singhī, the noble and illustrious founder of this series, who was noted throughout his life for his great love of learning coupled with a broad outlook on life and literature. It is a pleasure to find his two worthy sons BABU RAJENDRA SINGH SINGHI and BABU NARENDRA SINGH SINGHI upholding their revered father's renown and carrying out his pious wishes in promoting the sacred cause of the *Singhi Jain Series* with their unstinted benefaction and co-operation. I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to my esteemed friend MUNI SHRI JINAVIJAYAJI and BABU SHRI RAJENDRA SINGH SINGHI and BABU SHRI NARENDRA SINGH SINGHI for the publication of the two volumes of my studies in the *Singhi Jain Series*, which by its numerous and varied publications has endeared itself to Indologists all over the world.

In the Introduction to Vol. I of my studies I have indicated clearly the method followed by me in my studies as also their nature and limitations. The fields of study explored by me need many more explorers better equipped with the means of research than myself. I shall feel amply rewarded if my labour of more than 36 years in the fields of Indian literary and cultural history creates in the minds of the younger scholars an intense desire to carry on unbroken lifelong research in these fields. Indology needs at present no dilettante and slip-shod research but devoted and sustained work by genuine lovers of research in the fields selected by them. The taper of research temporarily lighted in the Post-graduate classes of our Universities but extinguished with the acquisition of a degree cannot illumine the path of Indology. Prize-winners in our Universities appear and disappear every year. Very few of them follow the academic traditions of reputed scholars of the previous generations or create any traditions by their own work of acknowledged merit. In my own work I have followed the traditions of scholars in our province like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Dr. P. V. Kane and others, who in their respective fields of study have done monumental and exemplary work worthy of our reverence and admiration.

In the Introduction to Vol. I of my studies I have thanked all my friends at the B. O. R. Institute and outside, whose goodwill and co-operation have facilitated my studies in diverse ways. It is, therefore, needless to thank all these friends individually in this brief Introduction. I hope, however, to enjoy their goodwill and co-operation in the same manner as hitherto. In conclusion I have to thank Shri S. R. Sardesai and Shri V. V. Patankar of the Samarth Bharat Press for the efficient printing of the present volume and Shri. S. N. Savadi and Shri G. N. Shrigondekar of the B. O. R. Institute for their help in seeing this volume through the press. In particular their unstinted help in the correction of the proofs of the Indices to both the volumes of my studies deserves my special thanks.

The first volume of my studies is dedicated fittingly to my Guru the late Dr. P. D. GUNE and his affectionate friend and my friend and benefactor MUNI SHRI JINA-VIJAYAJI. The present volume is dedicated to the loving memory of my parents and sisters to whom I owe my entire being as they carried out my entire school and college education at great sacrifice to themselves.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.
Bali-Pratipadā,
7th November, 1953.

P. K. GODE.

To the Loving Memory

of my

PARENTS

KRISHNAJI GOVIND GODE (1861-1930)

RUKMINIBAI GODE (d. 1938)

AND

SISTERS

BANUBAI SAHASRABUDDHE (d. 1931)

(Wife of Rao Bahadur
Dr. D. L. SAHASRABUDDHE, M.Ag., D. Sc. — d. 1-1-1952)

MALATIBAI KARVE — (d. 1944)

(Wife of Prof. R. D. KARVE, M. A. — d. 14-10-1953)

STUDIES IN INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY

VOL. II

1. Oldest dated Manuscript of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the Sāmaveda*

While examining the manuscripts in the Limaye collection[1] acquired by the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, in 1938, I found in it a Ms of the *Sāmavedārthaprakāśa* by the celebrated Sāyaṇācārya. It consists of about 235 folios (size — 11½ in. × 5 in.) and is written on thick country paper, which though old is well preserved. I was particularly interested in this Ms[2] because of its early date of copying which is recorded on the last folio 235 in the following colophon :—

" इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरवैदिकमार्गप्रवर्त्तकश्रीवीरबुक्कभूपालसाम्राज्यधुरंधरेण सायणाच्चार्येण विरच्चिते माधवीये सामवेदार्थप्रकाशे उत्तरा ग्रंथे एकविंशोध्यायः ॥ ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १५२० वर्षे चैत्र शु १ ग(गु)रौ लिखितं ॥ शुभं भवत ॥ छ ॥"

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), XX, pp. 145-152.

1. This collection was presented to the Institute by Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of Aṣṭe (Satara Dist.). It contains about 450 Mss. An ancestor of Mr. Limaye of the name Sakho Anant Limaye, who flourished between A. D. 1800 and 1840 had a passion for collecting Mss. He was in the employ of Mahadevabhat Patvardhan, the son of Parashurambhau Patvardhan, the renowned ancestor of the Raja of Sangli. He appears to have been a *Phaḍaṇīs* or Finance Secretary of Mahadevabhat Patvardhan as he is called in the colophons of some of the Mss in the Limaye collection as "*Sakhopant Limay Aṣṭekar Phaḍaṇīs.*" Vāñcheśvara alias Kuṭṭi Kavi composed his commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtra* at the desire of Sakhopant Limaye between A. D. 1816 and 1828 (Vide my article on Kuṭṭi Kavi, *Annals* Vol. XX, pp. 9-20). It is remarkable that Sakhopant Limaye maintained his interest in Sanskrit learning in tact inspite of the demolition of the Maratha Empire that was then taking place between 1800 and 1840 A. D.

2. This Ms contains Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Uttarārci* of the *Sāmaveda* (21 chapters). The colophons of the several *adhyāyas* will be found on folios 13, 24, 34, 50, 63, 75, 89, 99, 112, 126, 134, 147, 158, 165, 172, 182, 188, 196, 210, 228, 235. The date

(*Continued on next page*)

The above colophon agrees with the colophons in the edition of this work published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.[1] The Mss used for this edition are briefly mentioned by the editor in his Sanskrit Introduction to Vol. V of this Edition.[2] He does not, however, record any dates of the Mss used by him. I have no means of examining the Ms material used for the other editions of this work referred to in the British Museum Catalogue.[3] It appears, however, that the Mss of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* are not numerous. Aufrecht records about 16 Mss in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* viz. *Part 1, p.* 709 - I.O. 1283, 3004, 3005[4] Khn. 2, Ben. 16,17,

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

of this Ms as found recorded in the colophon quoted above would be equivalent to *Thursday, 31st March 1463* A.D. (Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, V, p. 128). The *tithi* and the week day recorded in the Ms read "शु १ गरौ" which ought to read "शु ११ गुरौ" as "शु १" would give us Monday 21st March 1463, while "शु ११" gives us Thursday, 31st March 1463. Evidently the writing of "१" for "११" and "गरौ" for "गुरौ is due to scribal error.

1. *Bib. Ind.* New Series Vol. I, 1874 (Calcutta, A. S. B.) ed. by Satyavrata Sāmāśramī (vide p. 936); Vol. II, (1876); Vol. III. (1876), Vol. IV, (1877); Vol. V (1878).

2. Out of the 4 Mss used by Sāmāśramī one belonged to Pandit Rāmaśāstri of Benares, another belonged to Gauḍasvāmī, the guru of the Editor (at Benares) and the remaining two Mss belonged to the Editor himself. No details of these Mss have been recorded by the Editor.

3. *Sanskrit, Pālī* and *Prākrit* Mss (Supplement for 1906-1928) by L. D. Barnett, London, 1928, pp. 1197-1198. These editions may be briefly indicated here:—(1) *1912*—Edn. by Rajakumar Vedatīrtha with notes and Bengali Translation. (2) *1919* ed. by Durgadāsa Lahiri with Beng. Trans. and notes, (3) *1906* — Reprint of Rev. J. Stevenson's Eng. Tran. of the text pub. at London (*1842*); (4) *1907* — Griffith's Trans. 2 Edn. Benares ; (5) —*1914* Ed. by V. V. De, Jagatpur, Text, Commentary and Beng. Tran. (6) *1917* — Ed. by Surendranatha and Revatikanta, Text, comm. and Beng. Tran. etc.

4. Vide *India Office Mss Catalogue*, Part I (Vedic Mss), 1887, p. 16 — No. 1283b is styled as "modern" while Nos. 3004 and 3005 are also modern, being "copied for Bombay Government."

Brl. 40, Burnell[1] 11[b], Rice. 62, Peters[2] 2. 178, W. 1424;[3] *Part II, p. 283* — Ulwar[4] 223, 226. Out of the above Mss I have examined about ten as described in Catalogues and find that no dates for them are recorded in their descriptions. The Berlin Ms represented by Aufrecht's entry "W. 1424" is dated Śaka 1772 = A. D. 1850 and hence has no chronological value. The remaining four Mss viz. Khn. 2. Ben. 16. 17, Brl. 40 and Rice 62 are not available to me and hence I am unable to say if any of them bear any dates. Judging, however, by the paucity of the Mss of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* and also the paucity of early dates for these Mss I am inclined to think that the Ms of the Limaye collection bearing the date Saṁvat 1520 or A. D. 1463 is the oldest dated Ms of the *Sāmavedārthaprakāśa* of Sāyaṇa and as such should be extremely useful to scholars interested in a critical edition of this commentary.[5]

It would now be useful to record the dates of Mss of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda. Fortunately my friend Mr. N. S. Sontakke, the Editor of the Poona Edition[6] of the Ṛgveda has done this work to some extent. He gives us a detailed account of the Mss procured by him for his edition. The following tabular statement will show clearly the chronology of the dated Mss used by Mr. Sontakke :—

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1. Vide *Burnell's Cata. of Tanjore Mss*, Part I, London, 1879, p. 11[b] — No date recorded.

2. *Report II* (1884) by Peterson, p. 178 — No date recorded. This Ms is from the list of Ulwar Mss.

3. Weber's *Cata. of Berlin Mss*, 1886, p. 16 — Ms No. 1424, dated Śaka 1772 = A. D. 1850.

4. *Cata. of Ulwar Mss* by Peterson, Bombay 1892, p. 9, No. 223 — 2 copies (No dates recorded). No. 226 (No date recorded, though No. 225, the text of *Sāmavedasaṁhitā*, is dated Saṁvat 1675 = A. D. 1619).

5. Mr. M. M. Patkar of the B. O. R. Institute has prepared a specimen list of variants (Vide Appendix) as found in this Ms after comparing it with the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* as published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of 1874-78. From these variants collected by him from this Ms for Chap. I, of *Uttarārci* — commentary it appears that they materially differ from those in the *Bib Ind.* Edition.

6. *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary (Vaidika Samshodhan Mandal, Poona, Vol. I, 1933) Introduction, pp. 1-3.

Source of Ms	Reference	Saṁ.	Śaka	A. D.	Remarks
1. B. O. R. Institute, (Govt. Mss Library)	No. 18^{b} of 1870–71	1609	...	1553	
,,	No. 5 of 1916–18	...	1739	1817	
,,	No. 18^{a} of 1870–71	1609	...	1553	
2. Oriental Institute, Baroda	No. 12233	1879	...	1823	
,,	No. 12232	1879	...	1823	
,,	No. 12231	1877	...	1821	
Sanskrit College, Benares	nil (ज्ञ Ms)	1851	...	1795	
Chidambar Dikshit of Badli (Dist. Belgaum)	न Ms	...	1596	1674	
nil	स Ms	...	1606	1684	
Palace Library, Mysore	ष Ms	1895	,,	1849	vide p. 8—Sanskrit Introduction

It would be seen that the earliest dated Ms of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda bears the date Saṁvat 1609 = A. D. *1553*. These two Mss belong to the B. O. R. Institute (Govt. Mss. Library) and were copied 90 years later than the Ms of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* in the Limaye collection.

The Oriental Institute Baroda, possesses some dated Mss[1] of Sāyaṇa's commentaries in addition to those recorded in the above statement. These are as follows :—

Commentary on	Reference	Saṁvat	Śaka	A. D.	Reference
Adhānamantra	No. 11085	...	1802	1880	
Ṛgvedasaṁhitā	No. 110226	...	1796	1874	

1. G. O. S. XXVII, Vol. 1 — Vedic Mss (Baroda, 1925), pp. 1-20

Commentary on	Reference	Saṁ.	Śaka	A. D,	Reference
Ṛgvedasaṁhitā	No. 236	1816	...	1760	Aṣṭaka I
Aitareyabrāhmaṇa	No. 10989	...	1795	1873	Adhy. 1–20
Kūṣmāṇḍahoma-mantra	No. 11421	1902	...	1846	
Rudra	No. 4516	1819	...	1763	
Śatapathabrāhmaṇa	No. 10412	*1578*	...	*1522*	Kāṇḍa 11
Do	No. 10413	1666	...	1610	Do
Do	No. 12071	1586	...	1530	Kāṇḍa 2
Saurasūkta	No. 2261	...	1702	1780	From Ṛv.
Do	No. 4524	...	1698	1776	
Aitareyopaniṣadbhā-ṣyārtharatnamālā	No. 284	...	1707	1785	

In the above statement the Ms of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (No. 10412) is dated A. D. 1522. This copy was written 59 years later than the copy of Sāyaṇa's *Sāmavedārtha-prakāśa* (dated A. D. 1463) in the Limaye collection.

I close this note on the oldest dated Ms of the *Sāmavedārtha-prakāśa* with a request to scholars for reporting to me any Mss of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Sāmaveda* or the *Ṛgveda* copied earlier than A. D. 1463.

APPENDIX[1]

The following specimen list shows the variants of the text of the *Sāmavedaprakāśa* as found in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Edition of 1874–78 and the oldest dated Ms of the work in the Limaye collection of the B. O. R. Institute copied in A. D. 1463.

1. Prepared by Mr. M. M. Patkar of the B. O. R. Institute.

Bibliotheca Edition			Limaye coll. MS of Saṁvat 1520 = A. D, 1463		
Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
1	11	आदिशत्	1	3	आदिदीशत्
2	1	स्तोमशद्बेनोत्पत्तिषु	1^b	6	स्तोमशब्देन ज्योतिष्टोमादिषु
2	3	कतमावाव तानि	1^b	7	कतमानि तानि
2	7	°रूपोपेताः	1^b	9	°भेदैरुपेताः
2	11	चतुस्त्रिंशत्	1^b	11	om. त्रिंशत्
2	13	नन्वथ ये	2^a	1	नन्वद्याथ
2	17	आशास्त्रिवृद्धान्तः	2^a	3	°स्त्रिवृद्धातः
2	21	त्रिंशोऽभि०	2^a	5	°त्रिंशोऽपि
: 7	7	स्त्रोत्रियम्	2^a	8	स्तोत्रम्
		प्रथमोऽध्यायः			
4	7	अस्मै	4	12	अस्मा
5	1	अभ्यशिश्रयन्	2^b	2	अभ्यश्रीणन्
7	4	दविद्युतत्या रुचा	2^b	5	adds शुक्रा उज्वला before द्युतया द्योत-मानया रुचा
7	4	अतिशयदीप्त्या	2^b	5	om. अतिशय
7	5	''गवाशिरः'' गवाशिराः भवन्ति	2^b	6	गवाशिरो भवन्ति
7	10	स्तोत्रैः स्मर्यमाणः	2^b	8	स्तोत्रैः प्रेर्यमाणो
12	1	ऋतस्य योनिं	3^a	11	omits योनिं
		अध्याय १ खण्ड २			
14	5	अङ्गनादिगुणाविशिंष्टं त्वम्	3^b	2	°गुणविशिष्टत्वं
			3^b	6	adds अंगारसूपवा be-fore अंगिरसः पुत्र वा etc.
15	8	बृहदग्न सुवीर्यम्	3^b	8	बृहदग्ने सुवीर्यम्
51	13	तन्नोग्निमयेत्स्येवैतदाहेति	3^b	10	तन्नो गमयेत्स्येवैतदाहेति
16	8	मधुरेण सुरसेन	4^a	2	मधुरेण सुस्वरसेन
16	14	यद्वात्र बृहच्छंस:	4^a	5	यद्वा उरु बृहच्छंसः
17	2	लक्षणाभियुक्तो	4^a	6	लक्षणाभिर्वांगभिर्युक्तो
18	3	सदो मम	4^b	1	समो मम
18	6	त्वदर्थं	4^b	2	तदर्थं
18	6	यमिदं	4^b	2	मदीयमिदं
19	6	सुतावन्त:	4^b	7	सुतवन्तः
19	7	अभिषुतैः	4^b	7	अभिषुतैश्चं
20	12	स्वर्गादिक्षलणप्राप्तौ	5^a	4	०लक्षणफलप्राप्तौ
20	13	सहायभूतौ यज्ञः	5^a	4	सहायभूत: यज्ञः
20	15	युवामभिगच्छति	5^a	5	युवामतिगच्छति
21	10	सोमयागेन तृम्पतां	5^b	1	सोमपानेन तृम्पतां

Bibliotheca Edition			Ms of Saṁvat 1520 = A. D. 1463		
Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
			अध्याय १ खण्ड ३		
23	10	अर्यः अभिगच्छन्तः	5^{b}	9	आर्योभिगच्छन्तो
41	7	च ऋतस्य	6^{a}	2	त्वं ऋतस्य
42	9	अन्नवान् सन्	6^{a}	8	अन्नवने सन् ?
42	10	दातुमतिगच्छसि	6^{a}	8	दातुमभिगच्छसि
42	11	धोतः	6^{a}	9	धौत:
43	3	नृभिर्धोता	6^{a}	10	नृभिर्द्धौता
78	6	प्रकर्षेणागच्छ	6^{b}	2	प्रकर्षेण गच्छ
80	4	अपीच्यां	6^{b}	10	अपीच्यं
			अध्याय १ खण्ड ४		
84	9	त्वावान् " न जातः "	7^{a}	9	त्वावानन्यो न जायते
84	10	त्वादृशः	7^{a}	10	त्वत्सदृशः
89	6	" जरितृणाम् " अविता	7^{b}	7	जरितृणाम् स्तोतृणा-मविता
92	6	वाजां	8^{a}	6	वाजं
92	7	दीप्तिमन्तं निवासस्थानम्	8^{a}	6	दीप्तिनां निवास०
92	9	आच्छादितम्	After आच्छादितम् and before पुन: कीदृशम् the Ms adds the following : — आवरणे दृष्टान्तः । गिरिं न । तविषीभिर्बलयुक्तैर्मेघैरावृतं पर्वतमिव स्थितं ।		
92	10	" पुरुमजसम् "	8^{a}	7	पुरुभोजसम्
92	12	टु क्षु क्षये	8^{a}	9	टु क्षु शब्दे
101	8	बाधासहिताः	8^{b}	2	बाधायुक्ताः सहिताः
102	1	शोभनहनुकं	8^{b}	6	शोभनहनुं
102	5	सोमलक्षणस्यान्नस्य	8^{b}	8	सोमलक्षणान्नस्य
			अध्याय १ खण्ड ५		
106	5	हिरण्येन हते	9^{a}	2	हिरण्येन हतं
115	13	" महि " मंहनीयः	9^{a}	9	महि महान् मंहनीयः वा
116	7	वृषभः	9^{b}	1	वृषः
122	10	" भराय "	2^{b}	6	अयं भराय
122	11	" इन्द्रार्थं " " पवते "	9^{b}	6	इन्द्राय इन्द्रार्थं पवते
122	13	चतुर्थ्यर्थ षष्ठी	9^{b}	7	चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलमिति षष्ठी
		omitted in the edition	9^{b}	9	आ अनंतरमिन्द्रः
132	5	अपबाध	10^{a}	4	अपबाधध्वं
132	5	श्वा	10^{a}	4	आ
167	1	मुखत्वेन	10^{b}	6	मुख्यत्वेन
167	7	उभयोः			omits उभयोः

Bibliotheca Edition			Ms of Saṁvat 1520 = A. D. 1463		
Page	Line	Reading	Fol.	Line	Reading
			अध्याय १ खण्ड ६		
175	11	चान्दसोलुक	11^{b}	2	छान्दसोलुङ्
176	2	निघात-प्रतिषेधः	11^{b}	5	निघातिप्रतिषेधः
176	10	प्रशंस	11^{b}	8	प्रशंशे
176	13	—	11^{b}	9	after दद्याम and before उतापि च the Ms adds the following :— " स चाग्निर्वाजेषु अवितास्माकं रक्षिता भुवद्भवतु वृधे वर्धकश्चास्माकं भुवद्भवतु ।
183	11	पूरकम्	12^{a}	2	पूरकः
184	6	वर्तमाने	12^{a}		omits वर्तमाने
		omitted in the edition	12^{b}		before आधाहि adds the following :— हे गिर्वणो गीर्भिर्वृननीयेन्द्र
190	13	वार्णत्वाय	13^{a}	2	वर्णत्वाय

2. Texts sanctioning the Study of Yoga by Women and their Chronology*

Brahmānanda, the author of the commentary *Jyotsnā* on the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma yogī gives the following opinion of the sage Mataṅga[1], which supports among other things the study of Yoga by women :—

" महर्षिमातङ्ग :—

' अग्निष्टोमादिकान्सर्वान्विहाय द्विजसत्तमः ।
योगाभ्यासरतः शान्तः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥
ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां स्त्रीशूद्राणां च पावनम् ।
शान्तये कर्मणामन्यद्योगान्नास्ति विमुक्तये ।। "

I have traced this quotation given by Brahmānanda in a work called *Yogacintāmaṇi* composed by the Royal Preceptor or Rāja-guru of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva[2] of Orissa (A. D. 1497–1539) with the following variants :— मतङ्गः for मातङ्गः ; यज्ञान् for सर्वान् ; and शूद्रस्य for शूद्राणां. This quotation appears on folio 3 of a MS of the *Yoga-cintāmaṇi* in the Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (No. 220 of 1882–83). This fact makes it clear that the *Jyotsnā* knew the work *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra as we find it in a MS form. The following references in the *Jyotsnā* corroborate our conclusion :—

Page 12 —

" अत्र योगचिन्तामणिकाराः यद्यपि

' ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां स्त्रीशूद्राणां च पावनं । शान्तये कर्मणामन्यद्योगान्नास्ति विमुक्तये ' इत्यादि पुराणवाक्येषु प्राणिमात्रस्य योगेऽधिकार उपलभ्यते तथापि मोक्षरूपकं फलं योगविरक्तस्यैव भवति । " etc.

The above reference is important as it gives the name of the work from which the extract is taken and criticized, besides mentioning the opinion of sage Mataṅga traced by me in a MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*.

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* *Yoga*, III, pp. 17–20.

1. *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, Adyar, 1933, p. 166.
2. *History of Dharmaśāstra* by Kane, Vol. I, p. 413.

Page 52 —

"यथा च उक्तं योगचिन्तामणौ—प्राणायाम एवाभ्यासक्रमेण वर्धमानः प्रत्याहार-ध्यानधारणासमाधिशब्दैः उच्यते ' इति "

Page 75—

" इति चिन्तामणेर्वाक्यं स्वारस्यं भजते नहि " (Possibly योगचिन्तामणि is meant in the expression ' चिन्तामणेर्वाक्यं ').

Then again the following verse which I have found on folio 15 of the B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* referred to above is also found in the *Jyotsnā* on p. 175 of the printed edition without any variants :—

" मैत्रेयी सुलभा शार्ङ्गी शांडिली च तपस्विनी ।
स्त्रीत्वे प्राप्ता परां सिद्धिमन्यजन्मसमाधितः ॥ "

The above evidence is sufficient to establish the mutual chronological relation of the *Jyotsnā* and the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvara Miśra. Though *Jyotsnā* is a very late commentary, the antiquity of sage Mataṅga's opinion sanctioning the study of Yoga by women is proved in the first instance owing to its being quoted by the author of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* 400 years back and secondly owing to the fact of this sage Mataṅga being quoted with some respect as an ancient authority on the question.

We have tried to trace the above verses quoted by the *Jyotsnā* in the MS of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra because Shri Yogendra has referred to this commentary on the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* as one of the authorities supporting the study of Yoga by women. We have shown in an Appendix to this article that this commentary is quite modern. In fact the references to and quotations from the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and numerous other works show the modern character of the composition of the commentary. It is, however, useful to enable us to understand the Yoga practices current or known in Brahmānanda's time.

Before we proceed to consider other authorities in support of the study of Yoga by women we must distinguish the work *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra from another work of the same name, viz. the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Harṣakīrtisūri, the pupil of Candrakīrtisūri. This latter work is purely a treatise on medicine and has nothing to do with Yoga. The Jain Sūri Candrakīrti belonged to the Nāgapura Tapāgaccha and was contemporary of Salem

Shah who was Emperor of Delhi between 1545 and 1553 A. D.[1] Candrakīrti was the author of a commentary on the *Sārasvata-prakriyā* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. It appears, therefore, that Godāvaramiśra wrote his work *Yogacintāmaṇi* (on Yoga) between A. D. 1497 and 1539 while Harṣakīrti wrote his work *Yogacintāmaṇi* (on Medicine) [2] say after 1550 A. D. or in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century. It mentions a preparation against *phiraṅgaroga* or venereal disease (p. 277, verse 346). This reference to *phiraṅgaroga* corroborates Sir P. C. Ray's statement in his *History of Hindu Chemistry* (Vol. I, Intro. p. 1) that this 'disease of the Portuguese' was introduced into India about the middle of the 16th century, i.e. about 1550 A. D.

Among the other authorities quoted by Shri Yogendra on the question at issue is the *Yogasārasaṁgraha* of Vijñānabhikṣu, according to which the path of Yoga is disclosed mainly to the *gṛhastha* or householder (vide p. 184 of *Yoga Personal Hygiene*). According to Winternitz (G. I. L. Vol. III, p. 457) this writer flourished in the 2nd half of the 16th century, i. e. between A. D. 1550 and 1600. Prof. Keith, however, gives a date for this author which is quite late. He states that Vijñānabhikṣu wrote about 1650 A. D.[3] It will thus be seen that the difference between the dates of Godāvara Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu, who wrote the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and the *Yogasārasaṁgraha* respectively, varies from about 50 to 150 years respectively. The *Jyotsnā* of Brahmānanda and the *Yogasāra-saṁgraha* of Vijñānabhikṣu are divided by a difference of about 300 years if we take Winternitz's date of Vijñānabhikṣu to be correct. The chronological order of the three works would, therefore, be as follows :— (1) *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvara Miśra (between 1497 and 1539 A. D.), (2) *Yogasārasaṁgraha* of Vijñānabhikṣu (between 1550 and 1600 A. D.,) and (3) *Jyotsnā* of Brahmānanda (between 1850 and 1875 A. D.). The above autho-

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1. *R. G. Bhandarkar's Report* (1882–83), p. 43 — Extract on p. 227.

"श्रीमत्साहिसलेमभूमिपतिना संमानितः सादरं। सूरिः सर्वकलिंदिकाकलितधीः श्री-चंद्रकीर्ति प्रभुः॥"

2. A printed edition of Harṣakīrti's *Yoga-Cintāmaṇi* published (Ahmedabad) in 1912 with a Gujarati Commentary by Purohit Purna-chandra Sharma is in the possession of Shri Yogendra. It mentions चंद्रकीर्ति in the colophon as also in the following verse :—

"श्रीसर्वज्ञप्रणम्यादौ चंद्रकीर्तिगुरुं ततः। योगचिंतामणिं वक्ष्ये बालानां बोधहेतवे ॥"

3. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 489.

rities though quite late are sufficient to prove how the reaction against the prejudices of Brahmanism about continence or *brahmacarya* as the condition precedent for an efficacious study and practice of Yoga was completed gradually.

The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma Yogī maintains, however, its Brahmanical predilections in favour of *brahmacarya*. Compare the following passages and contrast them with Vijñānabhikṣu's opinion cited above, *viz.*, that the path of Yoga is disclosed only to the *gṛhastha* or householder :—

Page 151—

" ब्रह्मचर्यरतस्यैव नित्यं हितमिताशनः ।
मण्डलाद् दृश्यते सिद्धिः कुण्डल्यभ्यासयोगिनः ॥ "

Page 137—

" चित्तायत्तं नृणां शुक्रं शुक्रायत्तं च जीवितम् ।
तस्माच्छुक्रं मनश्चैव रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नतः ॥ "

It appears to us from the foregoing passages in the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma Yogī that its author has not shaken off his Brahmanical inclinations characteristic of some of the Smṛtis in the matter of the importance of *brahmacarya*.

The *Jyotsnā* quotes very often another authority, *viz.*, a work on Yoga called *Yogabīja* (vide Appendix). According to this authority Yoga can be practised both by males as well as females.[1] We have not examined the antiquity or chronology of this text but will do so on a later occasion. As regards the passage from the *Mahābhārata* quoted by *Jyotsnā* in support of its opinion we may observe that the text of the Great Epic varies in its antiquity in its different portions and hence no definite conclusion about the antiquity of a single passage can be arrived at with any claim to certainty.

APPENDIX

Brahmānanda in his commentary *Jyotsnā*[2] on the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* refers to the following works and authors :—

गोरक्षनाथेन सिद्धसिद्धान्तपद्धतौ (p. 3) ; गोरक्षनाथ (pp. 26, 89, 130, 202) ; गोरक्षः (p. 52) ; गोरक्षशतक (pp. 148, 183 – गोरक्षकशतक) ; योग-

1. *Yoga Personal Hygiene*, p. 184.

2. *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* with *Jyotsnā* — 1933 (T. P. H. Oriental Series, No. 15).

वासिष्ठ (p. 5) ; योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति (p. 7) ; याज्ञवल्क्य (pp. 52, 89, 125, 228) ; याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति (p. 166) ; ' ब्रह्मसूत्रकृता व्यासेन ' (p. 7) ; भगवद्गीता (p. 8) ; नारायणतीर्थैः (pp. 8, 229) ; भागवत (pp. 11, 70) ; योगचिन्तामणिकाराः (p. 12) ; योगचिन्तामणि (pp. 52, 53) ; चिन्तामणेर्वाक्यं (p. 75) ; वायुसंहिता (p. 12) ; वायुपुराण (p. 67) ; सुरेश्वराचार्याः (pp. 13, 17) ; वृद्धैः (p. 13) ; नन्दिकेश्वरपुराण (p. 13) ; योगबीज (pp. 16, 124, 165, 173, 174, 182, 227) ; राजयोग (p. 16) ; ईश्वरोक्ते राजयोगे (p. 205) ; स्कन्दपुराण (pp. 17, 41, 52) ; पातञ्जलसूत्र (pp. 19, 221, 222) ; श्रीधर (p. 20) ; दत्तात्रेय (pp. 41, 224) ; वैद्यके (p. 43) ; लिङ्गपुराण (p. 52) ; ज्ञानेश्वर (गीताषष्ठाध्यायव्याख्या) (p. 73) ; कूर्मपुराण (pp. 74, 75) ; श्रीहर्ष (p. 82) ; वाक्यसुधा (p. 92) ; कोशः (p. 93) ; भाष्यकारः (p. 105) ; अमर (many times) ; नानार्थः (p. 111) ; ब्रह्मवैवर्त (p. 115); ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (p. 115); माण्डूक्योपनिषद् (p. 119) ; विद्यारण्यैः जीवन्मुक्तौ (p. 133) ; अमृतसिद्धि (pp. 142, 226, 227) ; महर्षिः मातङ्गः (p. 166) ; दक्षस्मृति (p. 166) ; महाभारते योगमार्गे (p. 166) ; जैगीषव्य (p. 175) ; पुराणादौ (p. 175) ; त्रिपुरासारसमुच्चये (pp. 203, 210) ; मैत्रायणीयतन्त्र (p. 217) ; योगभास्कर (p. 225) ; ईश्वरगीता (p. 229) ; मधुसूदनसरस्वती (p. 229).

Brahmānanda gives us in the following introductory verses the purpose with which the commentary was written by him :—

" गुरुं नत्वा शिवं साक्षाद्ब्रह्मानन्देन तन्यते ।
हठप्रदीपिकाज्योत्स्ना योगमार्गप्रकाशिका ॥

इदानींतनानां सुबोधार्थमस्याः
सुविज्ञायगोरक्षसिद्धान्तहार्दम् ।
मया मेरुशास्त्रिप्रमुख्याभियोगात्
स्फुटं कथ्यतेऽत्यन्तगूढोऽपिभावः ॥ "

It appears from these verses that Brahmānanda was a disciple of one *Meruśāstri*. We also learn from Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Part I, p. 388b) that this मेरुशास्त्रिन् was alive in 1859, A. D. and that Brahmānanda wrote other works also, *viz* :—

(1) त्रिपुरार्चनरहस्य (compare त्रिपुरासारसमुच्चय in the above list) ; (2) आनंदलहरीटीका भावार्थदीपिका ; (3) शाक्तानंदतरंगिणी and (4) षट्चक्रदीपिका.

It appears that he was a devotee of Śiva as he makes an offering of the Jyotsnā commentary to this God in the following verse at the end of the commentary :—

" सदर्थद्योतनकरी तमःस्तोमविनाशिनी ।
ब्रह्मानन्देन ज्योत्स्नेयं शिवाङ्घ्रियुगुलेर्पिता ॥ २ ॥ "

Aufrecht puts a work called *Haṭhapradīpamañjarī* against the name of Meruśāstrin in his catalogue (Cat. Cata. part I, p. 467a).

I have identified the reference to Jñāneśvara's commentary on Chapter VI of the Gītā made by Brahmānanda in his Jyotsnā in the following lines :—

P. 73. — " मूलबन्धे जालंधरबन्धे च कृते नाभेरधोभाग आकर्षणाख्योबन्धः स्वयमेव भवति इति " — This is a Sanskrit paraphrase of the Ovīs in Marathi by Jñāneśvara, viz., 208, 209 and 210 of Chapter VI. Mr. M. P. Oka in his संस्कृत ज्ञानेश्वरी (1929) translates ovī 210 as under ;—

" स्वाधिष्ठानोपरिप्रान्ते नाभिस्थानतले च यः ।
बन्धो भवति तं पार्थं विदुराकर्षणाभिधम् ॥ २१० ॥ "

As regards *Yogabīja* mentioned by Brahmānanda in the Jyotsnā Aufrecht (Cata. Cata. I, 477) records three MSS of the work, viz., (1) Bik. 570 ; (2) Radh. 28 ; (3) ; N. W. 424. The Bikaner Catalogue of MSS on p. 370 describes its MS of *Yogabīja* as under :— " No. 1233 — (10 folios). A summary of the rules of conduct to be observed by yogis. It is ascribed to the God Īśvara or Śiva. It may be a part of a Purāṇa. "

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3. Date of Sārasvatapradīpa of Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara*

Aufrecht[1] refers to only one MS of a commentary on the *Sārasvataprakriyā* by Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara viz. "Bd. 555." This MS is the same as No. 555 of 1887-91 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is dated Saṁvat 1653 ("संवत् १६५३ वर्षे अश्विनमासे शुक्लपक्षे अष्टम्यां तिथौ रविवासरे") which corresponds to *20th September 1596* A. D.[2] The MS consists of 68 folios, the first 2 folios having been lost previous to its acquisition in 1887.

About this commentator Dr. Belvalkar[3] remarks :— "*Dhaneśvara* — He wrote his commentary with the avowed object of correcting Kshemendra. As a consequence he comes after Kshemendra and before 1595 A. D. when one of the MSS of Dhaneśvara's commentary was copied. He has written as mentioned in the *praśasti* of five stanzas at the end of the तद्धित section of the commentary, a ṭīkā on the Mahābhāṣya called Chintāmaṇi, a new grammar for beginners called Prakriyāmaṇi and a commentary on a stotra from the Padmapurāṇa."

Obviously the passage referred to by Dr. Belvalkar containing the names of the works written by Dhaneśvara appears as under on folio 39 of the MS in question :—

" यश्च व्याकरणं चक्रे धनेश प्रक्रियामणि-
नाम्ना नूतनमुद्बोधं बालानां कर्तुमुन्मनाः ॥

योनभूतिः कृतस्यात्र टिप्पणं दोष चनं
सारस्वतप्रदीपाख्यं चक्रे सदेहभजनम् ॥

र(यः)पद्माक्षपुराणे तु पार्वतीश्वरसंविदं
सहस्रनामस्तोत्रं तु व्याख्या चक्रे हरिप्रियं ॥

भाष्यं पातंजले येनाधातं चिंतामणिस्तथा
सम्यग्गुरूपदेशेन तस्मै श्री गुरवे नमः ॥ ४ ॥

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* *Poona Orientalist*, I, iv, pp. 30-33.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part , III p. 147.

2. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 315.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, pp. 99-100.

यस्य कौशिकगोत्रे यः शेषनागं च जन्मना।
गुरुं चक्रेध्ययन तस्थेन कोत्र समो भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥ "

On folio 15 Dhaneśvara refers to himself in the following manner :—

" इति श्रीमहाभाष्यकृतशेषनाग[1] कुलदैवतपंडितधनेश्वर "

an expression which is analogous to the purport of verse 5 in the above extract. शेषनाग is apparently the name of the author of महाभाष्य commonly ascribed to पतञ्जलि.[1] Dhaneśvara's *gotra* appears to be कौशिक as stated in verse 5. In the colophon on folio 3 he calls himself by such epithets as " वैयाकरणगजेन्द्रसिंह " and " न्यायशास्त्रपारंगत." His proficiency in grammar is sufficiently vouched by the present commentary. As regards his mastery of the न्यायशास्त्र we are sufficiently acquainted with it on folio 31, where he refers to the पक्षधर्मतावाद of the " चिंतामणि अनुमानखंड ", which is obviously a reference to गंगेश's तत्त्वचिंतामणि, assigned to c. 1200 A. D.[2]

Dhaneśvara refers to the following works and authors in his present commentary :—

1. चिंतामणि अनुमानखंड — fol. 31.
2. पीतांबर — fol. 34, 36, 14, 27, 33. 37.
3. पीतांबरशिष्य — fol. 9.
4. रामचन्द्राचार्यैः — fol. 41, 15, 40, 41, 68 (रामचंद्रमतम्).
5. महाभाष्यकृत — fol. 15.
6. भाष्यकाराः — fol. 14, 51 (भाष्यकार), 53 (श्रीमद्भाष्यकार:) 36.
7. महाभाष्य — fol. 23, 38, 15.
8. भाष्यपातंजले — fol. 38.
9. रामकलशव्याकरणे — fol. 8.
10. मूलसरस्वतीसूत्रकाशिकारूपव्याकरणे - fol. 8.
11. वार्तिककृता — fol. 15.
12. शेषनाग — 15.
13. प्रसादकारैः — fol. 16, 25 (प्रसादकारेण).
14. पदमंजरीकारैः — fol. 16.
15. नरेन्द्राचार्यैः — fol. 27.

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1. शेषनाग as the author of प्राकृतव्याकरणसूत्र has been mentioned by Keith. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 434.

2. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, General Index, p. 143 (शेषराज see Patañjali).

3. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 484.

16. क्षेनाकैः — fol. 29.
17. पद्माक्षपुराण — fol. 38.
18. काशिकाकारैः — fol. 40, 51 (काशिकार).
19. हरदत्तमिश्रैः — fol. 40.
20. वर्धमानमिश्रैः — fol. 41.
21. धातुपाठ — fol. 41.
22. शाकटायन — fol. 56.

पीतांबर (No. 2 in the above list) has been introduced by such expressions as "अत्र पीतांबरो ब्रूते" (fol. 14), "अत्र पतिांबरः" (fol. 27), "इति पीतांबरः" (foll. 33, 37). Dr. Belvalkar does not mention any grammarian of this name in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*. The India Office Library Catalogue[1] records, however, two grammatical works by पीतांबरशर्मन् *viz.* (1) *Sārasaṁgraha* an elementary grammar based on Kramadīśvara's *Saṅkṣiptasāra* and (2) *Chātravyutpatti*, a versified abstract of *Rāmāyaṇa* in nine Sargas exemplifying the verse-section of *Sārasaṁgraha*. Possibly Dhaneśvara may be referring to either of these two works of Pītāmbara. On folio 34 of the present MS he refers to a disciple of पीतांबर as having copied the present commentary for the author :— "इति पंडितधनेश्वरविरचिते सारस्वतप्रदीपे क्षेमेन्द्रखंडने पीतांबरशिष्यलिखिते स्वरांताः पुल्लिंगाः संपूर्णाः" If this statement is correct we may presume पीतांबराशिष्य to be a contemporary of Dhaneśvara and in that case we shall have to suppose that पीतांबर was an elder contemporary of Dhaneśvara. But these conclusions need to be corroborated by other independent evidence.

The reference to "रामचंद्राचार्यैः" (No. 4 in the above list) is very important for purposes of fixing the limits for Dhaneśvara's date. From the five references to रामचन्द्राचार्य noted by me, I have identified that on folio 41, where Dhaneśvara refers to Rāmacandrācārya as under :— "अत एवोक्तं रामचंद्राचार्यैर्भूतानद्यतन परोक्षवृत्तेर्द्धातोर्लिट्." This quotation is found on page 34 of Vol. II of the *Prakriyākaumudī* (Bombay Sanskrit Series Edition, published by the B. O. R. Institute in 1931). Mr. K. P. Trivedi, the editor of this work, assigns Rāmacandra to "*the latter half of the 14th Century*[2]" i. e. between A. D. 1350 and 1400. The present MS of Dhaneśvara's commentary is dated 1596 A. D. and hence we are able to fix the limits for his date, which are A. D. 1400 and 1596.

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1. *Descriptive Catalogue*, Part II (1889), pp. 229-230–Mss. Nos. 846, 847.

2. ***Prakriyākaumudī*** **(B. S. Series) Intro. p. xliv.**

These limits can be narrowed down still further because Dhaneśvara refers in his work to प्रसादकार in two places (vide No. 13 in the above list). We know that विट्ठल, the grandson of रामचंद्र, wrote his commentary on the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी called प्रसाद and evidently this commentary is referred to by Dhaneśvara in the two places pointed out above. As the author of the प्रसाद commentary is the grandson of रामचन्द्र we must add at least 50 years to the date of रामचन्द्र to arrive at Viṭṭhala's date, which, therefore, may be fixed at about 1450 A. D. and as Dhaneśvara quotes the प्रसादकार as authority a period of at least 25 years must have intervened between Dhaneśvara and प्रसादकार. We may, therefore, tentatively fix A. D. 1475 as the probable earlier limit for the date of धनेश्वर. Now deducting 50 years from the date of the MS *Sārasvatapradīpa viz.* A. D. 1596 we may fix A. D. 1475 and 1546 as the probable limits of Dhaneśvara's date or roughly we may say that he flourished in the *1st quarter of the 16th Century*. This conclusion will affect the date of *Kṣemendraṭippaṇa*, which must, therefore, be ***not later than the middle of the fifteenth century***.[1]

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1. Dr. Belvalkar who was evidently not aware of the reference to प्रसादकार in Dhaneśvara's commentary remarks about Kṣemendra's date :—" Kṣemendra could not have lived later than the first quarter of the 16th Century." (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 98).

4. Yogacintāmaṇi of Śivānanda Sarasvatī*

(AN ENCYCLOPÆDIC COMPENDIUM OF YOGA TEXTS AND ITS CRITICAL ANALYSIS)

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*[1] records the following Manuscripts of a work on Yoga called the *Yogacīntāmaṇi* :—

Part I—(1) Hall, p. 12 ; (2) L. 2538 ; (3) Khn, 58 (Commentary by Haridīkṣita) ; (4) B. 4. 2 (5) Ben, 67 ; (6) Bik 568 ; he also states that it is quoted by Sundaradeva (W. p. 196) and that there is a commentary by Bhavānīsahāya on some work of this name (N. W. 436).

Part II—(1) Bhāu Dāji, 66, 114 ; (2) C. U. add. 1714 (fragmentary) ; (3) Commentary by Durgādāsa Vācaspati — Stein 132.

This work should be distinguished from other works of the same name on medicine, by Harṣakīrti[2] (after 1550 A. D.) and by Dhanvantari[3] and from another *Yogacintāmaṇi* on *Yoga* composed by Godāvara Miśra, who calls himself as the Rājaguru of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva of Orissa (A. D. 1497-1539) and a manuscript of which has been preserved in the Government MSS Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institutte, Poona (No. 220 of 1882-83) and a critical analysis of which we shall present later. In the present article we shall deal mainly with Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi* which is now available in a published form.[4]

In the colophons of the four chapters of this work, Śivānanda describes himself as the pupil of **परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीरामचंद्र-सदानन्दसरस्वती**.

He appears to have modelled his *Yogacintāmaṇi* on the Yogacintāmaṇi of Godāvaramiśra referred to above and enlarged his

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* *Yoga*, IV (Nos. 26-28), pp. 9–14.

1. *Cata Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 477 ; Part II, p. 111.

2. Vide my article in *Yoga*, Vol. III, pp. 53-54.

3. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part III, p. 102 — a *Yogacintāmaṇi* by Haripāla has been also mentioned by Aufrecht but he does not state if it is a work on medicine.

4. Edited by Haridāsa Vidyāvāgīśa, Calcutta Oriental Series, p. 282.

compendium of Yogic texts. The scope of Śivānanda's work appears to be identical with that of Godāvaramiśra's as will be seen from the following comparison of the pertinent passages stating the scope of the respective works :—

Goāvaramīśra's *Yogacintāmaṇi*
(Ms No. 220 of 1882-83).

Folio 131 — मोक्षरूपफलंप्रतिसाधनत्वेन 'आत्मावारे द्रष्टव्यः' इति आत्मदर्शनमास्था 'श्रोतव्यो मंतव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यं' इति साधनत्वेन श्रुतानां श्रवणमनननिदिध्यासनानां मध्ये निदिध्यासनाविधिः सपरिकरः प्रपञ्चितः भगवता शेषदेवेन प्रतिपक्षखंडनव्याख्यादिप्रपंचव्युदासेन भगवदुपेक्षितापेक्षितो योगोपसंहारेण वा स एव सांक्षिप्तो अस्माभिरिह मुमुक्षितहेतोः यत्वत्रध्यानसमये तत्वं पदार्थयोरन्योन्यपर्यंत्तमानयनं या च मननादिव्यापारसमयेऽपि चित्तस्य जीवब्रह्मैक्यविषयास्थलेन लक्षणाध्यानसिद्धिः ये च श्रवणमनननिदिध्यासनसाक्षात्कारा जीवन्मुक्तिकैवल्यमुक्तीनां मुमुक्षुणावश्यज्ञातव्या विशेषा, येच स्थाने प्रसंगतः सर्वमुपन्यषदा वेदान्तसिद्धान्ता विस्तरभयाच्च न इह उपपादिताः ते सर्वे पितामहचरणैः संक्षेपकशारीरकवार्त्तिके प्रतिपादिताः पितृचरणैश्चाद्वैतचिंतामणौ प्रपंचिताः अस्माभि अथ द्वैतदर्पणे युगपदनुवर्णिताः ये च प्रयोगेतिकर्तव्यताफल–कापालिक–ग्रंथोक्ता विशेषाः ते श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धत्वादेव उपलक्षिता इति"

Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi*
(printed edition).

Page 281 — (6 verses)

"निदिध्यासनमेतत्तु मया साधनसंयुतम् ।
यथाशास्त्रं यथाबोधं संक्षेपेण निरूपितम् ॥

श्रवणं मननं चैव सविशेषं सविस्तरम् ।
वेदान्तेष्वेव द्रष्टव्यं नोक्तं विस्तरभीतितः ॥

रहस्यं राजयोगस्य हठयोगस्य यत्स्थितम् ।
प्रकाशितं मया सर्वं प्रीतये योगिनामिह ॥
सध्रीचीनैरसाध्यत्वात् लिखितो न मया हि सः ।
उद्दालकभुशुण्डाद्यैर्हठयोगस्तु यः कृतः॥
कापालिकप्रणीतास्तु इतिकर्तव्यतादयः ।
लिखिता न मया ते तु श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधनाः ॥"

The scope of both the Yogacintāmaṇis, is, therefore, quite identical so far as the above statements go, viz., the treatment of

Haṭhayoga excluding its psychical side as elucidated in the Vedānta texts on the one hand and the Haṭhayoga of the extreme type as propounded by the Kāpālikas or Leftists. The second extreme is avoided because it is contrary to श्रुति and स्मृति.

We have observed already that Śivānanda's work is a topical compendium of Yoga texts in four chapters. This is evidenced by his own statement on p. 2 :—

" नानाग्रंथपयोधिमध्यपतितं श्रीयोगचिन्तामणिम् ।
निश्शेषार्थसमर्थकं यतिशिवानन्दः करोति स्फुटम् ॥ ४ ॥ "

This compendium has been based on numerous previous texts as will be seen from the following list of references collected by me during a cursory perusal of the printed edition of the work :—

1. पतञ्जलि:—Page 2, पतंजल्यादि योगिभि: —4, पातंजले—6, 52, 148, 152, 217, 246—6, 7, 9, 17, 21, 38, पातंजलसूत्र—16, 33, 40, 249, 250, 260, 227, 234, 241, 152, 173, 188.

2. व्याकरणे—p. 2.

3. वासिष्ठे—pp. 2, 12, 16, 15, 28, 37, 40, 68, 56, 73, 87, 171.

4. वाशिष्ठे—pp. 30, 32, 75, 79, 36, 240, 219 ; वशिष्ठ :—211, 171, वशिष्ठयोगे—161, 178; वशिष्ठवाक्यार्थ:—165, 247, वशिष्ठगीतायाम्—163.

5. कूर्मपुराणे—pp. 2, 11, 23, 57, 68, 74, 106, 154, 161, 242.

6. आदित्यपुराणे—pp. 3, 11.

7. योगबीजे—pp. 3, 11, 24, 32, 59, 74, 76, 86, 136, 140, 147, 190, 209, 250.

8. स्कंदपुराणे—pp. 3, 13, 25, 28, 30, 31, 39, 58, स्कान्धे—68, 77, 86, 138, 93, 96, 106, 157, 167, 170, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 185, 207, 211, 228, 234, 243, 273, स्कांदे—99, 131, 247.

9. विष्णुपुराणे—pp. 4, 227, 234, 242, 246.

10. पद्मपुराणे—pp. 5, 186.

11. याज्ञवल्क्य:—pp. 5, 7, 13, 28, 46, 86, 93, 98, 101, 104, 159, 161, 169, 172, 163, 174, 175, 176, 179, 184, 106, 148, 150, 154, 180, 185, 191, 222, 228, 235, 242.

12. याज्ञवल्क्यगीतासु—pp. 22, 198.

13. योगियाज्ञवल्क्य:—pp. 175, 184, 239.

14. याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ—p. 57.

15. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—p. 5 ; विष्णुधर्मे—58.

16. वसिष्ठयाज्ञवल्क्यौ—p. 7.

17. योगशास्त्रेषु— pp. 9, 59, 219, 222.

18. राजयोगे—pp. 9, 22, 33, 43 48, 67, 77, 87, 88, 160.

19. हठप्रदीपिकायाम्—pp. 10, 14, 16, 31, 34, 37, 40, 39. 44, 47, 87, 88, 98, 106, 129, 131, 134, 136, 140, 142, 143, 147, 155, 157, 158, 211, 272.

20. हठयोगे—pp. 145, 142, 181, 159, 168, 189.

21. ब्रह्मा-विष्णु-ईश्वर-शिवादिगीतासु—p. 10.

22. शिवगीतायाम्—pp. 221, 227, 234.

23. मानसोल्लासे—pp. 11, 15, 67, 109, 252.

24. शैवे—p. 11.

25. मतान्तरे—p. 13.

26. अमृतसिद्धौ—pp. 13, 26, 34, 39, 101, 107, 112, 213, 218.

27. गीतावचनात्—p. 13 : भगवद्गीतायाम्—pp. 23, 59, 74, 76, 93, 150, 160, 163 ; गीयाताम्—pp. 39, 68, 71, 73, 205, 273.

28. अन्ये—pp. 15, 163, 242, केचित् (p. 194).

29. आत्मारामः—p. 15.

30. नंदिकेश्वरतारावल्याम्—p. 15.

31. पूर्वमीमांसायाम्—p. 16.

32. नैय्यायिकाः—p. 19.

33. वाचस्पतिमिश्राः—pp. 20, 153 ; वाचस्पतिव्याख्या—p. 173.

34. भोजराजव्याख्यानं—p. 20 ; भोजदेवः—pp. 152, 173.

35. बृहदारण्यके—p. 21.

36. नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धौ—p. 22.

37. कालिकापुराणे—pp. 22, 165 (नाडीशुद्धप्रकरणे), 174, 176, 186, 195, 196, 197, 208.

38. वेदान्ते व्याससूत्रं—p. 24.

39. आगमे पारमेश्वरतंत्रे—p. 26.

40. दत्तात्रेयः—p. 28.

41. मार्कण्डेयपुराणे—pp. 31, 90, 96, 171, 183, 209, 232, 235, 245, 274.

42. शास्त्रान्तरे—pp. 32, 168, 194, 240, 241.

43. सुरेश्वराचार्याः—pp. 34, 45, 71, 86, 110, 243.

44. त्रिपुरासारसमुच्चये—pp. 45, 122, 192.

45. श्रुतिः— pp. 51, 69, 73, 86, 160, 205, 238, 247.

46. विद्यारण्यश्रीपादाः—pp. 52, 69, 70.

47. भाष्यकृद्भिः—pp. 55, 173.

48. श्रुतिस्मृतिइतिहासपुराणादि—pp. 56, 73.

49. गरुडपुराणे—pp. 56. 71, 152.

50. महर्षिः मातंगः—p. 57, मतंगः—pp. 153, 159.

51. वानप्रस्थप्रकरणे—p. 58.

52. यतिधर्मप्रकरणे मनुः—p. 58, (मनुः 184).

53. नरसिंहपुराणे—p. 58.
54. महाभारते (व्यास:) —pp. 58, 67, 94, 179, 184, 240.
55. योगतत्त्वप्रकाशे दत्तात्रेय:—pp. 59, 89, 272, 98 ; दत्तात्रेय:—90, 139. 143, 97, 147, 151, 159, 168, 179, 205, 225, 231, 239, 244, 272.
56. ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे—p. 68.
57. ब्रह्मवैवर्ते—pp. 68, 74, 178.
58. वायुसंहितायाम्—p. 71, वायुपुराणे—pp. 94, 175, 177, 181, 182, 207.
59. गार्गीसुलभाद्या: स्त्रिय:—p. 72.
60. पुराणादिषु—p. 78, पुराणवाक्येषु—p. 79.
61. लिंगपुराणे pp. 89, 93, 96, 99, 178, 182.
62. ब्रह्मपुराणे p. 93.
63. आदिपुराणे—pp. 98, 174, 247.
64. नन्दिपुराणे—pp. 98, 174, 247.
65. गोरक्ष:—p. 100.
66. नकुलीशयोगपरायणे—pp. 101, 103, 164, 165, 207.
67. काशीमीमांसायाम्—p. 106.
68. योगभास्करे—pp. 111, 167, 169, 208, 248, 250.
69. शिवयोगे—p. 112.
70. सांख्ययोगे—pp. 114, 164.
71. शक्तियोगे—p. 114.
72. पवनयोगसंग्रहे—pp. 130, 158.
73. ग्रंथान्तरे p. 146.
74. धर्मपुत्रिकायाम्—p. 153.
75. आग्नेयपुराणे—p. 154.
76. योगसारे—pp. 163, 164, 165, 196.
77. नारदीयपुराणे—pp. 163, (नारदीयवचनात्—164) 177, 182.
78. अगस्त्यगीतासु—p. 163.
79. धर्मशास्त्रे—p. 164.
80. देवल—pp. 174, 176, 177, 186.
81. जैगीषव्ययोगशास्त्रे—pp. 176, 186.
82. बृहस्पति—p. 179.
83. यम:—p. 185.
84. संवर्त:—p. 185.
85. योगसारे—pp. 195, 196, 197.
86. लक्ष्मीयोगसागरे—p. 197.
87. ईश्वरप्रोक्ते—pp. 212, 215.
88. आत्मगीतायाम्—p. 241.
89. शैवधर्मे—p. 243.
90. सर्वशास्त्रसिद्धान्त—p. 249.
91. ब्रह्मयामले—p. 280.

For fixing the date of the present work, the reference to "विद्यारण्यश्रीपादाः" (item No. 46 in the above list) furnishes us with one terminus to Śivānanda's date. This is evidently a reference to the celebrated विद्यारण्य[1] the brother of Sāyaṇācārya (about 1360 A. D.) to whom many works are assigned by Aufrecht.[2] We may, therefore, fix about 1450 A. D. as one terminus to the date of Śivānanda. The other terminus to Śivānanda's date will have to be fixed on the strength of references to this *Yogacintāmaṇi* in subsequent works, some of which may be noted below :—

(1) Weber in his Catalogue of Berlin MSS. (p. 196) describes a work called हठतत्त्वकौमुदी by सुंदरदेव son of Govinda. This work quotes the following works and authors on Yoga:

(1) योगचिंतामणि, (2) शिवसंहिता, (3) शिवगीता, (4) दत्तात्रेययोगशास्त्र, (5) वायवीय संहिता, (6) योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, and (7) गोरक्ष. It is not clear which योगचिन्तामणि is meant in the above references — whether Śivānanda's or Godāvaramiśra's. We do not also know the date of सुंदरदेव referred to above. If this सुंदरदेव is identical with सुंदरदेव, the author of a work on anthology called सूक्तिसुंदर, (MS B. D. 65 described on p. 345 of B. B. R. A. S. MSS Catalogue by Velankar, Vol. II) then his date is between A. D. *1644 and 1710* as proved by me elsewhere.[3] But this identity has not yet been proved.

(2) The dates of the commentaries on the work by हरिदीक्षित and "Bhavānīsahāya" referred to by Aufrecht may also furnish us with the other terminus to Śivānanda's date but the MSS of these commentaries are not available for study.

(3) Brahmānanda in his commentary called *Jyotsnā* (T. P. H. Edition, 1933, Adyar) p. 53, quotes from योगचिन्तामणि as under :—

(A) "यथा च उक्तं योगचिन्तामणौ — 'प्राणायाम एव अभ्यासक्रमेण वर्धमानः प्रत्याहारध्यानधारणासमाधिशब्दैः उच्यते"

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1. *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. Aiyangar, p. 3 — विद्यारण्य died in 1387 A. D.

2. Cf. *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I.

3. *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 52 f.

This quotation is identical with the following lines on p. 28 of शिवानन्द's योगचिन्तामणि —

" अत एव प्राणायामेवाभ्यासक्रमेण प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधिशब्देन उच्यते "

(B) Another quotation for identifying the योगचिन्तामणि quoted by Jyotsnā of Brahmānanda is the following on p. 52 (T. P. H. Edition):—

" एतद्व्याख्यातं योगचिंतामणौ — ' निद्रावशंगतस्य पुंसो यावताकालेन एकः श्वासः गच्छति आगच्छति च तावत्कालः प्राणायामस्य मात्रा इति उच्यते, इति "

This quotation is identical with the following lines in शिवानन्द's योगचिन्तामणि, p. 29):—

" निद्रावशंगतस्य पुंसो यावत्कालेन एकश्वासो गच्छति आगच्छति च तावत्काले प्राणायामस्य मात्रा इति उच्यते । "

It is, therefore, clear that the Jyotsnā is quoting from शिवानन्द's योगचिन्तामणि and not from गोदावरमिश्र's as presumed by me[1] on the strength of a passage "महर्षिमतिंगः अग्निष्टोमादिकान् यज्ञान्...विमुक्तये" then found in Godāvaramiśra's योगचिंतामणि but which is also found in Śivānanda's योगचिंतामणि on page 57. Evidently Śivānanda has borrowed the passage from Godāvaramiśra for he has modelled his treatise on the lines of Godāvaramiśra's work as stated above.

In the foregoing critical analysis of Śivānanda's work the following points have been made clear:—

(1) Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi* is an almost encyclopædic compendium of Yoga texts affording useful literary strata for the history of Yoga literature.

(2) Śivānanda chronologically stands midway between Godāvaramiśra (Circa 1497-1539 A. D.) on the one hand and Brahmānanda (about 1869 A. D.) on the other. At any rate he flourished after A. D. 1450 in view of his reference to " विद्यारण्यश्रीपादाः "

(3) Śivānanda excludes like Godāvaramiśra the Haṭhayoga[2]

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1. Cf. *Yoga*, the Journal of the Yoga Institute, Bombay, Vol. III, pp. 17-20.

2. It may be here mentioned that there *really* is nothing like extreme variety of Haṭhayoga. The indecorous teachings and rituals adopted by the followers of the left path (वाममार्ग) or Kāpālikas could

(*Continued on next page*)

of the extreme variety which conflicts with श्रुति and स्मृति. The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma Muni appears to combine both *Haṭhayoga* and *Rājayoga*.

(*Continued from previous page*)

hardly be termed Yoga or, for that matter, Haṭhayoga in *any* sense. It is, therefore, unfortunate that a few indiscreet authors, old and new, have often misunderstood and misinterpreted the Tāntra and Śaiva ritualism as a part of Haṭhayoga. The disassociation of Haṭhayoga from such cults was continually emphasized from the earliest period of the great epic (*Mahābhārata*) to this day. Vide *Yoga*, Vol. II, pp. 101, 102 — *Ed*.

5. Identification of Vīrabhānu, the Patron of the Poet Bhānukara*

In my note in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Vol. I, pp. 197-199) I recorded some data for the identification of king *Vīrabhānu*, the patron of the poet *Bhānukara*. Since this note appeared more evidence has been forthcoming and the problem of the identification of Vīrabhānu may now be regarded as well nigh settled.

Peterson[1] mentions a king *Vīrabhānu* of the *Vāghela* dynasty in the following comments :—

" No 101 of A 1883-84 – in the present collection there is a copy of a metrical commentary on the *Sūtras* of Vātsyāyana by a royal author who fortunately gives us his date and lineage. He belonged to the Vaghela dynasty and wrote "in the year 1633." His name was *Vīrabhadra.* He was the son of *Rāmachandra*, who was the son of *Vīrabhānu*, who was the son of *Vīrasinha*, who was the son of *Śālavāhana*, the founder of the line."

The genealogy indicated in the above comments is presumably based on the following verses appearing at the beginning of Ms No 101 of A 1883-84 now in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

" वंशः कंसद्विष इव जयति वघेलस्य भूभुजां मान्यः ।
अजघन्योस्ति जगत्यां यस्मादन्यो न भूपालः ॥ ४ ॥

प्रादु (र्बं)भूव वंशे तत्र श्रीशालवाहनो नृपतिः ।
इन्दुर्मरन्दविन्दुर्य्यस्य यशःपुण्डरीकस्य ॥ ५ ॥

भिन्नस्य शीतमहसः सुषिरं लक्ष्मेति मन्यते लोकः ।
विधुरैर्य्यदीयविधुरैर्न्निशि निहतैर्भास्करभ्रान्त्या ॥ ६ ॥

प्रादुर्बभूव तस्माद्वीरः श्रीवीरसिंहाख्यः ।
यस्य यशोम्बुजकोशे स्फारा मकरन्दबिन्दवस्तारा: ॥ ७ ॥

यस्य करेण करादिह समरे रिपुभूपवारणाधिपतेः ।
दानांबुसंगशोभा सातिशया लुंठिता झटिति ॥ ८ ॥

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* *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, II, pp. 254-558.

1. *Second Report*, p. 66.

वीरस्तदङ्गजन्मा प्रतिभटपृतनातमस्विनीभानुः ।
श्रीवीरभानुनामाधिपतिरभूद्भुजाज्जगति ॥ ९ ॥

श्रुत्वापि वीरभानोर्दानकथा नेह जातलज्जानि ।
वृक्षोपलपशुभावाद्दैवततरुधेनुरत्नानि ॥ १० ॥

कामादप्यभिरामो भीमादपि बाहुशालिनां मान्यः ।
कर्णादपि च वदान्यो जयति सूतो रामचन्द्रोऽस्य ॥ ११ ॥

श्रीरामेणाहव्वे (रुधे) दाने गजवाजिनोर्म्मुखैक्येन ।
वक्रानना गणपतिर्भीत्याभूत्तुंबुरः खचरः ॥ १२ ॥

राजोचितगुणसीमा भीमावरजादिहाधिको धनुषि ।
तनयो विनयसमुद्रो जयतितरां वीरभद्रोऽस्य ॥ १३ ॥"

On the strength of the genealogy recorded in the above extract and the date of composition of this work *Kandarpa-Cūḍāmaṇi* recorded in the colophon viz. the (Saṁvat) year 1633 indicated by the chronogram "हरलोचनहरलोचनरसशशि" (फाल्गुनशुक्लप्रतिपदि) corresponding to A. D. 1577 I was inclined to identify king *Vīrabhānu* with the king *Vīrabhānu*, the patron of the poet *Bhānukara*, who according to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma[1] was a "contemporary of Sher Shah (1540-1545)." Accordingly I wrote to Dr. Sharma indicating the nature of my hypothesis. In the meanwhile Dr. Hiranand Shastri, Director of Archæology, Baroda, to whom I had sent a copy of my note on *Vīrabhānu* was kind enough to write to me as under in a private communication dated 15-5-35 :—

"Re. *Vīrabhānu* I draw your attention to my *Memoir on the Baghela Dynasty of Rewa* which will show that this *Vīrabhānu* is identical with the hero of the *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* noticed there. This *Kāvya* is now being published by the *Rewa* authorities with my critical analysis."

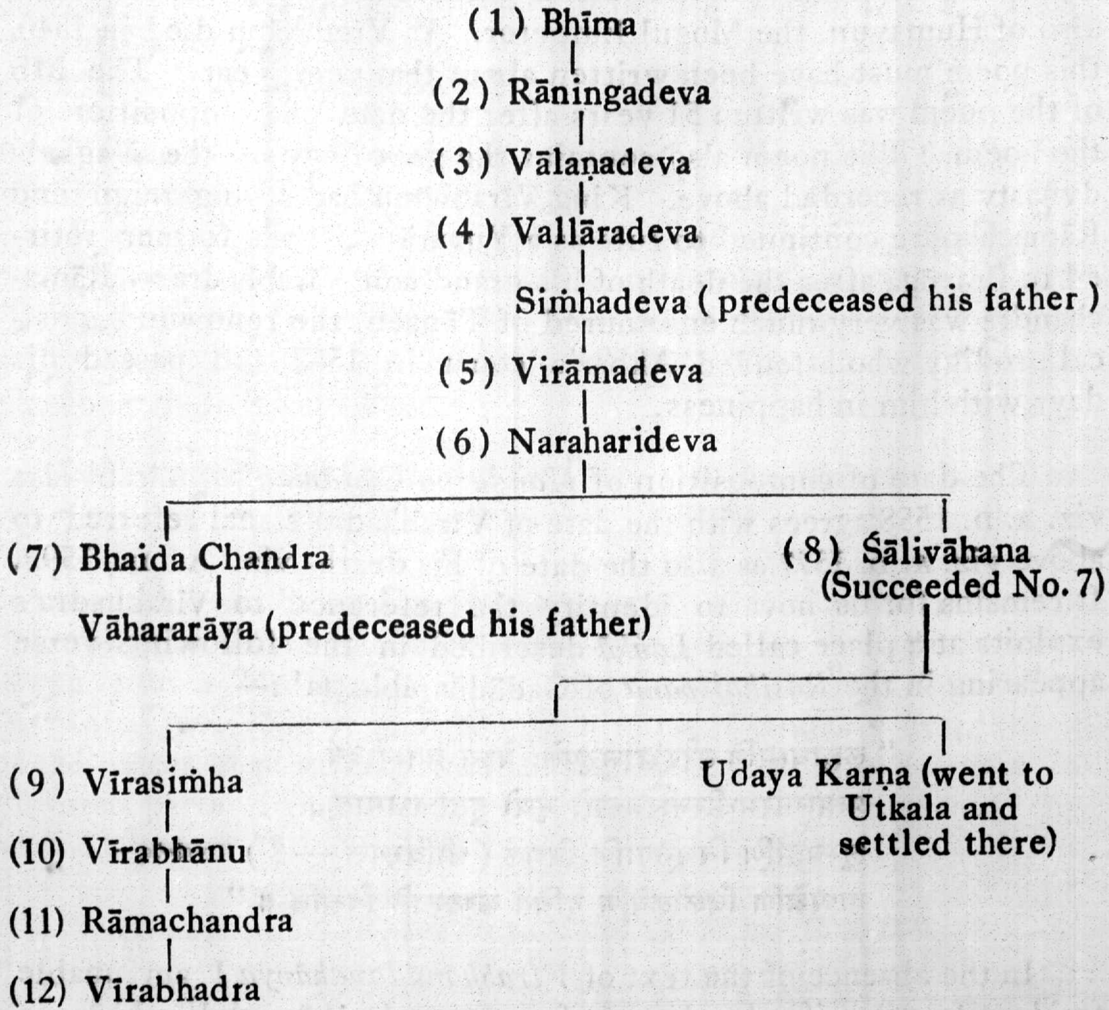
I have since studied Dr. Shastri's above Memoir published in 1925 and am convinced that king *Vīrabhānu*, the patron of the poet *Bhānukara* is none other than *Vīrabhānu* of the *Vaghela* dynasty mentioned in Peterson's comments on the *Kandarpa-Cūḍāmaṇi* composed in A. D. 1577 by Vīrabhānu's grandson *Vīrabhadra*. As pointed out by Dr. Shastri this *Vīrabhānu* is identical with the hero of the *Vīrabhānūdaya-Kāvya*, the subject of his Memoir under reference.

I am further informed by Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad of Rewa that there is also a MS of a work called *Vīracampū* bearing

1. *IHQ*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 478-485.

on the life of Vīrabhānu. I hope the Rewa authorities will publish this work and make it available to scholars.

The genealogy of *Vīrabhānu* as recorded in the extract from the *Kandarpa-Cūḍāmaṇi* given above is only partial but is confirmed by the following complete genealogy found in the *Vīrabhānūdaya-Kāvya* and recorded by Dr. Shastri on p. 10 of his Memoir:—



When the edition of the *Vīrabhānudaya Kāvya* is published with Dr. Hirananda Shastri's critical analysis it will throw a flood of light on King Vīrabhānu and his personality. In the meanwhile I note here some historical information from Dr. Shastri's Memoir under reference :—

The date of the MS of the *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* is Samvat 1648 (= A. D. 1591). This poem consists of 12 cantos. The first and last page of the MS are marked with seals, containing the date of the seal viz. 965 (= 1558). Vīrabhadra was at Delhi when his father Rāmachandra died in 1592, and he died in 1593 A. D. i.e. one year after his father's death. *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* informs us that Vīrabhadra was born in the lifetime of Vīrabhānu

and that on the occasion of his birth Humayun sent suitable presents and congratulations to his grand-father Vīrabhānu, whom he regarded as his brother. Vīrasiṁha, the father of Vīrabhānu was also regarded as brother by Babur. Rāmachandra succeeded to the throne when Vīrabhānu expired in 1540. The poem *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* was composed *by one Mādhava, son of Abhayachandra* after the birth of Vīrabhadra and in the lifetime of Vīrabhānu, his grand-father as also of Humayun, the Mogul Emperor. As Vīrabhānu died in 1540, this poem must have been written about that very year. The MS of the poem was written 51 years after the date of composition of the poem. The poem also contains the genealogy of the Vaghela dynasty as recorded above. King Vīrabhānu had a long reign and Rāmachandra continued to rule as a Yuvarāja till the former retired to Prayāga after the death of his grand-son Vīrabhadra. Rāmachandra was very much enamoured of Tānsen, the renowned musical prodigy who attended Akbar's court in 1562 and passed his days with him in happiness.

The date of composition of *Kandarpa-Cūḍāmaṇi* of Vīrabhadra viz. A. D. 1558 agrees with the date of Vīrabhadra's seal referred to above viz. A. D. 1577 as also the date of his death viz. A. D. 1593. It remains for us now to identify the reference to Vīrabhadra's exploits at a place called *Laṅkā* described in the following verse appearing in the *Rasikajīvana* of Gadādharabhaṭṭa[1] :—

" लङ्काधामनि वीरभानुनृपतेः प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदयं
प्रत्यागारमधीरनीरजदृशो भूयो हुताशभ्रमात् ।
क्षुभ्यद्व्राणि विधूतपाणि विगल (न्नीविस्थल — ?) प्रस्खलद्-
बाष्पश्रेणि विलोलवेणि दयितं कण्ठस्थले बिभ्रति ॥ "

In the absence of the text of *Vīrabhānūdayakāvya* I am unable to identify or verify the above reference to Laṅkā and Vīrabhānu's exploits at this place, in case the verse has a definite reference to a historical event in the career of King Vīrabhānu, the hero of the *Vīrabhānūdayakāvya*. I, therefore, await with eagerness the publication of this historical Kāvya, which as Dr. Hirananda Shastri informs us, "possesses considerable literary merit evincing high descriptive power."

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1. *IHQ*, Vol. X, p. 483 — Dr. Sharma quotes two verses of the poet Bhānukara in which King Vīrabhānu, his patron, is referred to. The verse quoted above is one of these two verses.

6. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, and the Date of Vādirājatīrtha*

Prof P. P. S. Sastri, in his Introduction to Vol. III (Sabhāparvan) of the Southern Recension of the *Mahābhārata*, p. xi, makes the following remarks about the date of Vādirājatīrtha and his commentary on the Mahābhārata —

" Reference has already been made to the *Lakṣālaṁkāra* of Vādirāja, the contemporary of Vāgīśatīrtha, one of the apostolic successors of Ānandatīrtha the great dualistic philosopher. Vādirāja died in[1] 1261 Śaka or 1339 A. D. (Vide R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Vol. II, p. 7.[2]) The *Lakṣālaṁkāra* is very valuable as it *may possibly turn out to be the earliest dated* commentary on the Mahābhārata. "

Being interested in the chronology of the commentaries on the Mahābhārata I felt much interested in the above remarks of Prof. Sastri about Vādirājatīrtha's date and began to read some of the works of this erudite philosopher with a view to gathering chronological data. To begin with I perused his *Tīrthaprabandhakāvya* from a Ms in the Govt. Mss Library at the Bhandarkar Institute (No. 622 of 1882-83). This poem contains description of the places of pilgrimage and the deities presiding over them in different parts of India. In particular I was much impressed by Vādirāja's description of (1) the Vithobā of Pandharpur[3] (Sholapur

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XVII, pp. 203–210.

1. I owe this information to my revered guru and colleague Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal.

2. In *Duff's Chronology of India* (1899) this date for Vādirāja has been incorporated as under on page 210 :—

A. D. 1339 — Ś. 1261 — Death of Vādirāja, said to be same as Kavīndra, 8th successor of Ānandatīrtha in the Madhva Sect " (*Bhandarkar's Report* 1882-83, pp. 8, 203).

3. Verses 5 to 8 on folio 10a refer to God विट्ठल of Pandharpur :—

" श्रीभीमरथ्यमलनीरसमीरवेग
निर्धूततीरगतराशुभघर्मजालम् ।

(*Continued on next page*)

District) and (2) Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur.[1] Further while describing the पम्पाक्षेत्र on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā river Vādirāja was found to refer to god विठ्ठल.[2] This reference roused my curiosity still further as the verse containing this reference contains the tradition current in the Maratha country about the transfer of the image of Viṭhobā from Pandharpur to Vijayanagar on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā. I found this tradition referred to in one of the Maratha Chronicles.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

श्रीपांडुरंगलसितं वरपुंडरीक-
क्षेत्रं पवित्रमहमन्वहमाश्रितोऽस्मि ॥ ५ ॥

तीरे सत्सरितस्तिरस्कृतघनासक्तिर्विरक्तिप्रियः
पादांभोजमिदं मदंकमहितः संचितयांतर्हृदि ।
पश्चात्ते कटिमात्र एव भविता संसारवार्द्धिर्नचे-
च्छिक्षामीति हि लक्षयत्यनुदिनं स्वावस्थया विठ्ठलः ॥ ६ ॥

पापावली पाठनपटुपांगः
(व)
श्रीपाणिपद्मांचितजानुजंघः ।
गोपालबालः कृपया स्वयं नः
श्रीपांडुरंगो भवतु प्रसन्नः ॥ ७ ॥

पापाघनोदनपटुप्रियभृत्यभृंगैः
पेपीयमानशुभसुंदरतारसांद्रं ।
तापत्रयोपशमनं तरणार्कवर्णं
गोपालबालचरणांबुरुहं श्रितोऽस्मि ॥ ८ ॥"

1. The verse referring to the Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur reads as follows on folio 8 :—

" अमानवजनस्थानसरसीकुलसंकुले ।
रमा कोल्हापुरक्षेत्रे* वसतीति किमद्भुतम् ॥ ८५ ॥ "

* In an inscription (dated 1st February 1147) of Silāhara Vijayāditya on a Jain Temple near Sukrawar Gate (Kolhapur) क्षुल्लकपुर is recorded as another name for Kolhapur (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 209.).

2. The description of पम्पाक्षेत्र and the reference to विठ्ठल will be found in the following verses on folios 15-16 :—

" तटिनीषु तुंगभद्रे स्वादूदकसंकुला त्वमसि नूनम् ।
कस्मात्तीर्थपदोसौ धत्ते त्वामेव दंष्ट्रयोर्नो चेत् ॥ १२ ॥

चौर्यान्मातृनिबद्धचारुचरणः पापौघचार्याद्बुधैः ।
बद्धस्त्वं पथि पुंडरीकमुनिना* जारेति संबोधितः ।

(*Continued on next page*)

Malhar Ramrao Chitnis in his *Life of Shivāji*[1] composed in A. D. 1811 states that the image of Viṭhobā was transferred from Pandharpur to Vidyānagar or Vijayanagar as the Vijayanagar kings were great upholders of Hinduism and full of devotion to Gods and Brahmans. Later in the same context he mentions the names Jnāneśvara and Bhānudāsa without mentioning the retransfer of the image back to Pandharpur.

Mr. K. N. Sane, the editor of the above *Bakhar* of Chitnis in his notes on the above mentioned passage of the Bakhar in question makes the following remarks[2].—

"Rāmrājā of Vidyānagar transferred the Viṭhobā of Pandhari to Vijayanagar from whence he was brought back by sage Bhānudāsa of Paiṭhaṇa (see Mahipati's *Bhaktivijaya* chapter 43)......... It was possible in the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1530) that Viṭhobā was taken from Pandhari to Vidyānagar. It is likely that the

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तुंगातीरगतोऽसि विट्ठल भियेर्वान्याकृतिं वांच्छितम् ।
वेत्तणां यदि मे न दास्याति तदा त्वत्संस्थितिः कथ्यते ॥ १३ ॥
पंपाध्यक्षो विरूपाक्षः संपदे स्यात्सतां सदा ।
यो हेमगिरिसीमायां राजते राजशेखरः ॥ १४ ॥"

* In a Sanskrit inscription dated Śaka 1159 (= A. D. 1237) in Viṭhoba's temple at Pandharpur the story of the boon to Puṇḍalika is referred to with the only difference that पुण्डरीक is there called a Sage or मुनि (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XX, p. 420). Vādirāja also refers to पुण्डरीक as मुनि.

Compare also the following remarks of John Wilson in his article "*Ancient Remains of Western India* (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, Jan. 1850) p. 87—"The celebrated temple of Viṭhobā near Pandharpur is supposed to be a Buddhist structural temple now appropriated by the Brahmans. It certainly has the appearance of great antiquity. The oversight of the distinction of caste among the natives who frequent this shrine, when in the presence of the idol, would seem to indicate some compromise with the Buddhists. In villages near Pandharpur we have noted other ancient temples probably Buddhist which are entirely forsaken and which bear the marks of violence probably Brahmanical or Musalman."

1. Edited by Mr. K. N. Sane, Poona 1924, Pages 7-8.

2. Ibid, p. 38.

temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmi at Vijayanagar may have been commenced during his reign. The construction of this temple was completed about A. D. 1542 during the reign of Acyutarāya, the brother of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (vide Sardesai's Musalmani Riyasat, page 200, section 51). At that time Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, was the Prime Minister of the state and he continued in that capacity from 1542 to 1565 A. D. As he was practically in power he is called " Kirīṭi Rāmarājā " in the Chitnis Bakhar."[1]

According to the tradition referred to in Mr. Sane's foregoing

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1. *Vijayanagar Third Dynasty* by Prof. N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935 — व्यासतीर्थ the greatest exponent of Madhvaism had much influence with Kṛṣṇadevarāya (p. 322). He set up the image of नरसिंहस्वामी in the courtyard of Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi (p. 323) and died a little later in A. D. 1532.

On p. 439 Prof. Ramanayya observes :— " He (i. e. Kṛṣṇarāya) must have undertaken to reconstruct the Viṭṭhalsvāmi temple during the last years of his reign which he was obliged to leave unfinished at the time of his death " ...... " The construction of the Viṭṭhalsvāmi's Temple is usually attributed to Kṛṣṇadevarāya but he could not have built that temple as it existed even in the time of Devarāya II. We learn from Haribhaṭṭa, who lived in the first quarter of the 16th century that Proluganṭi Tippaṇa, one of Devarāya's officers built a *bhogamaṇṭapa* for Viṭṭhala at Hampi."

Dr. B. A. Saletore in his *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. II (1934), p. 163 observes :— " Acyutarāya's gift of *Suvarṇameru* was commemorated in a Sanskrit verse composed by Vōduva Tirumalamma (A. D. 1533) and inscribed in the Viṭṭhal Temple at Hampi."

Mr. A. H. Longhurst in his *Hampi Ruins* (1917), p. 124 remarks :—" The temple was never finished nor consecrated. In all probability the work was stopped by the destruction of the city in 1565, but tradition gives another reason and says that it was built specially for the famous image of Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in Sholapur district of Bombay but that the god having come to look at it, refused to move, saying that it was too grand for him and that he preferred his own humbler home. " (A fine photograph of Viṭṭhala Temple at Hampi appears on p. 126 of Mr. Longhurst's book showing its architectural grandeur).

See also *Epi. Carnatica*, Vol. XI, p. 137 — Inscription dated 1533 A. D. — God Viṭṭhaleśvara is referred to.

remarks the transfer of Viṭhobā to Vijayanagar took place in the ***middle of the 16th century***, while if the date of Vādīrājatīrtha was correct, this transfer would appear to have taken place before A. D. 1339, the date of Vādirāja's death, as given by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri on the authority of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The difference between the dates for this tradition being more than 200 years it could not but raise doubts in my mind about the date of Vādirāja as recorded in the *Succession Lists of the High Priests of the Madhva Sect*,[1] as recorded by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report for 1882-83 (p. 203 onwards). I also reported this contradiction between the two dates to my friends Prof. S. V. Dandekar, M. A. of the S. P. College, Poona, who has made a special study of the literature about the Viṭhobā of Pandharpur as also Dr. B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D. of the same College. The former told me that the tradition known to him pertained to the 16th century, while the latter informed me that the date for Vādirāja in the list published by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was definitely wrong. I thereupon asked Dr. Saletore to state his evidence on the strength of which he considered Bhandarkar's date A. D. 1339 for Vādirāja's death as definitely wrong. He was kind enough to send me a note recording epigraphic evidence in support of the date A. D. 1571 for Vādirājatīrtha and I have great pleasure in reproducing it here in extenso :—

Vādirāja of Uḍipi —

Vadirāja Svāmi's date can be determined from the following stone inscription found in the Kaṅtanahaḷḷi ***grāma***, Soraba Hobḷi in front of the Veṅkaṭaramaṇa temple. It relates the following :

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1. The unreliability of these lists has been made clear by Prof. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma of the Annamalai University in Nov. 1935 issue of the Anna. Univ. Journal, pp. 96-118. According to him the dates of accession and demise of Madhvācārya and his first five successors are as follows :—

	Birth		*Exit*
Śrī Madhvācārya	A. D. 1238		1317 A. D.
1. Padmanābhatīrtha	1318 (accession)		1324
2. Narahari Tīrtha	1324	"	1333
3. Mādhava Tīrtha	1333	"	1350
4. Akṣobhya Tīrtha	1350	"	1365
5. Jayatīrtha	1365	"	1388

That when the *Rāja-parameśvara* Tirumala Rāya Mahārāya was on the throne in his residence at Penugoṇḍa, and Keladi Sadāśiva Rāya Nāyaka's (Agent) Rāma Rāja Nāyaka (was over the Banavase Twelve Thousand), Rāma Rāja Nāyaka made to Kṛṣṇa-deva of Uḍipi, to the *parama-haṁsa* Vādirāja-tīrtha-śrīpāda and to Raghunidhi-tīrtha-śrīpāda, the grant of an *agrahāra* with a stone *śāsana* as follows (details given) on the date specified (which is the following :—*śri jayābhyudaya Śālivāhana Śaka-varuṣa 1493 neya Prajōtpatya-saṁvatsarada Kārttika śuddha 15 Kruttikā janana-yōgadallu*).

(*E. C. VIII*. Sb. 55, p. 10, p. 23 text.)

The date works out to A. D. 1571, November the 1st Thursday when the *nakṣatra* was Bharaṇī and not Kṛttikā. This was a *Paurṇimā* (Swamikannu, *Indian Eph.* V, p. 345.)

From other sources we know that Vādirāja's favourite disciple was the well-known Kanaka Dāsa, the Non-Brahman (Bedar) devotee of Kṛṣṇa. Kanaka Dāsa's dates are circa 1550-1570."

In addition to the above direct inscriptional evidence for Vādirāja we find two more inscriptions[1] one of A. D. 1614 and the other A. D. 1613, in which Vādirāja and his pupil are mentioned. There are in all 40 inscriptions at Uḍipi, the seat of Madhva Maṭha. Two of these refer to Vādirāja and his pupil :—

"*No. 231*—110 of 1901—(Kanarese). On another slab built into the same wall (i. e. North wall of the Kṛṣṇa Maṭha). A record of the Vijayanagar King Vīra Veṅkaṭa Pati (1) recording in Śaka 1536 (= A. D. 1614) (Pramādin) the grant of the village of Huvinkere by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keladi while वेदवेद्यतीर्थ, pupil of वादिराजतीर्थ was the priest of the temple. See Nos. 234 and 235 below. वादिराज was a man of great erudition and wrote several works.[2]"

"*No. 235*—114 of 1901—(Kanarese). On another Slab built into the same wall. A record in Śaka 1535 (= A. D. 1613) Pramadin mentioning वादिराजतीर्थ and his pupil and providing for offerings."

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1. Rangacharya : *Madras Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 870-871.

2. There is a Ms of a work called रत्नसंग्रह by रघुनाथाचार्य in the India Office Library (No. 6051 — Keith's Catalogue Vol. II, p. 659). It is " an anthology of the views of Vādirāja " compiled by his pupil Raghunātha.

In view of the foregoing epigraphic evidence it is difficult to believe in the accuracy of the Madhva Maṭha lists published by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar so far as exact chronology is concerned. If Vādirāja was living in A. D. 1571 as proved by the Soraba Hobḷi inscription mentioned above it is perfectly natural for him to refer to the transfer of the image of Viṭhobā to Vijayanagar in the line "तुंगातीरगतोऽसि विट्ठल" in the verse 13 of his तीर्थप्रबन्धकाव्य quoted above and hence there is no sort of contradiction or anachronism involved in the reference.

A question may be raised whether there was another वादिराजतीर्थ in the Madhva line of succession distinct and separate from the वादिराजतीर्थ referred to in the inscriptions mentioned above. The Madhva lists published by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar already alluded to by me show only one वादिराजतीर्थ and it was this वादिराजतीर्थ that composed a commentary on the Mahābhārata. There is a Ms[1] of भारततात्पर्यनिर्णयटिप्पणी (भावप्रकाशिका) in which वादिराज gives the derivation of his own name in the following verses :—

"प्रणम्य नृहरिं मध्वगुरुंश्चान्यान्यथामति ।
महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णयार्थः प्रकाश्यते ॥
वादी मध्वो यस्य राजा सोऽहं तस्य कृपाबलात्।
वादिराजेन स्वशक्त्या ब्रीणे वरणयामि तत् "

We may, therefore safely conclude that there was only one Madhva philosopher of the name वादिराजतीर्थ and that he flourished about the 2nd half of the 16th century and that the date A. D. 1339 of his death recorded in the Madhva succession lists is definitely wrong.

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri on pp. XIV–XV of his Introduction to the Sabhāparvan (Vol. III) of the Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata states that the Ms[1] of Vādirāja's commentary used by him records the following date when the copy was made by the scribe Narasiṁha :—

"तारणे वत्सरे चैव माघे शुक्ले च पञ्चमी ।
बुधवारे नारसिंह इदं लिखित पुस्तकम् ॥ "

Prof. Sastri observes that " The earliest date for the above is 30-1-1465 A. D. and the latest date *satisfying the other particulars* is 25-1-1645 A. D."

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1. Madras Cata. No. X, p. 3620.

As the date 30-1-1465 A. D. cannot satisfy all particulars mentioned by the scribe, we have to reject it and adopt the date 25-1-1645 A. D. which as Prof. Sastri states satisfies all particulars. This later date is perfectly in harmony with our date for Vādirāja viz. 1571 A. D. If Vādirāja wrote about 1571 it is natural to have a copy of his work in A. D. 1645.

In view of the facts recorded in this note it is difficult to accept an early date for Vādirājatīrtha as Prof. P. P. S. Sastri has done in the extract from his Introduction to one of the Mahābhārata volumes quoted by us already. In case Prof. Sastri succeeds in establishing on incontrovertible grounds an earlier date for Vādirājatīrtha I shall be very glad to know the independent evidence, if any, on the strength of which his conclusion may be based. For the present at least the inscriptional evidence recorded by me in this note compels me to reject all conjectural and other data gathered on the question so far.

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7. Āpadeva, the Author of the Mīmāṁsā-nyāyaprakāśa and Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva, the Author of the Adhikaraṇacandrikā and the Smṛticandrikā — are they identical ?*

Aufrecht[1] records only one MS of a *mīmāṁsā* work called the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva, *viz.* " L 1911 " which is the same as No. 1911 described by *Rajendralal* Mitra in 1880.[2] In Appendix A[3] to his *Notices of Sans. MSS* containing a list of MSS purchased by him for the Govt. of India among the Mīmāṁsā works No. 1911 is not included.[4] It appears, therefore, that this big work of Āpadeva represented by a single complete MS has remained in private possession since 1880 and may have been lost, though let me hope that some scholar at Darbhanga interested in the study of Mīmāṁsā makes a strenuous effort to

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* *Dr. F. W. Thomas Volume* ed. by P. K. Gode and S. M. Katre, 1938, pp. 89–96.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I. 10 b.

2. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Calcutta 1880; Vol. V. pp. 229-230.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. xvii to xxxi.

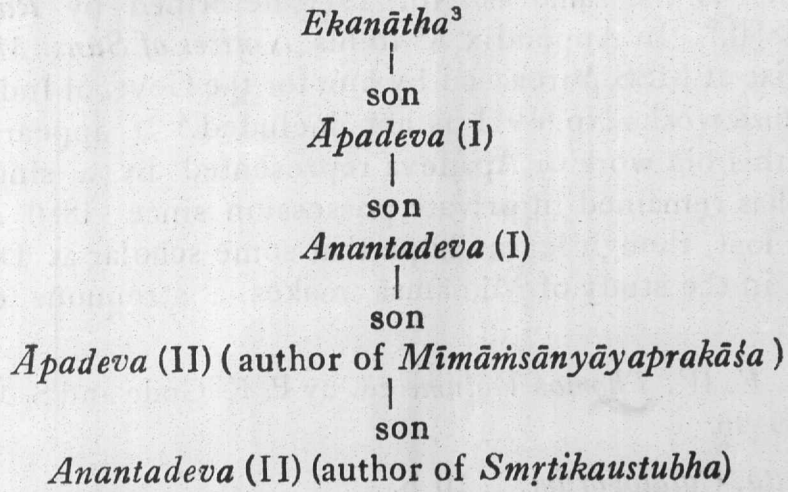
4. The General Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal in his letter No. 323 of 24th March, 1938, informs me as follows :—" You are informed that the particular MS (= *Adhikaraṇacandrikā*) which was noticed by R. L. Mitra in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Vol. V, was never in the possession of the Society, while in his tour he came to know of the existence of this manuscript and most probably he collected information about it by going directly to the place of its deposit."

Particulars of this MS as given by Rājendralal Mitra on p. 229 of Vol. V of his *Notices* are as follows :—" Substance, country-made paper 14 × 3½ inches, Folia 112, Lines 6 on a page. Extent 2164 Ślokas. Character Maithili. Date ? Place of Deposit : Śano, Darbhanga, Pandit Mādhav Jha. Appearance old. Prose. Correct.

Adhikaraṇacandrikā. On syllogisms with explanations and bearings of the various illustrations usually cited by authors. By Āpadeva Mahāmahopādhyāya."

regain it from the descendants of Pandit Madhav Jha of Śano after proper inquiries.

In the absence of this only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* it is difficult to say anything authoritatively about the author of this work or the work itself. Let me, however, record in this paper some evidence which goes to disprove that Āpadeva the author of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* is identical with Āpadeva, the author of the very popular Mīmāṁsā work called the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* otherwise called *Āpadevī.*[1] The genealogy of *Āpadeva*, the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* as recorded by his son Anantadeva in his work *Smṛtikaustubha*[2] is as follows :—



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1. Edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar in the Govt. Ori. Series (Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1937) with an original Sanskrit commentary called *Prabhā* (pages 31+288). The work has been edited by Dr. Ganganath Jha in the *Pandit*, 26 (1904) Nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, pp. 1-48 ; 27 (1905) Nos. 2-8, pp. 49-226 and by Chinnaswami Sastri in the *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, Benares, 1925 (with an original Sanskrit Commentary). See also another edition of the work by M. M. Lakshman Shastri and Sitaram Shastri, *Chowkham. Sans. Series*, 1921. For a critical student of Mīmāṁsā the English translation of the work by Prof. Franklin Edgerton of the Yale University would be found very useful as it contains the transliterated Sanskrit text, a glossarial index together with a critical Introduction and Bibliography (Pub. by the Yale University Press, 1929).

2. Edited by Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the *Gaekwad Ori. Series*, No. LXXII, Baroda, 1935.

3. Prof F. Edgerton in his Introduction to Āpadevi (1929) observes about this Ekanātha :—

(*Continued on next page*)

Aufrecht[1] makes the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* regarding the works of Āpadeva, the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* :—

"आपदेव, son of Anantadeva, grandson of Āpadeva father of Anantadeva, pupil of Govinda.

—*Adhikaraṇacandrikā*, *Mīm.* L. 1911.

—*Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśikā*.[2]

(*Continued from the previous page*)

" This can hardly be the same as the well-known Maratha poet — Saint Eknāth, although he lived at Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) also 'on the banks of the Godāvari '." This Eknātha died in 1609 and apparently had only one son, named Hari.*

[* See Justin E. Abbott, *Ekanāth*, Poona, 1927. For Ekanāth's only son, Hari see pp. 211 ff.; for the date of Ekanāth's death, p. 263. — It is, however, extremely likely that the coincidences of name and location are not entirely meaningless ; that is the poet-Saint Eknāth belonged to the same distinguished family as his (younger ?) contemporary, our Āpadeva."]

As Prof. Edgerton has raised his doubts about the identity of the two Ekanāths it may be worthwhile examining this question in detail on the basis of available evidence.

1. *Cata. Catal* I, 49 *b*.

2. The Gov. MSS Library (at the B. O, R. Institute) possesses the following MSS of Āpadevī ;—

(i) *No. 576 of 1884-87* dated *Saṁvat* 1716 (= A. D. 1659). The Colophon reads :— " संवत् १७१६ समये अश्विन शुक्र प्रतिपदि लिखितमिदं "
These chronological details give us *Wednesday, 7th Sept. 1659* as the date of this copy. (See *Indian Ephemeris*).

(*ii*) *No. 588 of 1884-87* — a well-written copy, though not very old.

(*iii*) *No. 142 of 1871-72* — on folio 1a of this MS we have the endorsement " देवभट्टस्य दत्तं and on folio 60 it is endorsed " गोविंद दशपुत्रेण लिखितमिदं " — not very old.

(*iv*) *No. 380 of 1899-1915* — appears to be old.

(*v*) *No. 374 of 1899-1915* — an incomplete copy, though old.

(*vi*) *No. 626 of 1886-92* :— a good copy, not very old — complete.

(*vii*) *No. 625 of 1886-92* — written in very small characters — complete — appears to be old.

—*Vāda Kautūhala* (*Mīm.*) Radh. 16.
—*Smṛticandrikā* L. 2239.
—Āpadevīya Oppert. (numerous MSS).

I am concerned in this paper with the work called the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* represented by only one MS as stated above. Let us now see if this work on Mīmāṁsā is the work of the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa*.

Both the works *viz.*, the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* deal with *Mīmāṁsā*. This is the only common point on the basis of which Aufrecht has ascribed both the works to the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* as can be seen from his catalogue entry quoted above. Besides this identity of subject the same name Āpadeva must have also led him to identify one Āpadeva with the other. I am inclined to doubt this identity on the basis of the following particulars which show both the points of identity and difference revealed from the evidence available to us :—

Author of *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa*	Author of *Adhikaraṇacandrikā*
(1) Identity of the name Āpadeva (the colophons of MSS of Mīm. Ny. Prakāśa mention the name Āpadeva as the author of the work).	(1) The colophon of the only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* mentions Āpadeva as the author of the work.
(2) This Āpadeva is called the son of Anantadeva in the colophons (इति श्रीमदनन्तदेवसूनुना आपदेवेन कृतं मीमांसान्यायप्रकाशसंज्ञकं प्रकरणं etc.)	(2) This Āpadeva is called Mahāmahopādhyāya but his father's name is not recorded (the colophon reads :— " इति महामहोपाध्यायमीमांसकश्रीआपदेवकृतअधिकरणचन्द्रिका संपूर्णा ")
(3) This Āpadeva was a worshipper of Kṛṣṇa. In verse 1 of Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa he bows to Govinda or Kṛṣṇa.	(3) This Āpadeva was also a worshipper of Kṛṣṇa. In verse I of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* he bows to Nandanandana.

Verse 1 reads :—

" यत्कृपालेशमात्रेण पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयम् । प्राप्यते तमहं वन्दे गोविन्दं भक्तवत्सलम् "

compare also the last two verses :—

" क्वाहं मन्दमति क्वेयं प्रक्रिया भाट्टसंमता ।
तस्माद्भक्तेर्विलासोयं गोविन्दगुरुपादयोः ॥
ग्रंथरूपो मदीयोयं वाग्व्यापारः सुशोभनः ।
अनेन प्रीयतां देवो गोविन्दो भक्तवत्सलः ॥ "

(4) This Āpedeva is not called Mahāmahopadhyāya in any of the colophons of the *Mīm. Nyā. Prakāśa* MSS examined by me.

Verse 1 reads :—

" इन्दिराहृदयानन्दं फुल्लेन्दीवरलोचनं ।
सानन्दं परमानन्दं वन्देऽहं नन्दनन्दनं ॥"

(4) This Āpadeva is called both "Mīmāṁsaka" and "Mahāmahopādhyāya" in the only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* described by R. Mitra.

I am inclined to believe that the author of the Mīmāṁsā work called the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* represented by a single MS is Āpadeva I in the genealogy given by Anantadeva in his *Smṛtikaustubha* and who was the grandfather of Āpadeva II, the author of the *Mīm. Nyā. Prakāśa*. The study of *mīmāṁsā* appears to have been a family heritage. As stated by Prof. Edgerton[1] Anantadeva, the father of Āpadeva II was himself a famed specialist in Mīmāṁsā as well as a pious devotee of Kṛṣṇa.[2] We may, therefore,

1. Introduction to *Āpadevī* Edition (1929) p. 17. On p. 23 Prof. Edgerton draws our attention to the only passage in the Āpadevī in which Āpadeva II refers to his own father (Anantadeva) as an authority (अस्मत्तातचरणास्तु एवमाह — p. 141 of B. O. R. Institute edition) " This passage is of particular interest because it is the only place in the entire work where the author expressly claims originality for the arguments set forth. "

2. Ekanātha, the great grandfather of Āpadeva II, was also a

(*Continued on next page*)

conclude that Kṛṣṇa was a family deity from Āpadeva I to Āpadeva II, and that the study of Mīmāṁsā also continued without a break for at least three generations.

It appears that the Mīmāṁsaka Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva composed another work called the *Smṛticandrikā*. This work also is represented by a single MS described by Rajendralal Mitra.[1] The following points of identity revealed from the recorded description of the MSS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā* indicate the identity of authorship in respect of these works :—

Adhikaraṇacandrikā	*Smṛticandrikā*
(1) Similarity of title (the title ends with the word *Candrikā*).	(1) Similarity of title (the title ends with *Candrikā*).
(2) Verse 1 at the beginning reads : " इन्दिराहृदयानन्दं फुल्लेन्दीवर-लोचनं । सानन्दं परमानन्दं वन्देहं नन्द-नन्दनं ॥"	(2) Verse 1 at the beginning reads : " इन्दिराहृदयानन्दं फुल्लेन्दीवर-लोचनं । सानन्दं परमानन्दं वन्देऽहं नन्द-नन्दनं ॥ "

(*Continued from the previous page*)

devotee of Kṛṣṇa (Vide p. 451 of Kane : *Hist. of Dharma.* Vol. I, (1930) — verse 13 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ states :—

" आसीद्गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमान्वितः । श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥ "

1. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 300 ff., " MS No. 2239 — स्मृतिचंद्रिका - substance, country-made paper, 17 × 4 inches ; Folios 188 ; Lines 8·9 on a page ; Extent 12,900 Ślokas ; character, Bengali ; Place of deposit Ulá, Post Rángaháṭa Zillá Nadiyá ; Gopīvallabha Bhaṭṭáchárya ; Appearance decayed ; Prose and verse ; correct. — A digest of Smṛtis regarding duty by Āpadeva Mahāmahopādhyāya." This MS also like that of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* is not included by R. Mitra in the list of MSS purchased for Govt. of India and it was in a decayed condition in 1882. The chances of its recovery from the descendants of Gopīvallabha Bhaṭṭáchárya are very remote, unless a new copy of it has been prepared and preserved in the family collections of MSS.

(3) नन्दनन्दन or Kṛṣṇa was the deity worshipped by this Āpadeva.	(3) This Āpadeva also bows to नन्दनन्दन or Kṛṣṇa.
(4) The colophon of this work reads :— " इति महामहोपाध्यायमीमांसकश्री-आपदेवकृता अधिकरणचन्द्रिका सम्पूर्णा "	(4) The colophon of this work reads :— " इति महामहोपाध्यायमीमांसकश्री-आपदेव-कृतौ स्मृतिचन्द्रिका परि-पूर्णा "
(5) This Āpadeva was a मीमांसक and had the title महामहोपाध्याय.	(5) This Āpadeva was also a मीमांसक and a महामहोपाध्याय.
(6) This MS contains the following remarks before the colophon : " तत्र सामान्यतः दर्भमात्रस्य अतिदेशप्राप्तौ शरस्य विशेषत एव उपदेशः । तथा गृहमेधिनां इष्टिविषये अतिदेशबलादेव दर्श-कर्माज्यभागादेः सर्वस्य प्राप्तत्वे विशेषोपदेश इति विवेचनीयं."	(6) This MS contains before the colophon the following remarks:— " इत्यतः सामान्यतोऽतिदेशप्राप्तौ तत्तद्विशेषत उपदेशः "

The points of identity in respect of the two works, *viz.*, the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā* recorded above are, I believe, sufficiently convincing to warrant an inference that these two works were composed by the same author. I have, however, expressed my doubts[1] about the identity of this author Mahāmahopādhyāya Āpadeva with his namesake, *viz.*, the author of the *Āpadevī*. These doubts can be cleared if we succeed in recovering the only MS of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* as also that of the

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1. Mr. P. V. Kane makes the following entries in his *Hist. of Dharma*. I (1930) about स्मृतिचंद्रिका and its author आपदेव :—

Page 668 — स्मृतिचंद्रिका by आपदेव मीमांसक. On काल, मलमास, व्रत, आन्हिक, विवाह, and other संस्कारs, स्त्रीधर्म, आश्रमधर्म, अन्त्येष्टि, आशौच, श्राद्ध (N. VI, 301).

Page 682 — आपदेव son of अनन्तदेव. He was father of अनन्तदेव author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and so flourished about 1600-1650 A. D. author of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, रुद्रपद्धति.

Smṛticandrikā. Though we have no evidence to estimate the dates of both these works for want of evidence we have more stable chronology for the author of the Āpadevī, *viz.*. Āpadeva II.

Prof. Edgerton[1] records the following evidence regarding the date of Āpadeva II :

(1) Anantadeva, the son of Āpadeva II wrote a commentary on his father's *Mīmāṁsā-Nyāya-Prakāśa*. This commentary is called *Bhāṭṭālaṁkāra*.

(2) Khaṇḍadeva in his *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* criticized both the *Mīmāṁsā-Nyāya-Prakāśa* as also its commentary *Bhāṭṭālaṁkāra* as specifically stated in the *Prabhāvalī*, a commentary on the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* (composed in 1708 A. D.)[2] by Śambhubhaṭṭa, pupil of Khaṇḍadeva.

(3) Khaṇḍadeva[3] died at Benares in A. D. 1665.

(4) We are, therefore, justified in assuming the *early part of the 17th century* as the approximate date of Āpadeva.

Mr. Kane[4] assigns Āpadeva to the period 1600 to 1650 A. D. because he was father of Anantadeva, who flourished in the "third quarter of the 17th century."[5]

The conclusion arrived at by Profs. Edgerton and Kane regarding Āpadeva's date on independent grounds finds further corroboration from MSS as follows :—

(1) The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, has a MS of the *Mīmāṁsā-Nyāya-Prakāśikā*, *viz.*, No. 576 of 1884-87. This MS was copied in Saṁvat 1716 (*Aśvina Śukla Pratipadi*) *i.e.*, on *7th September*, *1659*. As this

1. *Āpadevī* Edition, 1929, Intro. p. 18.

2. *Vide* p. 404 b of *Cata. Catalo.* of Aufrecht., Part I.

3. *Vide* my article on the "*Chronology of Khaṇḍadeva's Works*" in *Indian Culture* (D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Number).

4. *Hist. of Dharma.*, I, p. 682.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 453 — Jīvadeva, younger brother of Anantadeva, in his work *Āśaucanirṇaya* cites *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in 1611-12 A. D.

is almost a contemporary copy of the work, scholars interested in textual criticism[1] may find it useful.

(2) A work called the *Rudrapaddhatt*[2] is ascribed to Āpadeva II. In 1871 one Mr. Bālambhaṭṭa of Surat had a copy of *Rudrapaddhati* of Āpadeva containing 55 leaves (12 lines on a page). The age of the MS is 1662 which appears to be a *Saṁvat* year because Bühler[3] who noticed this MS gives us to understand that "If no remark is added the era in which the MSS are dated, is Saṁvat." The age 1662[4] recorded in Būhler's list must, therefore, be Saṁvat 1662 (= A. D. 1606). Presuming the correctness of Bühler's entries we must look upon this copy of *Rudrapaddhati* as the oldest dated MS of a work asrcibed to an author of the name Āpadeva, even if we doubt the identity of this Āpadeva with the author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa*. In case we succeed in getting incontrovertible evidence to prove the identity of the author of the *Rudrapaddhati* with the author of the *Mīm. Nyā. Prakāśa* we shall be in a position to take the date of Āpadeva II to the last quarter of the 16th century. At present, however, the B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa* copied on *7th September, 1659* provides the best MS evidence for the date of Āpadeva II.

On the basis of evidence recorded above the following conclusions may be arrived at :—

(1) The works *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā* are composed by the same author, *viz.*, *Mīmāṁsaka Mahāmahopādhyāya* Āpadeva.

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1. As Prof. Edgerton has constituted his text on the basis of three *printed* editions (*Vide* Intro. to Āpadevī, p. 1) I recommend this MS to him for a critical edition of this useful text which appears to me a desideratum in spite of the numerous editions now available.

2. Kane : *Hist. of Dharma.*, I, p. 682.

3. *Cata. of Sanskrit MSS* (in private libraries of Gujarat, etc.) Fascicule I, 1871, p. 2.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

(2) The author of the *Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśikā* (also called *Āpadevī*) appears to be different from the author of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* and the *Smṛticandrikā*.

(3) It may be tentatively suggested that there is a possibility of the author of the *Adhikaraṇacandrikā* being identical with *Āpadeva* I, the grandfather of Āpadeva II (author of the *Āpadevī*) but this suggestion needs more evidence than what has been incidentally recorded in this paper.

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8. Appayadīkṣita's Criticism of Āryabhaṭa's Theory of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth (Bhūbhramavāda)*

Appayadīkṣita, who is assigned to "the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century" [1] refers in the following passages[2] to Āryabhaṭa and his theory regarding the earth's motion.—

स्वर्गपृथिव्योः परस्परमुपजीव्योपजीवकभावस्य तुल्यतया स्वर्गो न प्रतिष्ठा पृथिवी प्रतिष्ठेति व्यवस्थित्युक्त्ययोगात् । किं तु निश्चलत्वमिह प्रतिष्ठाशब्दार्थः । तत्तु ज्योतिश्चक्रान्तर्गतत्वेन भ्रमति स्वर्गे नास्ति अस्ति तु पृथिव्यां पृथिवी प्रतिष्ठेति श्रुत्यन्तरात् । आर्यभटाद्यभिमतभूभ्रमणादिवादानां श्रुतिन्यायविरोधेन हेयत्वात् "

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XIX, pp. 93–95.

1. Dr. S. K. De : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 266. According to Dr. De the extreme limits of Appaya's literary activity are *1549 and 1613 A. D.* "Veṅkaṭa, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* and a grandson of Appaya tells us that he hailed from Kāñcī (or Conjeveram)." Compare the following reference to Kāñcī in the *Vedāntakalpataruparimala* :— " काञ्च्या को मार्ग इति प्रश्ने मार्गग्रहणोपायतया तत्तत्प्रदेशस्थितगिरिनदीकाननादि सद्भावस्यापि सहवचनदर्शनात् etc."

2. Vide p. 201, of the *Vedāntakalpataruparimala*, edited by Rāmaśāstri Tailaṅgaṇa (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1895). Appaya wrote this commentary on the *Vedāntakalpataru* of Amalānanda who flourished *c. A. D. 1250* (Vide J. N. Farquhar : *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford. 1920, pp. 368, 222). Amalānanda resided at *Nasik-Tryambak* as will be seen from the description of the place in the following verse occurring in the *Vedāntakalpataru* :—

" अस्ति किल ब्रह्मगिरिनामा गिरिवरः
त्रैयम्बकजटाजूटकलनाय विर्निमिता ।
पाण्डुरेव पटी भाति यत्र गोदावरी नदी ॥
सकुसुमफलचूतरुद्धघर्मद्युतिकरपातवनालिषूपजाते ।
तमसि हरकिरीटचन्द्रनुन्ने धवलनिशा इव भान्ति वासराणि ॥ "

(*Continued on next page*)

Evidently Appayadīkṣita was a firm believer in the stability (pratiṣṭhā) of the earth and rejects categorically the theory of the only Indian astronomer who believed in the diurnal motion of the earth,[1] which is mentioned in the following verse quoted by Mr. S. B. Dikshit :—

" अनुलोमगतिर्नौस्थः पश्यत्यचलं विलोमगं यद्वत् ।
अचलानि भानि तद्वत् समपश्चिमगानि लंकायाम् ॥ " (गोलपाद)

Mr. Dikshit further states that this verse regarding the theory of Āryabhaṭa pertaining to the diurnal motion of the earth has been wrongly interpreted by his commentator in his work called *Bhaṭṭaprakāśikā* as follows :—

" भानि कर्तृभूतानि अचलानि भूमिगतानि वस्तूनि कर्मभूतानि विलोमगानीव प्राचीं दिशं गच्छतीव पश्यति "

Mr. Dikshit records that the date of Sūryadevayajvan, the author of the commentary *Bhaṭṭaprakāśikā* is not known but he is likely to be later than Bhaṭṭotpala[2] (A. D. 966).[3] Brahmagupta, however, in his *Brahmasiddhānta* or *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* (composed in Śaka 550 = *A.D. 628*) has found fault with Āryabhaṭa's theory about the diurnal motion of the earth in the following verse :—

" प्राणेनैति [4] कलां भूर्यदि तर्हि कुतो व्रजेत् कमध्वानं ।
आवर्तनमुर्व्याश्चेन्न पतंति समुच्छ्रयाः कस्मात् ॥ "

(*Brahmasiddhānta*, Chapter XI).

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Appaya Dīkṣita comments on these verses as follows in his commentary ° *Parimala* (P. 147, lines 11-12) :— " नासिकात्र्यम्बकस्थाने निवसाद्भिः आचार्यैः अयं ग्रंथः कृतः इति प्रसिद्धिः । अतस्तत्रत्यगिरिनदीवर्णनं कृतम् ' [Vide p. 20 of Intro. to *Vedāntakalpataru*, Part I, (Vizia. San. Series, Benares, 1895)]

1. Vide *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marāṭhī) by S. B. Dikshit (Poona, 1896) p. 195.

2. Ibid. p. 95.

3. Ibid, p. 234 – Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira records its date as under :—

" चैत्रमासस्य पंचम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।
वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया ॥ " (८८८)

4. प्राण = $\frac{1}{6}$ of a pala.

According to Mr. Dikshit Āryabhaṭa believed in the diurnal motion of the earth only. It does not seem from his works that he believed in the earth's revolution round the Sun.[1] Āryabhaṭa was born in Śake 398 (= A. D. 476) and it is creditable that he anticipated the theory of the diurnal motion of the earth about 1500 years ago in spite of a carping critic like Brahmagupta,[2] who was then ignorant of the law of gravity, later discovered by Sir Isaac Newton in A. D. 1665, and hence tried to ridicule Āryabhaṭa in the line " आवर्तनमुर्व्याश्चेत् न पतंति समुच्छ्रयाः कस्मात्. " Appayadīkṣita's grounds for rejecting the भूभ्रमवाद of Āryabhaṭa have no astronomical tinge whatsoever. A staunch believer as he was in the श्रुति-प्रामाण्य he rejects the भूभ्रमवाद because it is opposed to श्रुति. Copernicus (1473-1543 A. D.) apparently preceded Appayadīkṣita (1550 to 1600 A. D.) while Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727 A. D.) followed him. The great Vedāntin, however was compelled to dismiss the भूभ्रमवाद of Āryabhaṭa and others in a summary manner because it was opposed to the statement of the श्रुति viz., ' पृथिवी प्रतिष्ठा.'

Śrīpati, the author of the *Siddhāntaśekhara*, wrote his work *Dhruvamānasam* in Śaka 978[3] = A. D. 1056. Makkibhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on the Siddhāntaśekhara in Śaka 1299[4] = A. D. 1377. Makkibhaṭṭa follows Āryabhaṭa in his theory about the diurnal motion of the earth in commenting on verse 39 of *Sādhanādhyāya* of the *Siddhāntaśekhara*.[5] We are informed by the learned editor of the *Siddhāntaśekhara* that Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Lalla as also Śrīpati had no respect for the theory of Āryabhaṭa about भूभ्रमण or the diurnal motion of the earth. It seems, therefore, that

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1. Copernicus (1473-1543 A. D.) a Polish astronomer, propounded the theory that earth and other planets revolve round the Sun. This theory though now a truism gave rise to a keen controversy among the Roman clergy of the time.

2. Dikshit : *History of Indian Astronomy*, p. 197 — Brahmagupta had no good word for Āryabhaṭa :— " जानात्येकमपि यतो नार्यभटो गणितकालगोलानां । न मया प्रोक्तानि ततः पृथक् पृथक् दूषणान्येषां ॥ ४३ ॥ आर्यभट-दूषणानां संख्या वक्तुं न शक्यते "

(Brahmasiddhānta, Chap. XI).

3. Vide p. 11 of Intro. to *Siddhāntaśekhara*, Cal. University, 1932.

4. Ibid. p. 25.

5. Ibid. p. 26.

Makkibhaṭṭa, the commentator of Srīpati's *Siddhāntaśekhara*, was the only writer of repute to uphold Āryabhaṭa's view.[1]

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1. As contrasted with this dogmatic view of Appaya the following statement of Śaṁkarācārya reflects the correct attitude of a philosopher towards matters within the ken of our senses :— " न श्रुतिशतमपि शीतोऽग्निरप्रकाशो वेति ब्रुवन् प्रामाण्यमुपैति " (Vide p. 5 of *Indian Culture and its Claims*, a paper read by Pandit Srikrishna Joshi at the Foundation Ceremony of the Benares Hindu University, 1916 — I am indebted to Mr. Chandra Shekhar Pant, M. A. of Lucknow for this reference). Aufrecht records a work called " भूभ्रमवादखण्डनानिरास " by scholars in Sihor (C. C. I, p. 415[a]).

9. Date of the Prāyaścitta-candrikā of Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa, Son of Narasiṁha Dīkṣita — Before A. D. 1543*

Prof. P. V. Kane makes the following remarks about a work on Dharmaśāstra called the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* :—

" प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by विश्वनाथभट्ट ; mentioned by दिवाकर in his प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका and in स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार ॥ "[1]

As Prof. Kane assigns Divākara (Kāla) to the period A. D. 1620 to 1670, we may assign Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* to a date earlier than A. D. 1600.

Aufrecht[2], makes the following entries regarding the *Śrauta-prāyaścitta-Candrikā* (same as *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* mentioned by Prof. Kane) :—

" श्रौतप्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका —

Baudh. by Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, son of Narasiṁha Dīkṣita.

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* *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, (Sept. 1945), pp. 34–36.

1. *History of Dharmaśāstra* (= *HD*), Vol. I (1930), p. 591.

P. 591 — " प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर Surnamed काल. "

P. 594 — " प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर son of महादेव, Surnamed काल. Also called स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त and स्मार्तनिष्कृतिपद्धति (*vide* Baroda O. I. 133, 1543, 1663)."

P. 703 — " दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर Surnamed काल (काळे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्णभट्ट father of कमलाकर, *About 1620 — 1670 A. D.*, Author of दानचन्द्रिका (or दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका, आन्हिकचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका, स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार, पतितत्यागविधि, पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग. "

2. *CC I*, 677 ; *CC II*, 161.

IO. 1572,[1] L. 165, K. 188, B. 3, 108.[2]

Ben 8, NW. 18, Sūcīpatra 36 — "Stein 21." [3]

As the Jammu MS of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* is dated Saṁvat 1656 or A. D. 1600, the date of composition of the work is evidently much earlier than A. D. 1600 but we have no means of determining the earlier limit exactly.

In the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Punjab University*, however, there is a dated MS of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* which appears to me to be the oldest dated MS of this work. It is dated *Saṁvat 1599* = A. D. 1543[5] as will be seen from the following colophon[6] appearing on its last folio :—

"इति श्रीनृसिंहदीक्षितसूनु विश्वनाथविरचिता श्रौतप्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका समाप्ता ॥ संवत् १५९९ समऐ पौषवदि १३ चन्द्रकह पुस्तक लिषा ॥ श्रीविश्वनाथाय नमः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ "

If the above date is correct, we are in a position to push back the date of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* before A. D. 1540, if not earlier.

The chronological data recorded above may now be tabulated as follows :—

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1. *Vide* p. 91 of Part I of *I. O. Sanskrit MSS Cata.* (1887)— MS No. 15726 — " written in Devanāgarī in the *latter part of the 17th Century.*"

2. *Vide* p. 108 of Bühler's Fascicle. III of Cata. of MSS in Private Libraries (1872). The MS No. 239 of प्रायश्चित्तचान्द्रिका of विश्वनाथभट्ट is dated 1756 (Saṁvat) = A. D. 1700.

3. *Vide* p. 21 of Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS* (1894), MS No. 2556 of श्रौतप्रायाश्चित्तचान्द्रिका is dated Saṁvat 1656 = (A. D. 1600.)

4. Vol. I (1932), *Page 55* — [" 452 प्रायश्चित्तचान्द्रिका (बौधायन) by विश्वनाथ, नृसिंहदीक्षितपुत्र, 50 leaves, 1000 Granthas — "सं 1599 "]

5. The date corresponds to *Wednesday*, *3rd January* 1543 (*vide* p. 288 of *Indian Ephemeris*. Vol. V.).

6. I am thankful to the Librarian, Punjab University Library, Lahore, for his kindness in sending me a copy of this Colophon.

A. D.	Reference.
1543	Date of Punjab University MS of the *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā* (= *PC*).
1600	Date of Jammu MS of the *PC*.
Between 1620 and 1670	Divākara mentions the *PC* in his *Prāyaścitta-Candrikā*.
C. 1650 —1700	Probable age of the India Office MS of the *PC*.
1700	Date of a MS of the *PC* mentioned by Bühler (Fascicle III).

On the strength of the above data, I am inclined to believe that the *PC* by Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa may have been composed before A. D. 1500 as we have the oldest dated MS of the work copied in Saṁvat 1599 or A. D. 1543.

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10. Date of Subhāṣitamuktāvalī*

Prof G. V. Devasthali in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛta Manuscripts*[1] in the Library of the University of Bombay, describes a MS of सुभाषितहारावली of हरि (No. 2266) as follows :—

"The *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* or simply *Hārāvalī*) is an anthology containing about 200 verses divided according to the compiler's own account, into 32 chapters (*Maṇis*). In our MS, however, only 13 are clearly marked. The colophon at the end reads *Subhāṣitamuktāmaṇi* as the title of the work, which is obviously incorrect. This work[2] is noticed at Peters. Report II. No. 189, where it is ascribed to Hari Kavi, brother of Cakrapāṇi. Hari Kavi was a poet of the Deccan and acquainted with the literature of the whole of India. He quotes from Akabarīya Kālidāsa (a poet petronised by Akbar) and from Jagannātha Paṇḍita's *Bhāminīvilāsa*. He cannot, therefore, have flourished before the latter half of the 17th century A. D. See Krishn. p. 387 f." The foregoing remarks roused my curiosity because I had read in 1935 the only MS of सुभाषितहारावली[2] of हरि कवि (No. 92 *of A 1883-84*) available in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. Through the favour of Dr. P. M. Joshi, Librarian, University Library, Bombay, I got on loan the MS of "सुभाषितहारावली of हरि" described by Prof. Devasthali. On examining this MS I found that it was entirely a a different text from that available in the B. O. R. I. MS No. 92 of *A 1883-84* and consequently its chronology, as suggested by Prof.

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1946, pp. 55–59.

1. Vol. II. 1944. p. 772.

2. The *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Hari Kavi, brother of Cakrapāṇi is represented by the only MS in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz *No. 92 of A 1883-84*. This सुभाषितहारावली has nothing to do with the "सुभाषितहारावली of हरि" described by Prof. Devasthali. Evidently Prof. Devasthali has not read my paper on "*Hari Kavi, alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a court-poet of king Sambhāji and His works* (शंभुराजचरित composed in A. D. 1685, हैहयेन्द्रचरित and its Commentary, and सुभाषितहारावली). See *Annals* (B. O. R. I.), Vol. XXVI (1935), pp. 262-291.

The MS mentioned by Peterson in his *Report*, II, p. 189 is identical with *No. 92 of A 1883-84* (सुभाषितहारावली of हरि कवि). It consists of more than 150 folios.

Devasthali's remarks perhaps on the presumption that the Bombay university *MS No 2266* and the B. O. R. I. MS *No. 92 of A 1883-84* are identical, is also wrong.

The Bombay University *MS No. 2266* is dated *Śaka 1707* (= A. D. *1785*) and though this date harmonises with the chronology suggested by Prof. Devasthali there is another evidence which contradicts it. In fact there is a MS of an anthology called सुभाषितमुक्तावली in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz. *No. 819* of *1886-92.* It is identical with the Bombay University *MS No. 2266.* The text of this MS is identical with that of the Bombay University MS. It begins with " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्फुर्जन्मोहमहान्धकार etc. " The colophons of the different chapters or *Maṇis* in this Ms begin with "इति सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां" in the following manner :—

Folio 3—" इति सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां[1] हरेर्गुणग्रामवर्णनो नाम प्रथमो मुक्तामणिः "

Folio 4—" इति सु० मुक्तावल्यां लक्ष्मीप्रशंसनो नाम द्वितीयो मुक्तामणिः "

It would appear from these colophons thst the title of this anthology is सुभाषितमुक्तावली, though in the first three verses[2] at the beginning the author tells us that he has strung together this हारावली of different मुक्तामणिs. Whatever be the exact title of the work, whether, सुभाषित मुक्तावली or सुभाषितहारावली, one thing is clear that this anthology is in no way connected with the सुभाषितहारावली of हरि कवि alias भानुभट्ट, the court-poet of the Maratha king Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji the Great.

The following table shows the topics of the 32 chapters of this anthology :—

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1. The colophons of the Bombay University MS No. 2266 also mention the title of the anthology as " सुभाषितमुक्तावली " (see folios 2 and 3 of this MS).

In the *Catalogue of Indic MSS in U. S. A.* by H. I. Poleman, 1938, p. 106, he mentions a fragment (No. 2229) of a work called सुभाषितमुक्तावली (folios 3-1). I cannot say if this work is identical with the anthology before me.

2. I quote below the first 3 verses of the anthology :—

" ॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

स्फुर्जन्मोहमहान्धकारनिकरप्रद्योतनद्योतिनीं
वाग्देवीमतिवंद्यवंदितपदां वृंदारकाणां गणैः।

(*Continued on next page*)

Chapter	Contents	No. of verses
1.	हरेः गुणग्रामवर्णनं	14
2.	लक्ष्मीप्रशंसनं	13
3.	लक्ष्मीधिक्करणं	7
4.	धनिनां धनप्रशंसनं	14
5.	कृपणकार्पण्यवर्णनं	25
6.	दातॄणां दानवर्णनं	16
7.	दुर्विधजनदीनत्वं	26
8.	कर्मपरिपाकनिरूपणं	32
9.	सज्जनसौजन्यवर्णनं	45
10.	दुर्जनदौर्जन्यनिरूपणं	31
11.	विद्याप्रशंसनं	9
12.	संपत्तिचलाचलत्वनिरूपणं	3
13.	प्रीतिप्ररोहवचनं	19
	प्रीतिप्ररोहवचने गाथा	5
14.	प्रियवियोगे नितंबिनीवचनानि	11
	कांतावियोगे भर्तृवचनानि	7
	वियोगसंयोगयोः उपाख्यानं	4
15.	दुःखितजनस्य दुःखनिरूपणं	11
16.	ललनागुणोल्लसनं	19
		311

Chapter	Contents	No. of verses
17.	माध्वीकवैहूल्यं	13
18.	कामाविलासवर्णन	17
19.	प्रश्नोत्तरप्रहेलालेखनं	22
20.	नृपसेवनं	17
21.	हंसाष्टकसंकथनं	11
22.	मधुकरमातंगयोः अवस्थानिदर्शनं	8
23.	राजनीतिदर्शनं	55
24.	आशीर्वचननिरूपणं	25
25.	धर्माधर्मनिरूपणं	9
26.	परकामिनीपरित्यजनं	13
27.	क्रोधनिरूपणं	5
28.	महतां महिमोत्करवर्णनं	23
29.	वीरविक्रमणं	11
30.	कलिकाल (कोटिकालनं कलिकलनं)	9
31.	जननीजनवात्सल्यं	5
32.	सुभाषितामृतस्वादनिरूपणं	6
		249

It will be seen from the above table that the total verses of this anthology come to 311 + 249 = 560. The MS ends as follows :—

" संवत् षड्दशाशीतितमे[1] वर्षे चैत्रमासे शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीयायां श्री...ग्रामवासिनो जी...प्रयागस्य सुतवेणिना......मुक्तामणिः ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ "

(*Continued from the previous page*)

शास्त्रांभोनिधितः सुभाषितमयानुद्धृत्य मुक्तामणी-
न्कण्ठालंकरणाय निर्मलधियां बध्नामि हारावलीम् ॥ १ ॥
पूर्णा गुणैः स्फुरदनल्पमरीचिभाजो दोषोज्झितप्रकृतयः परमार्थिमंतः ।
उन्मीलितार्थविलसत्कमनीयवर्णा द्वात्रिंशदत्र कविना मणयोवगम्याः ॥ २ ॥
मुक्तामणिभिरमीभिर्ग्रथिता हारावली या भाति ।
प्रत्येकं किल नाम्ना त एव मयोभिधास्यंते ॥ ३ ॥"

Verses 4 to 13 describe the contents of the 32 मुक्तामणिs or chapters and end with the remark " इति ग्रन्थानुक्रमणिनिरूपणं. "

1. This date viz. *Saṁvat 1680* (चैत्र शुक्ल द्वितीया) will correspond to *Monday, 21st April 1623* (vide *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. VI. p. 48).

I interpret the chronogram षड्दशाशीति as equal to *Saṁvat 1680* = A. D. 1623 and this date harmonises with the present condition of the MS and its calligraphy.

The authorship of the anthology is ascribed to हरि by Prof. Devasthali. I have failed to find any mention of this author in the B. O. R. Institute MS *No. 819* of *1886-92* or the Bombay University *MS No. 2266*, which is incomplete. If the date *A. D. 1624* of the B. O. R. Institute MS of the work is correct we may reasonably infer that this anthology was composed prior to A. D. 1600 and consequently it would be an anachronism to connect it with Hari Kavi who composed his *Śambhurājacarita* in A. D. 1685.

The earlier limit to the date of this anthology can be fixed if we can find in it some datable verses. Unfortunately this anthology does not record the names of the authors or works, to whom it is heavily indebted for its 560 verses. Incidentally one श्रीनिवासकवि is referred to on folio 3 in the following verse at the end of chapter 2 (हरेः गुणग्रामवर्णनं) :—

" नाभितस्तव सरोजभूरभूत् तत्सुतेयमबला सरस्वती ।
तत्प्रसादलवलेशगर्विताः श्रीनिवासकवयोऽपि किं विदुः ॥ १४ ॥ "

Scholars who have closely studied the history of our *Subhāṣitas* may be able to identify this verse and and its author श्रीनिवासकवि. Without a comprehensive *Pratīka* index to all Sanskrit *Subhāṣitas*, their chronology must remain vague and undetermined. It is hoped that some of our research institutes would devote their attention to the compilation of such a *Pratīka* index, which would provide a compass to those who navigate in this ocean of *Subhāṣita* literature. Many problems of literary chronology will be solved automatically by such a *Pratīka* index and strenthen the work done in this field by individual workers like myself.

Before closing up this paper I record below the MSS of anthologies bearing the name सुभाषितमुक्तावली :—

Aufrecht makes the following entries in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* regarding सुभाषितमुक्तावली and its MSS :—

C C, I, p. 728—सुभाषितमुक्तावली

—K 66.[1]

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1. Kielhorn : *Cata. of C. P. MSS*, 1874, p. 66 — MS No. 79 सुभाषितमुक्तावली — 25 leaves — 560 *Ślokas* — dated Śaka 1705 = A. D. *1783*.

—B. 2. 112[1]
—Ben 40[2]
—N P V, 184[3]
—Gu 4[4]
—Peters. 3, 397[5]
—B P 57. 263[6]
—By पुरुषोत्तम—Ben 35
—By मथुरानाथ—NW 606
CC, II. 174—सुभाषितमुक्तावली
—Peters 4. 31[7]
—Stein 175[8]
CC, III, 150—सुभाषितमुक्तावली
—Peters 6. 367[9]

From the Mss of the सुभाषितमुक्तावली recorded above only the following MSS are available to me at the Govt. MSS Library at B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

(1) *No. 368 of 1884-86* — folios 6—called सुभाषितमुक्तावली in the Colophon — Begins with अथ सिंहान्योक्तय:

(2) *No. 367 of 1895-98* — folios 9 — dated Saṁvat *1841* (= *A. D.1785*)—called सुभाषितमुक्तावली in the colophon — Begins अथ सिंहान्योक्तय :—Same text as that of No. 368 of *1884-86*.

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1. Bühler's *Cata. of MSS in Kathiawar, Gujarat etc.* Fasc. II.
2. *Cata. of Benares Sanskrit College MSS* (1864-74).
3. *Cata. of N. W. Provinces MSS, Part V.*
4. *Report on Gujarat MSS* by Bühler (1871-72).
5. Peters. *Report* III, p. 397 — This MS is same as *No. 368 of 1886-92* in Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute) — 6 folios.
6. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report for 1883-84*, p. 263 — This MS is same as *No. 92 of 1883-84* (श्रृङ्गारालाप from सु. मुक्तावली) dated Saṁvat 1612 = *A. D. 1556.*
7. Peterson's *Report*, IV, p. 31 — This MS is same as No. 819 of 1886-92 dated saṁvat 1680 = A. D. 1624 — folios 51 (in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.
8. Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS*, 1894 — p. 75 — No 541 — सुभाषितमुक्तावली — leaves 43 — complete in modern Kashmiri Script.
9. Peterson's *Report, VI.* This Ms is same as *No. 367 of 1886-92*, dated Saṁvat 1841 (*A. D. 1785*).

(3) No. 92 *of 1883-84*—folios 82—शृङ्गारालाप of सुभाषितमुक्तावली-Begins—"ॐ ॥ नमो श्रीमकरध्वजाय ॥ सरस्वति नमस्तुभ्यं वरदे कामरूपिणा । etc" —Ends :—"इति श्रीसुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृङ्गारालापे एकादशमशतं समाप्तम्"-dated *Saṁvat 1612* (= *A. D. 1556*)

(4) No. 95 *of 1871-72*-folios 45, dated Saṁvat *1780* (= *A. D. 1724*. —Begins ,—" स्फुर्जन्मोहमहांधकार etc." —Text is the same as that of *MS* No. 819 *of 1886-92* described by me already in this paper.

It will be seen from the above remarks that MSS Nos. 1 and 2 are identical. No. 3 is different from No. 4 and Nos 1 and 2. We have now the following dated MSS of the सुभाषितमुक्तावली, which forms the subject of this paper :—

1. B. O. R. I. MS No. 819 of 1886-92 (complete dated A.D. 1623
2. —Do— No. 95 of 1871-72 (complete) ,, A.D. 1724
3. Bombay University MS No. 2266 (fragment) ,, A.D. 1785

In view of the above manuscript material for the anthology under reference, any scholar interested in Sanskrit anthological literature can undertake a critical edition of it and procure MSS from other sources as well, if available.

11. Śṛṅgāra-kallola, a Love-poem by Rāyabhaṭṭa and its Rare Manuscript dated A. D. 1602*

Aufrecht records only one MS of a work called *Śṛṅgāra-Kallola* (= SK) by Rāyabhaṭṭa *viz. CC. III, 137*—" Peters, 6 p. 28."

This MS is identical with MS *No. 362 of 1895*-98 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It consists of 11 folios (10 lines to a page, 36 letters to a line). The MS is written in Devanāgarī characters on country paper, which is old in appearance but well preserved. It begins[1] :—

" ॐ ।। श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ॥

अनुनयति गिरीशे द्राक्यपावर्त्तितांग्याः
स्फटिकभवनभित्तौ तन्मुखेंदुं समीक्ष्य ।
पुनरभिवलिताया विस्मयस्मेरमुख्या
जयति गिरिसुतायाः कोपि दृष्टिप्रसादः ।। १ ॥

आनम्राः प्रथमं कृतागस इव व्यापारशून्यास्तथा
संरुद्धा कीलिता इव विनिर्याताः स्खलत्यग्रतः ।
कामारेर्भयभंगुरा इव मुखं स्मेरं स्पृशंत्यः शनैः
पार्वत्या स्मरबंधवो नच परीहासे दृशः पांतु वः ॥ २ ॥ "

The MS ends :—

" अहं सासैवाहं तदिदमिति लोकव्यवहृतिं
न जाने प्रेमाणं परमिह ततो नापि विरहम् ।

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* *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. X, Part 3, pp. 185–188.

1. In the top-margin before the beginning of the text we find the following verse recorded in a slightly different hand-writing from that of the MS :—

" अधरे नववीटिकानुरागो नयने कज्जलमुज्वलं दुकूलं ।
इदमाभरणं नितंबिनीनामितरं भूषणमङ्गदूषणानि ।। १ ॥ "

This verse is identical with verse 29 on p. 263 of सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911. Evidently it has nothing to do with the text of the शृंगारकल्लोल.

रहस्यं नो जानान्निखिलमिदमानंगनिगमं
मुग्धे बार्द्धैरंगैः समसृजत देव्याः पशुपतिः ॥ १०३ ॥

गुंफो वाचामसृणमधुरो मालतीनामिव स्या-
दर्थो वाच्यः प्रसरणपरः सम्मितः सौरभस्य ।
भाववंशा गोरस इव सस्तद्दिवाह्लादहेतु-
माले वासौ सुकविरचना कस्य भूषां न धत्ते ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्रीमहाकविपंडितश्रीमद्रायभट्टकृतं श्रृंगारकल्लोलं नाम काव्यं संपूर्णं ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १६५८ वर्षे श्रावणशुदि ९ भौमे लिषितं मुकुंदेन ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥"

It is clear from the above colophon that the MS was copied by one Mukunda in *Saṁvat 1658* = **A D 1602**. This date of the MS of the SK of Rāyabhaṭṭa enables us to conclude that Rāyabhaṭṭa flourished definitely before *A. D. 1602* or even before A. D. 1550.

I have not come across any quotations from the SK except the two verses mentioned as Rāyabhaṭṭa's (रायभट्टस्य) in the anthology *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta, who composed his *Pañcatattva-prakāśikā* in *A. D. 1644*.[1] These two verses are Nos. 311 and 351 in the critical edition of the *Padyaveṇī* by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. They read as follows :—

Page 91—

"३११. एकाङ्घ्रिं विनिधाय कान्तचरणे तज्जानुदेशे परं
लीलोदञ्चितमध्यमा करयुगेनाऽऽबध्य तत्कन्धराम् ।
वक्षस्तस्य घनोन्नत-स्तनयुगेनाऽऽपीड्य गाढं रसा-
दास्यं धन्यतमस्य पूर्णपुलका चन्द्रानना चुम्बति ॥ २ ॥

रायभट्टस्य"

Page 102—

"३५१. प्रस्थाने शकुनानि सन्तु सततं भद्रं तवोज्जृम्भता-
मादायेप्सितमाशु तातचरणाम्भोजं समालोकयेः ।
याचेऽहं विधिमत्र हन्त जविनामग्रेसराणां मम
प्राणानां प्रिय मास्म भूः पथि भवद्विश्लेष-लक्ष्मागमः ॥ १ ॥

रायभट्टस्य"

Dr. Chaudhuri states (p. 113 of Intro. to *Padyaveṇī*) that these two verses "appear to have been culled from this work *viz.*

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1. *Vide* p. 79 of *Payaveṇī* (Introduction) ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1944.

the **SK** of Rāyabhaṭṭa, a MS of which has been noticed by Peterson in his *Sixth Report*. This MS is identical with MS *No. 362 of 1895-98* described by me in this paper. I have verified Dr. Chaudhuri's surmise and found it correct. The text of the two verses reads as follows in the MS of the SK dated A. D. 1602 before me. :—

folio 3—verse 15

" एकांघ्रिं विनिधाय कांतचरणे तज्जानुदेशे परं
लीलोदंचितमध्यमाकरयुगेनावर्ज्य तत्कंधरां ।
वक्षस्तस्य घनोन्नतस्तनभरेणापीड्य गाढं रसा-
दास्यं धन्यतमस्य पूर्णपुलका चंद्रानना चुंबति ॥ १५ ॥ "

folio 4— verse 27

" प्रस्थाने शकुनानि संतु सततं भद्रं तवोऽज्जुंभता-
मादायेप्सितमाशु तातचरणांभोजं समालोकयेः ।
याचेऽहं विधिमत्र हंत जविनामग्रेसराणां मम
प्राणानां प्रिय मा स्मभूत्पथि भवद्विश्लेषलक्ष्मागमः ॥ २७ ॥"

The identity of the two verses quoted as **रायभट्टस्य** by Veṇīdatta with those numbered 15 and 27 in the **SK** of Rāyabhaṭṭa[1] has now been clearly established. As Rāyabhaṭṭa flourished long before *A. D. 1602*, the date of the MS of his **SK**, it is natural that he should be quoted by a subsequent anthologist who flourished about *A. D. 1644*. In the colophon of the MS of the **SK** before us Rāyabhaṭṭa is called "**महाकवि**" and his present poem is called "**सुकविरचना**" in the last verse 104. We must, therefore, search for any other works of this poet, if they can be traced in any libraries, private or public. For the present the B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Śṛṅgāra-Kallola* remains as a unique MS of Rāyabhaṭṭa's only available work. As this poem is written in a delightful style with elegant diction it deserves to be published early. I have, therefore, persuaded Prof. N. A. Gore of the S. P. College to edit it and I hope he will publish it in some journal at an early date.

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1. Rāyaṁbhaṭṭa, author of यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग mentioned by Aufrecht (*CC. I, 526*) is evidently a different person (from Rāyabhaṭṭa the author of the SK).

12. A New Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*

According to Dr. Saletore[1] Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is to be assigned to "*the last quarter of the Sixteenth and the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century*" i. e. between A. D. 1575 and 1625. According to Rao Bahadur Bambardekar[2] Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was born about A. D. 1570 and died about A. D. 1635.

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* *Annals of S. V. Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 117-127.

1. Vide *Karnatak Historical Review* (January-July 1937):—"No evidence is forth-coming to suggest that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was a Senvi Brahmin. As regards the age in which he lived we learn from the opening verses of *Tattva-Kaustubha* that he wrote it at the order of Keladi Veṅkaṭendra (*Keladi Veṅkaṭendrasya nirdeśāt Viduṣām mude*). (Read Hultzsch, *Report on Sanskrit Mss of South India*, II, Intro. Pp. xii, 122, Madras, 1895-1896). The ruler Veṅkaṭendra mentioned here is to be identified with king Veṅkaṭapa Nāyak I, who ruled from A. D. 1582 till A. D. 1629 (Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 157). King Veṇkaṭapa Nāyak was noted for the patronage he gave to learned men (Read *Keladi Basavarāja*, *Śivatattvaratnākara*, Kallola VI, Taraṅga XIII. Ed. by B. Ramarao and Sundara Sastri, Mangalore, 1927 ; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 345). He himself seems to have composed a commentary in Sanskrit on the *Śiva Gītā of Padmapurāṇa* (*Trien. Cata. of Mss* in the Govt. Ori. Mss Library, Madras, p. 2623). We have, therefore, to assign Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, who calls himself the son of Srimad-vidvan-mukuṭa-māṇikya Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa in the *Tattva-Kaustubha* to the last quarter of the Sixteenth and the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century A. D."

2. *Vide* p. 349 of *Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita*, 1939 (Bombay). On p. 341 the author makes the following remarks about the chronology of Śeṣakṛṣṇa, Appaya Dīkṣita, Bhaṭṭoji and Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya :—

"The are no satisfactory means of determining definitely the chronology of Śeṣakṛṣṇa, Appaya, Bhaṭṭoji and Jagannātha. The

(*Continued on next page*)

I propose now to point out some facts regarding Bhaṭṭoji's date, which have not been recorded either by Dr. Saletore or Rao Bahadur Bambardekar but which go to support the probable chronology for Bhaṭṭoji given by them.

It appears that an author of some some Vedānta works called *Nṛsiṁhāśrama*[1] was the guru of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and that one of this guru's works was commented upon by Bhaṭṭoji. According to

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

descendants of Appaya state that he lived from A. D. *1554 to 1626* (72 years) while other writers state that he flourished between A. D. *1520 and 1593.* Śeṣakṛṣṇa lived before A. D. 1600 while Jagannātha is supposed to have lived before A. D. 1660. The period of Jagannātha's literary activity is given as A. D. *1630 — 1660.* There is a Ms of Jagannātha's *Citramīmāṁsākhaṇḍana* dated A. D. 1652 — 1653, from which it appears that the present belief of Jagannātha's direct opposition to Appaya is baseless. Bhaṭṭoji is said to have lived from A. D. 1576 to A. D. 1634 or 1640 or 1650. If we base our arguments regarding the rivalry between Bhaṭṭoji and Appaya on the several dates given above we are inclined to think that some of the present beliefs regarding the relations of these two writers are positively baseless as they give rise to anachronisms. Hence we must rely on documentary evidence only in our investigation of this problem."

1. *Vide* p. 353 of Bambardekar's *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.* On p. 305 some information about Nṛsiṁhāśrama is recorded :— नृसिंहाश्रम was the guru of Bhaṭṭoji. Bhaṭṭoji composed a commentary called विवरण on the work तत्त्वविवेक of नृसिंहाश्रम. This very नृसिंहाश्रम was the guru of Raṅgoji bhaṭṭa, the younger brother of Bhaṭṭoji. Raṅgoji in his work, अद्वैतचिंतामणि refers to नृसिंहाश्रम as guru ("तदुक्तं श्री नृसिंहाश्रम-गुरुचरणैः")

Aufrecht (*CC* I. 305) makes the following entry about नृसिंहाश्रम and his works in his Catalogue :—

"नृसिंहाश्रम pupil of गीर्वाणेन्द्रसरस्वती and जगन्नाथाश्रम guru of नारायणाश्रम :—

(1) अद्वैतदीपिका; (2) अद्वैतपञ्चरत्न (Oppert, 5878); (3) अद्वैतबोधदीपिका (Oppert. 4808); (4) अद्वैतरत्नकोश ; (5) अद्वैतवाद (K. 114); (6) तत्त्वबोधिनी संक्षेपशारीरकटीका; (7) तत्त्वविवेक Completed at पुरुषोत्तमपुर in 1547; (8) पञ्चपादिकाविवरणप्रकाशिका; (9) भेदधिक्कार; (10) वाचारम्भण (Hall p. 137); (11) वेदान्तविवेक B. 4.96. See above तत्त्वविवेक."

Rao Bahadur Bambardekar the name of this commentary[1] is तत्वविवेक-विवरण while according to Aufrecht its name is तत्वविवेकदीपन-व्याख्या or तत्वविवेकटीका-विवरण. The colophon of a MS of तत्वाविवेकदीपन dated A. D. 1618 states that this work was composed by नृसिंहाश्रम (folio 147-MS No. 566 of 1886-92) while Hall states that तत्वविवेकदीपन[2] is a commentary on the तत्वविवेक of नृसिंहाश्रम by an unnamed disciple. In the list of Bhaṭṭoji's works recorded by Bambardekar (p. 354) we find the entry "तत्वविवेकदीपनव्याख्या." If we are to believe in the testimony of the colophon of *A. D. 1618* which clearly states that the work was composed[3] by नृसिंहाश्रम, the work तत्वविवेकदीपन is a work of नृसिंहाश्रम himself and that Bhaṭṭoji wrote a commentary on this work of his guru. It is, however, stated by Dr. Das Gupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*[4] that *N* (= नृसिंहाश्रम) was "a teacher of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita" and that Bhaṭṭoji wrote the

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1. Aufrecht (*CC* I, 220) records the following Mss of this commentary :—

"तत्वविवेकदीपनव्याख्या or तत्वविवेकटीकाविवरण or वाक्यमाला by Bhaṭṭoji. Hall, p. 156, K. 120."

Hall, (p. 156) records a Ms of तत्वविवेकदीपन which is a commentary on the तत्वविवेक of नृसिंहाश्रम by an unnamed disciple.

Some dates of Mss recorded by Hall may be noted here :—

A. D. 1615 — Ms of तत्वविवेक of नृसिंहाश्रम dated *Saṁvat 1671.* (Hall p. 155).

A. D. 1676 — Date of a Ms of Bhaṭṭoji's आशौचानिर्णय (Hall, p. 156) dated *Saṁvat 1733.*

A. D. 1735 — Date of a Ms of Bhaṭṭtoji's तिथिनिर्णय (Hall p. 156).

A. D. 1618 — B. O. R. Institute Ms *No. 566 of 1886-92* of तत्वविवेकदीपन was copied in *Saṁvat 1674.*

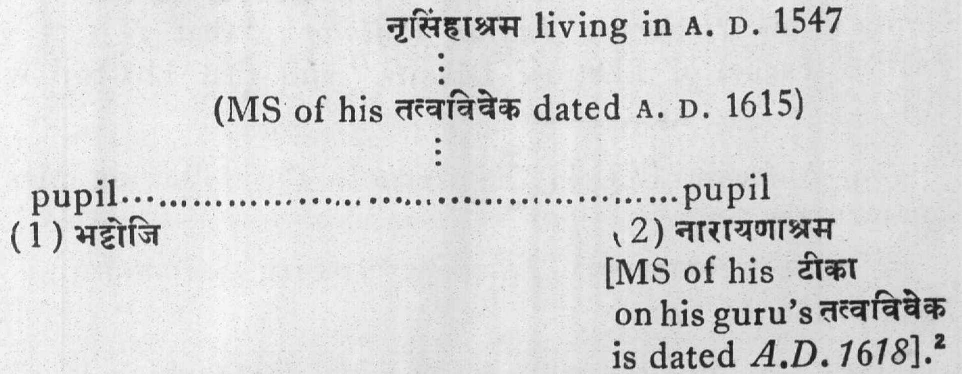
It ends :— "इति श्रीमद्वेदांतसिद्धांतसाराभिज्ञश्रीमन्नृसिंहाश्रममुनिप्रणीते तत्वविवेकदीपने द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ॥ वेदाश्वरसभूगण्ये हायने विक्रमार्कतः । शुचिकृष्णद्वितियायां वासरे गुरुसंज्ञिते । पूर्णानंदाश्रमेणैतल्लिखितं स्वेष्टसिद्धये etc."

2. Aufrecht makes the following entry about तत्वविवेकदीपन (*CC*, I, 220) — "तत्वविवेकदीपन by a pupil of नृसिंहाश्रम (नारायणाश्रम?). W. p. 182., Hall, p. 156, K. 118. Ben. 83, Radh. 5. NP. III, 122. Oppert II, 9394."

3. Ms of तत्वविवेकदीपन No. 566 of 1886-92 — *Folio 98.* "इति श्रीवेदांतसिद्धांतसाराभिज्ञ श्रीमन्नृसिंहाश्रममुनिप्रणीते तत्वविवेकदीपने प्रथमपरिच्छेदः" A similar colophon for *2nd Pariccheda* occurs on folio 147.

4. Vol. II (1932), p. 54.

"वेदान्ततत्त्वदीपन-व्याख्या which is a commentary on the commentary तत्त्वविवेकदीपन of नारायणाश्रम (a pupil of नृसिंहाश्रम) on the latter's work, वेदान्ततत्त्वविवेक." Whether the तत्त्वविवेकदीपन is the work of नृसिंहाश्रम or of his pupil नारायणाश्रम, its MS of A. D. 1618 should naturally have a special value for us in considering the chronology of नृसिंहाश्रम and his pupils (1) नारायणाश्रम and (2) भट्टोजिदीक्षित, who were evidently contemporaries of each other and junior contemporaries of their common *guru* नृसिंहाश्रम, who composed his तत्त्वविवेक in A. D. 1547[1] as stated by Aufrecht. The chronological relation of these two pupils with their guru may be represented as follows :—



If नृसिंहाश्रम was living in A. D. 1547 as proved by the date of composition of his तत्त्वविवेक we are unable to accept the date A. D. 1500 for नृसिंहाश्रम given by Dr. Das Gupta,[3] and the period of *N's*

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1. The B. O. R. Institute Ms of तत्वविवेक (No. 278 of 1895-98) contains the chronogram of the date of composition viz. Saṁvat 1604 :—

"अद्बे वेदवियद्रसेन्दुगणिते पौषासिते श्रीदिने।
रक्षो नामनि पूरुषोत्तमपुरे ग्रंथे मुदाचीकरत्॥"

2. नारायणश्रम's commentary on नृसिंहाश्रम's भेदधिक्कार is represented by a dated Ms (No. 123 of A 1883-84) in the Govt. Mss Library). It was copied in Saṁvat 1710 (= *A. D. 1654*) at Benares.

3. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (1932), p. 216 — "*Nṛsiṁhāśrama Muni* (A. D. 1500) was a pupil of Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī and Jagannāthāśrama and teacher of Nārāyaṇāśrama who wrote a commentary on his *Bhedadhikkāra*. He wrote many works etc."

If a work like *Tattvaviveka* is composed by its author in A. D. 1547 we may at the best suppose that he was born about A. D. 1500 but his literary activity must be presumed to lie a few years either way from A. D. 1547 i. e. say between A. D. 1530 and 1560 or so.

(*Continued on next page*)

literary activity must be assigned to the middle of the 16th century say between A. D. 1530 and 1560 and consequently the literary activity of his pupils Bhaṭṭoji (= *B*) and Nārāyaṇāśrama (= *NA*) must lie in the last quarter of the 16th Century i. e. between A. D. 1575 and 1600. This inference harmonizes with the date A. D. 1618 in which year a MS of *N's* pupil's work came to be written as we have seen above. It is also possible to suppose that this pupil was living when the Ms was copied in A. D. 1618, though his guru नृसिंहाश्रम may not have lived upto A. D. 1618.

There are dated Mss.[1] of Bhaṭṭoji's works in some of the

(*Continued from previous page*)

The date " A. D. 1500 " for Nṛsiṁhāśrama has also been given by Pt. Siddheswar Shastri Chitrav in his *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* pp. 501 (1937).

1. *Vide Indic Mss in American Libraries* by Dr. H. Poleman (American Ori. Society) 1939. Dr. Poleman records the following dated Mss of Bhāṭṭoji's works :—

Page 152 —A. D. 1664 — आशौचप्रकरण (Saṁvat 1720) (Ms No. 3029).

A. D. 1677 — आशौचनिर्णय (Saṁvat 1733) (Ms No. 3026). cf. *A. D. 1676* — date of Hall's MS of this work.

Page 155 —A. D. 1754— तिथिनिर्णय (Saṁvat 1810) (Ms No. 3102) (cf. *A. D. 1735* — date of Hall's Ms of this work).

In a work called अद्वैतसुधा (Ms No. 143 of 1902-1907) composed by लक्ष्मणपंडित in Saṁvat 1719 (— *A. D. 1663*) we find a reference to शब्दकौस्तुभ (of Bhaṭṭoji) :— *folio 61* — " इति सूत्रे च शब्दकौस्तुभे च." Bhaṭṭoji wrote शब्दकौस्तुभ a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The Boldeian Library contains a Ms of Bhaṭṭoji's त्रिस्थलीसेतु dated Saṁvat 1732 (= *A. D. 1676*)—Vide p. 286 (Ms No. 1514) of *Catalogue* Vol. II (Winternitz and Keith) Oxford, 1905.

The following dated Mss of the *Prauḍhamanoramā* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita at the B. O. R. Institute are important for Bhaṭṭoji's chronology :—

No. 657 of 1883-84—Saṁvat 1713–*A. D. 1657*.

No. 331 of 1895-1902—Saṁvat 1708—*A. D. 1652*.

A Ms of *Siddhāntakaumudī* (No. 36 of 1907-15) is dated Saṁvat 1727 = *A. D. 1671*.

Mss Libraries in India and outside. They are dated A. D. *1664*, *1676*, *1677*, *1735*, *1754* etc. These dates would enable us to state that Bhaṭṭoji flourished before A. D. 1650. This limit does not, however, help us very much in the matter of Bhaṭṭoji's chronology. Hara Prasad Shastri, however, gives us a surer criterion to fix the age of Bhaṭṭoji to whom and to whose son, Vatsa-Rāja salutes in his work called the *Vārāṇasīdarpaṇaprakāśikā*[1] composed in Saṁvat 1698 (= A. D. 1642). A still better criterion for fixing the limit for Bhaṭṭoji's date is furnished by the date of composition of a work called शब्दशोभा by नीलकंठ शुक्ल, a pupil of भट्टोजि ("भट्टोजिदीक्षितछात्रः")[2] This date is Saṁvat 1693 or

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1. *Vide*, p. 175 of *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya Mss* (Vol. VII), Calcutta (A. S. B.), 1934.—वाराणसीदर्पणप्रकाशिका—The author and the commentator of this work are one and the same person वत्सराज.

"The text is not yet found. It was composed in *Saṁvat 1698* (संवत् षोडशाष्टनवतितमे वर्षे) as appears from the commentary on the last verse. Herein lies the importance of the Ms under notice as affording a surer criterion to fix the age of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita to whom and to whose son the author salutes at the beginning as his *gurus*."

Dr. Belvalkar (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 48) states that सत्वराज a disciple of वीरेश्वर (= भानुजी) son of भट्टोजी दीक्षित wrote in 1641 A. D. I believe that this सत्वराज is the same as वत्सराज the author of the वाराणसीदर्पणप्रकाशिका.

2. Ms of शब्दशोभा (No. 183 of A 1882-83) ends as follows :—

"शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः।
अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्रो भट्टोजिदीक्षितछात्रः ॥ १ ॥

महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा कविनीतशर्मा निर्मितमेनम्।
विनिर्ममे शैवः ॥ २ ॥

यद्यपि खल बह लोची नद्दषाक्लेशस्तदप्येषः।
तुष्यतु तदेव तेजो विलसति यस्य प्रसादोयम् ॥ ३ ॥

त्रिनवषडेकमद्वेतिक्रांते विक्रमादित्यात्।
शिवरात्रौ शिवपदयोर्निजकृतिराधायि नीलकंठेन ॥

इति श्री नीलकंठकविकल्पिता शब्दशोभा समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ श्रीः ॥ संवत् १७३६ वर्षे भाद्रपदवदि ७ इन्दुवासरे लिखितं कृष्णदासेन। गुर्जर गोडवाली etc."

This Ms was copied in Saṁvat 1736 = A. D. 1680. The verses recorded above which contain the parentage of the author and the chronogram (त्रि-नव-षड-एक = Saṁvat 1693) are not found in two other Mss of शब्दशोभा in Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz.:— *No. 494 of 1884-87* and *No. 84 of 1866-68*.

A. D. 1637 and hence 5 years earlier than Vatsarāja's work of A. D. 1642.[1]

We are now in a position to fix two sure limits to Bhaṭṭōji's date viz. A. D. 1547[2] when his guru नृसिंहाश्रम composed his तत्वविवेक at पुरुषोत्तमपुर and A. D. 1637, when his pupil (छात्र) composed his work शब्दशोभा. Bhaṭṭoji must stand chronologically midway between his guru and his pupil as shown below :—

नृसिंहाश्रम ——→	pupil भट्टोजि ——→	pupil नीलकंठ शुक्ल (wrote
(wrote तत्वविवेक in *A. D. 1547*— Ms dated 1615 — and another work in 1558 A. D.)		शब्दशोभा in *A. D. 1637* —Ms dated A. D. 1680.)

Now the exact period of Bhaṭṭoji's life can be determined only if we can determine the exact periods of the lives of नृसिंहाश्रम and नीलकंठशुक्ल. I shall now tabulate some of the present views regarding Bhaṭṭoji's date :—

1. Dr. Saletore's view	A. D. 1575–1625	This view depends on the identification of Keladi Veṅkaṭendra with Veṅkaṭapa Nāyak I (A. D. 1582–1629) — *Karnātak Hist. Review, 1937*
2. Rao Bahadur Bambardekar's view	A. D. 1570–1635	*Vide* page 349 of "Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita" (1939)
3. Prof. P. V. Kane's view	i. A.D. 1575–1650	P. 716 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I
	ii. A.D. 1560–1620	P. 517 do
	iii. First half of the seventeenth century	P. 454 do

1. Aufrecht (*C C I*, 395) states that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita "is quoted by नीलकंठ in the आचारमयूख." According to Prof. P. V. Kane नीलकंठ's literary career falls between A. D. *1610 and 1645* (*Hist. of Dharma*. I, 440). If the exact date of आचारमयूख is determined it will give us a more exact limit to Bhaṭṭoji's date than what is furnished by the period A. D. 1610-1645 to which the आचारमयूख evidently belongs.

2. Prof. B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma states that Nṛsiṁhāśrama "wrote one of his works in *1547* and another in *1558*" (Vide p. 666 of *NIA*—Jan. 1940). This statement is against the date *A. D. 1500* for Nṛsiṁhāśrama given by Dr. Das Gupta and supports my view about Bhaṭṭoji's date recorded in this paper.

4. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's view	About A. D. 1630	*Vide* pp. 46–7 of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915)
5. Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi's view	C. 1600 A. D.	P. 742 of *Mysore Oriental Conference Proceedings*, 1935
6. Dr. A. B. Keith's view	Seventeenth century	P. 430 (fn. 4) of *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928)
7. Dr. M. Winternitz's view	About A. D. 1625	*History of Indian Literature* (*German*) Vol. III, p. 394

The above table shows the unstable state of Bhaṭṭoji's chronology. We have, however, indicated in this paper two sure dates on the strength of which the period of Bhaṭṭoji's life can be determined. As Bhaṭṭoji's pupil Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla[1] wrote a work in A. D. 1637 after having studied Grammar under Bhaṭṭoji (अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्रः भट्टोजिदीक्षितछात्रः) we may allow a period of about 20 years between this pupil and Bhaṭṭoji. On the other hand if we allow a period of 20 years between Bhaṭṭoji and his guru Nṛsiṁhāśrama who wrote a work in A. D. 1547 the period of Bhaṭṭoji's life would be "*A. D. 1557 to A. D. 1627*" i.e. a period of 70 years. This period arrived at on the strength of the dates of Bhaṭṭoji's guru and pupil gives independent corroboration to the following views of scholars regarding Bhaṭṭoji's age :—

1. On p. 454 of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* I, (1930) we read "Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla wrote a work in Saṁvat 1663. Here "1663" is a misprint for "1693".

Vide., Cata. of Vyākaraṇa Mss (A. S. B., Calcutta, 1931) Vol. VI, Preface, p. CV ff. —

March 1514 — Birth of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, whose son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was the guru of भट्टोजि.

A. D. 1586 — Death of Rājā Vīra-vala. शेषकृष्ण the guru of भट्टोजि wrote his प्रक्रियाप्रकाश at the request of this Rājā for the education of his son कल्याण (*Prakriyāprakāśa*, v. 35). Perhaps कल्याण and भट्टोजि read together.

About A. D. 1580 — भट्टोजि finished his education.

A. D. 1636 — Composition of शब्दशोभा (*Leipzig Cata.* 760) by नीलकंठ a direct disciple of भट्टोजि. M. M. Haraprasad Shastri states that the date "A. D. 1630" given by Dr. Belvalkar for Bhaṭṭoji is wrong.

(1) P. V. Kane—" A. D. 1560-1620 "— 60 years.

(2) B. A. Saletore—" A. D. 1575-1625 "— 50 years.

(3) W. A. Bambardekar—" A. D. 1570-1635 "— 65 years.

I agree with Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's view regarding Bhaṭṭoji's date[1] in so far as he states that " Bhaṭṭoji lived after the third quarter of the 16th Century " but it is difficult to agree with him when he states that " Bhaṭṭoji's literary activity must have begun at the earliest about the year 1631 A. D. *i. e. he might safely be understood to have flourished about the middle of the Seventeenth Century.*" If this conclusion is accepted it is difficult to reconcile it with the facts recorded in this paper and in particular with the fact that Bhaṭṭoji's guru *Nṛsiṁhāśrama* composed one of his works in A. D. 1547. To make Bhaṭṭoji of A. D. 1650 a contemporary of his senior of A. D. 1547 would be allowing him a span of life exceeding even the normal span of " three score years and ten. "

We have taken *A.D. 1637* (= *Saṁvat 1693*) as the later terminus for Bhaṭṭoji's date but I think, we can push back this limit to *A. D. 1633* (= *Saṁvat 1689*) which is the date of a Ms[2] of Bhaṭṭoji's शब्दकौस्तुभ recorded by M.M. Haraprasad Sastri. If this date is genuine we have before us the earliest dated Ms[3] of Bhaṭṭoji's

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1. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Report* (1883-84), Bombay, 1887, p. 51— Bhandarkar states that in the तिथिनिर्णय Bhaṭṭoji mentions several authors and works :—

अनन्तभट्ट, अपरार्क, कालादर्श, ज्योतिर्निबंध, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, नारायण, नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायन, निर्णयदीपिका, निर्णयामृत, पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय, प्रतापमार्तंड, प्रयोगपारिजात, भार्गवार्चनचन्द्रिका, मदनपारिजात, माधव, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, विश्वरूपनिबन्ध, सर्वज्ञ-नारायण, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, स्मृतिसंग्रह, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु is a work of नारायणभट्ट. The dates of this author given by Prof. Kane are " *about A. D. 1550-1560.*" (*Vide.*, p. 556 of *Hist. of Dharma.* I).

2. *Cata. of Grammar Mss* (A. S. B. Calcutta, 1931) p. 11 " 4224 A — The same (= शब्दकौस्तुभ by भट्टोजिदीक्षित), country-made paper, 9 × 4 inches. Folia 44 — lines 13 on a page ; character, Nāgara.

" *Date Saṁvat 1689.* Appearance old." The Ms contains the 3rd *adhyāya* upto the end of the 3rd āhnika of the 2nd pāda."

3. We have already referred to other dated Mss of Bhaṭṭoji's works bearing the dates *A. D. 1652, 1657, 1664, 1671, 1676, 1677* etc.

Śabdakaustubha and consequently we can adjust Bhaṭṭoji's period of life and literary activity between or about two sure chronological outposts *viz. A. D. 1547 and A. D. 1633—a period of 86 years.*

As s result of the data recorded in the present paper we get the following series :—

नृसिंहाश्रम ——→ pupil भट्टोजि ——→ pupil नीलकंठ
A. D. 1547–1558 (Ms of his शब्दकौस्तुभ is dated *A. D. 1633*). *A. D. 1637*

I shall close this paper by recording below the chronological data about Bhaṭṭoji referred to in the foregoing paragraphs :—

A. D.

1500 —Date of Bhaṭṭoji's guru Nṛsiṁhāśrama according to Dr. Das Gupta.

1547 —Nṛsiṁhāśrama wrote *Tattvaviveka* at Puruṣottamapura and another work in A. D. 1558.

1615 —Date of a Ms of *Tattvaviveka* referred to by Hall.

1618 —B. O. R. Institute Ms of *Tattvavivekadīpana* by Nārāyaṇāśrama, pupil of Nṛsiṁhāśrama.

1633 —Date of a Ms of Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabdakaustubha* (R. A. S. Bengal).

1637 —Bhaṭṭoji's pupil Nīlakaṇṭha writes *Śabdaśobhā*.

1642 —Reference to Bhaṭṭoji by Vatsarāja.

1652 —Date of Ms of *Prauḍhamanoramā* of Bhaṭṭoji (at the B. O. R. Institute).

1657 — —Do—

1663 —Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabdakaustubha* mentioned by Lakṣmaṇa paṇḍita in his *Advaitasudhā*.

1664 —Ms of Bhaṭṭoji's *Āśaucaprakaraṇa* (in America).

1671 —Ms (B. O. R I.) of Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

1676 —Ms of Bhaṭṭoji's *Āśaucanirṇaya* referred to by Hall.

1677 —Ms of *Āśaucanirṇaya* (in America).

13. A Rare Manuscript of the Vedabhāṣya-sāra of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*

In the list of works recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* under the entry[1] "भट्टोजिदीक्षित" no work of the name "वेदभाष्य" or "वेदभाष्यसार" is recorded. Rao Bahadur W. A. Bambardekar also makes no mention of any such work in his recent work[2] on Bhaṭṭoji while giving a complete list[3] of Bhaṭṭoji's works. In view of these facts and in view also of the absence of reliable data regarding Bhaṭṭoji's life and personality I was interested to know from Pandit Raghunātha Kṛṣṇa Pāṭankar of Rajapur[4] that he has come across a rare MS of the *Vedabhāṣya-sāra* of Bhaṭṭoji. Paṇḍit Pāṭankar was also kind enough to send me a copy of this MS made by himself together with a description[5]

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* *Adyar Library Bulletin 1941*, Vol. V, pp. 176–180.

1. *C C*, I, p. 395.

2. *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita — Jñātiviveka*, Bombay, 1939.

3. I note here for ready reference the names of 34 works ascribed to Bhaṭṭoji as given by Rao Bahadur Bambardekar :

अद्वैतकौस्तुभ, आचारप्रदीप, आशौचनिर्णय, आन्हिकम्, कारिका, कालनिर्णयसंग्रहम्, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, चतुर्विंशतिमुनिवरव्याख्या, चन्दनधारणविधि, जातकालङ्कार, तत्वकौस्तुभ, तत्वविवेकदीपनव्याख्या, तन्त्रसिद्धान्तदीपिका, तन्त्राधिकारनिर्णय, तर्कामृतम्, तिथिनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप, तिथिप्रदीप, तीर्थयात्राविधि, त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसंग्रह, तैत्तिरीयसंध्याभाष्य, दशश्लोकीव्याख्या, दायभाग, धातुपाठनिर्णय, प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय, प्रौढमनोरमा, बालमनोरमा, भट्टोजिदीक्षितीय, भट्टोजिभट्टीय, मासनिर्णय, लिङ्गानुशासनसूत्रवृत्ति, शब्दकौस्तुभ, श्राद्धकाण्ड, सिद्धान्तकौमुदी. The authorship of Bhaṭṭoji in the case of many of the above works is well known. It is worth while examining doubtful cases.

4. In the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. Pt. Pāṭankar is associated with the Sanskrit Pathashala at Rajapur. There is a Collection of Sanskrit MSS at this Pathashala.

5. The MS of *Vedabhāṣyasāra* is old and in a decaying condition. It was procured by Pt. Pāṭankar from his guru, the late Bālaśāstri Māiṇkar of Khārepāṭaṇ at some distance from Rajapur. The full name of Bālaśāstri is "Bālakṛṣṇa Lakṣmaṇa Māiṇkar."

of the original.[1] Realizing the importance of this work for the history of Sanskrit literature in general and for the history of Bhaṭṭoji's works in particular, I take this opportunity of thanking Pandit Pāṭankar for the materials for this paper sent by him and at the same time acquainting all students of Sanskrit literature with the contents of this work in brief.

The copy of the *Vedabhāṣyasāra* before me consists of 16 foolscap pages (about 29 lines to a page) and begins as follows :—

" ॐ

वागीशाद्याः सुमनसः सर्वार्थानामुपक्रमे ।
यं नत्वा कृतकृत्याः स्युस्तं नमामि गजाननम् ॥ १ ॥

माधवाचार्य[2]रचिताद्वेदभाष्यमहार्णवात् ।
श्रीभट्टोजीदीक्षितेन सार उद्ध्रियतेधुना ॥ २ ॥

एतस्मिन्प्रथमोध्यायः श्रोतव्यः संप्रदायतः ।
व्युत्पन्न स्तावता सर्वं बोद्धुं शक्नोति शुद्धधीः ॥ ३ ॥

अध्ययनविधेरर्थावबोधपर्यंतं व्यापार इति भाट्टादिमते अर्थज्ञानमावश्यकमिति स्पष्टमेव अक्षरग्रह......इति विवरणाचार्यादिमतेपि etc. "

The colophons of the *12 vargas* of the work are as follows :—

Page 5—" समाप्तो वर्गः "
,, 6—" द्वितीयो वर्गः "
,, 7—" तृतीयो वर्गः "
,, 8—" चतुर्थो वर्गः "
,, 9—" पंचमो वर्गः "
,, 10—" षष्ठो वर्गः "
,, 11—" सप्तमो वर्गः "
,, 12—" अष्टमो वर्गः "

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1. The original MS is now deposited with the Sanskrit Pathashala Rajapur.

2. Pandit Pāṭankar's remarks on this manner of mentioning the author of the *Vedabhāṣyasāra* may be noted here :—

" दीक्षितैः स्वीयव्याकरणग्रंथे श्रीवेदभाष्यकाराणां माधवाचार्याणां यत्र स्वमतसमर्थने समुल्लेखः क्रियते तत्र " वेदभाष्यकाराः " इति सादरं उच्यते, यत्र तेषां खण्डनं तत्र " यत्तु माधवेनोक्तं " इति सामान्यतो ह्येकवचनं विधीयते. " If this observation is correct we must regard the great grammarian as a " Singular " controversialist in line with other great Pandits of his age.

,, 13—" नवमो वर्गः "
,, 14—" दशमो वर्गः "
,, 15—" एकादशो वर्गः "
,, 16—" इति द्वादशो वर्गः ॥ शिवायनमः ॥ "

The evaluation of the present work must be left to the students of Sanskrit grammar as the comments of Bhaṭṭoji set forth herein are preponderantly grammatical. That the present work is Bhaṭṭoji's own production is proved by verse 3 quoted above, which explicitly states that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita has composed this *Sāra* on the basis of the *Vedabhāṣya* of Mādhavācārya. In the history of the commentators of the Veda this work of Bhaṭṭoji though brief may have its own place in view of Bhaṭṭoji's reputation as a grammarian. My interest in the present work is purely of a historical nature as I have been studying of late the historical background of Bhaṭṭoji and his pupils and have published so far[1] some papers pertaining to this field.

Bhaṭṭoji refers to the following works and authors in his *Vedabhāṣyasāra* :—

(1) माधवाचार्य p. 1.
(2) वेदभाष्य (माधवाचार्यरचित), p. 1.
(3) भाट्टादिमते, p. 1.
(4) विवरणाचार्यादिमते, p. 1.
(5) महाभाष्य, p. 1.
(6) स्मर्यते, p. 1.
(7) सूत्रकार, p. 2.
(8) ऋग्विधान, p. 2.
(9) श्रुतेः, p. 2.
(10) प्रातिशाख्यात्, p. 3, 7.
(11) तैत्तिरीयाः, p. 3.
(12) हरदत्तः, p. 5.
(13) यास्कः, p. 7, 8.

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1. These papers are : (1) *A new Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita* (*Annals*, Tirupati, S. V. Ori. Institute, Vol. I, pt. 2 pp. 117-127) and (2) *Varadarāja, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and His Works — Between A. D. 1600 and 1650* (*Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane*, 1941, pp. 188-199). I have projected a paper on Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, *another pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita* who wrote between 1637 and 1656 A. D.

(14) उत्तररत्ने,[1] p. 14. (" पक्षसी तु स्मृतौ पक्षाविदयुत्तररत्ने ")

I have recorded above whatever data could be gathered from the copy[2] of the MS supplied to me by Pandit Raghunātha Śāstrī Patankar and I now leave it to scholars to see if the present MS is a fragment of a larger work of Bhaṭṭoji of the title *Vedabhāṣya-sāra* or is a complete work by itself. It is also necessary to examine other works of Bhaṭṭoji with a view to seeing if he quotes this *Vedabhāṣyasāra*[3] in any of them.

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1. " उत्तररत्ने " is possibly a mis-reading for " उत्तरतन्त्रे ", vide my note on उत्तरतन्त्र (*Annals*, B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XXI, 1940, p. 133 footnote 1). उत्तरतन्त्र is part of a lost work on lexicography. It is mentioned by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita in his commentary on the *Vāsava-dattā*, which I have assigned to the period " *between A. D. 1250 and 1550* ". See also Aufrecht *CC*, I, 63. Bhaṭṭoji's reference to उत्तरतन्त्र evidently supports my evidence. उत्तरतन्त्र is not recorded by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in his list of *Kośas* (Pages LV-LXII of Intro. to *Kalpadru-Kośa*, Vol. I, G. O. S. Baroda, 1928). Perhaps someday we may recover this lexicon.

2. Since this paper was drafted Pt. Paṭankar has sent me the original MS of the *Vedabhāṣyasāra*. It consists of 9 folios (Size ; 11½" × 4¾") ; 14 lines to a page, 55 letters to a line. The MS is written legibly on country paper. It is quite old and worn out. It appears to be about 250 years old and may belong to the 17th century.

3. Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University of whom I inquired about other MSS of this work writes on 3-7-1941 : " We are not able to find any other MS of a *Vedabhāṣyasāra* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita."

14. Lolimbarāja and His Works *

According to Dr. A. B. Keith[1] Lolimbarāja's *Vaidyajīvana* is a late medical work of the *17th Century*.

The *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*[2] assigns Lolimbarāja to A. D. 1633.

Mr. Krishnamachariar[3] states that Lolimbarāja belonged to Harihara's court, but he does not state when this Harihara flourished.

Aufrecht makes the following entries about Lolimbarāja and his works :—

CC I, 546 — लोलिम्बराज Son of Divākara, client of Harihara, Son of Sūrya :—

—*Camatkāra Cintāmaṇi*[4] (med.)

—*Ratnakalā Caritra*[5] (med.)

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* *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, pp. 327–333 and 447–456.

1. *Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 511.

2. Ed. by S. Chitrava Shattri, Poona, 1937, p. 721. — This Kośa states that Lolimbarāja was the son of Dinakarabhaṭṭa Joshi of Junnar (Poona District). He had married a Muhammedan girl of the name Ratnakalā. He composed a work on medicine called *Vaidyajīvana* and a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* called *Harivilāsa*. He composed some songs as well. His real name appears to have been Tryambakarāja. He calls himself "*Kavipātashah.*"

3. Vide p. 216 (section 129) of *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937. "To Harihara's court belonged Lolimbarāja, son of Divākara a descendant of Sūryapaṇḍita. In *Harivilāsa* (Kāvyamālā, Bombay) in 5 Cantos and in *Sundara Dāmodara* he describes the history of Kṛṣṇa ending with the death of Kaṁsa. He was a great physician and his works on medicine, written in excellent poetry are much admired."

4. C C I, 183 — "चमत्कार चिंतामणि by Lolimbarāja. K. 212. Bik. 635, Burnell 69.[a]"

5. C C I, 489 — "रत्नकलाचरित्र med. by Lolimbarāja — I O 2079 B. 4,234.

—*Vaidyajīvana*[1]

—*Vaidyavilāsa*[2] (?) Khn. 88. See *Harivilāsa.*

—*Vaidyāvataṁsa*[3]

—*Harivilāsa Kāvya*[4]

—*Lolimbarājīya* (med.) Oppert II. 3316.

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1. C C, I, 671 — वैद्यजीवन by Lolimbarāja — numerous MSS. Commentaries :—

1. by ज्ञानदेव or दामोदर K. 220.
2. by प्रयागदत्त called विज्ञानन्दकरी, Oudh XI, 34.
3. by भवानीसहाय N W 582.
4. by रुद्रभट्ट IO. 1906, 2071, 2180, B. 2, 240, 242, Bik. 662, NW. 594. Oudh 1876, 34. XV, 140. P. 15. Poona 306. Peters. I. 119.
5. by हरिनाथ H. 346. Peters. 2, 197.

C C, II, 146 — Commentaries :—

1. प्रयागदत्त Oudh XX, 252.
2. रुद्रभट्ट Peters. 4, 41,
3. हरिनाथ BL 247. Stein 190.

C C, III, 128 — Commenatries :—

(1) रुद्रभट्ट AK 948, As. p. 185. Peters. 6. 463, Tb. 162.

(2) हारिनाथ Bd. 913, Peters, 6. 462.

Dr. Raghavan refers to the following commentaries on the *Vaidyajīvana* in a private communication dated 9th October 1939 :— (1) By Sukhānanda Yati (Ed. Bombay, 1863). (2) An elaborate anonymous Comm. (I O. 6234 and Madras Trien. 2221). (3) By Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita (2 MSS — Mysore I, p. 365). (4) By Tātā Sūrya-nārāyaṇa [Madras Trien. 2844 (b)].

2. C C, I, 613.

3. C C, I, 613 — " वैद्यावतंस by Lolimbarāja. B. 4. 244. Burnell 67[a]. Oppert II, 8367. " Dr. Raghavan informs me that there is one MS of the work at Rājāpur.

C C, II, 147 — " Stein 190."

4. C C, I, 761 — " हरिविलासकाव्य written by order of King Harihara, son of Sūrya, by Lolimbarāja, L. 83, K. 68. B. 2, 114. Bik. 233. Katm. 7. Oudh V, 6. NP. VIII, 16. Burnell 113[a]. Gu. 4. P. 10. Bhk. 27 (fr.). Oppert 3897. II, 2539. Peters. 3. 397. Printed in Pandit 2. 79. Quoted by पुरुषोत्तमदेव in वर्णदेशना.

C C, II, 236 — " Ulwar 987 ".

C C, III, 157 — " Bd. 487. IO 2420 ".

I shall now try to record the chronological data gathered from the available Mss of the works of Lolimbarāja mentioned by Aufrecht in the foregoing entries.

(1) *Harivilāsa*

About *Harivilāsa* Dr. A. B. Keith[1] observes :— "about 1050 Lolimbarāja wrote his *Harivilāsa* which in Canto iii gives the usual descriptions of seasons and in IV of Kṛṣṇa." If Lolimbarāja wrote about A. D. 1050 a poem of the name *Harivilāsa* he must be different[2] from another Lolimbarāja who composed his *Vaidyajīvana* in the *17th Century* as stated by Keith elsewhere (p. 511).

Aufrecht states (C C I, 761) that the *Harivilāsa Kāvya* is quoted by Puruṣottamadeva in his Varṇadeśanā. If this statement is correct it supports Keith's statement that Lolimbarāja wrote the Harivilāsa about 1050 A. D. because the date of Puruṣottama[3] as given by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā is about the 1st half of the 12th Century.

I shall now examine some of the available MSS[4] of the text of

1. *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 137 — Footnote :— " Ed. KM. 62. The date C. 1000 ascribed by Bhandarkar p. 20 is dealt with by Pischel (Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, pp. 37 f.). Cf. Fleet Bombay. Gaz. i, 2. 563."

2. Aufrecht (C C I, 546) evidently supports the identity of the two Lolimbarājas ; (1) author of *Vaidyajīvana* and (2) the author of *Harivilāsa* by including both these works under one entry.

3. Vide p. xxii of Intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I, Baroda, 1928- Sarvānanda (1159 A. D.) refers to Puruṣottamadeva in his *Amarakośaṭīkā*.

4, The Tanjore MSS Library contains 5 MSS of the *Harivilāsa* (Vide pp. 2854 ff. of *Tanjore MSS* Cata. Vol. VI, 1929).

MS No. 3857 does not contain verse 96 at the end of Canto V of the printed Kāvyamālā Edition. This verse contains a reference to the poet as रत्नकलारमण.

MS No. 3858 contains the verse " श्रीमान् व्हामरसो ... चिरम् " giving the genealogy of King Hari, the patron of the author.

MS No. 3859 does not give the verses containing the refeence to रत्नकलारमण.

(*Continued on next page*)

the *Harivilāsa* as found in the Kāvyamālā Edition (1895), Part XI (pp. 94 to 133). This examination may give us some dates of the MSS of this poem as also the date of composition of the poem as recorded in the MSS :—

(*Continued from the previous page*)

MSS Nos. 8860 and 8861 are incomplete.

The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute contains the following MSS of the *Harivilāsa* :—

(i) No. 78 of 1871-72 — ends —

"नानागुणैरवनिमंडनमंडनस्य । श्रीसूर्यसूनुहरिभूमिभुजो नियोगात् ।
त्रैलो(क्य)कौतुककरं क्रियते स्म कार्यं । लोलिंबराजकविना कविनायकेन ॥ ५४ ॥

इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपंडितकुलालंकारहरिहरमहाराजोद्योतितलोलिंबराजविरचिते हरिविलासे महाकाव्ये कंसवधो नाम पंचम सर्गः"

Date of the copy is recorded as "रसवेदेषुभूशाके १५४६" = *A. D.* 1624.

(ii) No. 467 of 1884-87.

(iii) No. 468 of 1884-87 — "हरिविलास: संपूर्ण: ...... किं त्यक्त्वेत्यारभ्य तदास्तां चिरमित्यन्तं पद्यद्वयं हरिविलासमुद्रणान्तावसरे श्रीहरिचन्देति प्रसिद्धमहाधनिक-पुस्तकागारोपलब्धं ततश्च हरिहरमहाराजस्य पितामहो ह्यामरसशर्मा गयागिरिनिवासी मौन्यु-पनामको भार्गवगोत्रीयोऽवगत: जननी च हरिहरमहाराजस्य येल्हाम्बिकेति भूमिकायामनुक्त-मपि स्मर्तव्यमिति शमिति।"

(iv) No. 487 of 1887-91 does not contain verses 96 and 97 at the close of Sarga V (printed text). It does not contain the two verses beginning with "किं त्यक्त्वा" and ending with "चिरम्" found in some MSS as substitutes for verses 96 and 97 of the printed text.

(v) No. 204 of 1879-80 does not contain verses 96 and 97 referred to above. It does not contain the two verses beginning with "किं त्यक्त्वा" etc. ending with "चिरम्". It ends as follows ;—

"काव्यं हरिविलासाख्यं ये पठिष्यंति केचन।
तेभ्यः श्रीहरिरत्रैव द्रव्यं दास्यति दैन्यहृत् ॥ १ ॥
शके मिते बाणनभः शरेंदुभिः सुभानु संवत्सरकोत्तरायणे।
अमोघमासस्य च शुक्लपक्षे कलौ कृतं काव्यमिदं जगन्मुदे ॥
इति। हरिविलासः॥"

The above verse gives Śaka 1505 = A. D. 1583 as the date of composition of the poem (Vide IHQ, Dec. 1936 pp. 719-20 of Mr. Patkar's article).

(*Continued on next page*)

The foregoing examination of the MSS of the *Harivilāsa* gives us the following chronology :—

A. D. 1583 —Date of composition recorded in a verse found in two MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, one of these MSS being copied in A. D. 1622.

A. D. 1622 —Date of MS (No. 204 of 1879-80).

A. D. 1624 —Date of MS (No. 78 of 1871-72).

In the Kāvyamālā Edition of this poem we find the following verses[1] before the last verse " नानागुण....कविनायकेन " :—

(*Continued from the previous page*)

The date of copying of the MS is " संवत् १६७९ " " शाके १५४४ " = A. D. 1622-3.

(vi) No. 377 of 1884-86 — This MS ends as follows :—

" किं त्यक्त्वा वसतिर्बलिक्षितितले पातालमेवाश्रितं
भो भोगिश्वर हंत तत्र सततं मां क्लेशयन्त्यर्थिनः ।
आस्तेकोपिहरिगयाचलगिरौ क्ष्मापालचूडामणि-
स्तेनार्थिप्रकर: कृतोधनदवद्गच्छाधुना त्वं सुखं ॥ ५६ ॥
हरिराजप्रतापार्कप्रतप्तांगी दिगंगना ।
दिगांका वीजयंतीव कर्णतालैः पुनः पुनः ॥ ५७ ॥
श्रीमाहारसौभवद्विजकुलालंकारचूडामणि-
र्गंगा निर्मलमौनभार्गवकुले तस्याद्वसुपंडितः ।
आसीचास्य सुभःसुरःसतुकृती येल्हांबिकायां चिरा-
ल्लेभे श्रीहरिनाम रत्नमवध्य(?)तदास्तां चिरं ॥ ५८ ॥
नाना गुणै......लोलिम्मराजकविना कविनायकेन ॥ ५९ ॥
इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपंडित........पंचमः सर्गः ॥
काव्यं हरिविलासाख्यं ये पठिष्यन्ति पंडिताः ।
तेभ्यः श्रीहरिरत्रैव द्रव्यं दास्यति दैन्यहृत् ॥ १ ॥
शके मते बाणनभः शरदेंदुभिः १५०५
सुभानुसंवत्सरकोत्तरायणे ।
अमोघमाघस्य च शुक्लपक्षे
कलौ कृतं काव्यमिदं जगन्मुदे ॥ २ ॥ "

The above colophon is important as it contains (1) the genealogy of the author's patron from King हरि of गयाचलगिरि and (2) the date of composition of the poem viz. 1505 = A. D. 1583 found in MS No. 204 of 1879-80.

1. The editor of the Kāvyamālā states that in some MSS the

(*Continued on the next page*)

" सुजनैः कुजनैरपि रत्नकलारमणस्य कवेः कविताश्रवणात्।
रमणीभणितं मुरलीरणितं भ्रमरीभणितं तृणवद्गणितम् ॥ ९६ ॥

अतसी कुसुमोपमेयकान्तिर्यमुनाकूलकदम्बमूलवर्ती।
नवगोपवधूविनोदशाली वनमाली वितनोतु मङ्गलानि ॥ ९७ ॥ "

These verses are not found in any of the B. O. R. Institute MSS including MS dated A. D. 1624 (No. 78 of 1871-72). Verse 96 contains a reference to the poet as रत्नकलारमणस्य कवेः i.e. as husband of रत्नकला, which is significant in view of the MS of रत्नकलाचरित (med.) recorded by Aufrecht viz. I O. 2079 and B. 4. 234.

It is possible to surmise that the verses 96 and 97 found in the Kāvyamālā edition of the *Harivilāsa* and containing the epithet रत्नकलारमण with reference to the poet are a later interpolation.

(2) *Commentaries on the Harivilāsa*

MS No. 182 of 1902-07 — This is a MS of a commentary on the 1st Sarga of the *Harivilāsa* (by Raghunātha) called Subodhinī.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

following two verses are found in place of verses 96 and 97 adopted by him in the printed text :—

"किं त्यक्त्वा वसतिं बले क्षितितले पातालमेवाश्रितं
भो भोगीश्वर हन्त तत्र सततं मां क्लेशयन्त्यर्थिनः।
अस्ते कोऽपि हरिर्गयाचलगिरौ क्ष्मापालचूडामणि-
स्तेनार्थिप्रकरः कृतोधनदवद्गच्छाधुना त्वं सुखम् ॥

श्रीमान्ल्हामरसोऽभवद्द्विजकुलालंकारचूडामणि-
र्गङ्गानिर्मलमौनिभार्गवकुले तस्माद्रविः पण्डितः।
आसीत्तस्य सुतः सुरासुरकृतिं येल्हाम्बिकायां चिरा-
ल्लेभे श्रीहरि नाम रत्नमवनीमध्ये तदास्तां चिरन् ॥ "

The genealogy of the patron of the author of the Harivilāsa as given in the above verses is as follows :—

हरि (King at गयाचलगिरि)
|
ल्हामरस (a द्विज of मौनिभार्गवकुल)
|
रविपण्डितः
|
× येल्हांबिका
|
Son
|
हरि (patron of लोलिंबराज author of हरिविलास)

Raghunātha states that our poet Lolimbarāja was a resident of Junnarapattana or the town of Junnara and was an incarnation of the goddess of the place Satyaśṛṅga.[1] It appears from this statement that the commentator Raghunātha was aware of the association of Lolimbarāja with Junnar in the Poona District but as we don't know the date of Raghunātha it is difficult to determine the exact antiquity of this association.

MS No. 425 of 1884-87 — This is a commentary by Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara, son of Caturbhuja. It is called *Sāhitya Saccandrikā*[2]. As the MS is fragmentary it is difficult to make any immediate use of it for chronological purposes.

I have noticed the above commentaries[3] on the *Harivilāsa*

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1. Vide verses 4 and 5 on folio 1 which read as follows :—

"सत्यशृंगनिवासिनी भगवती लीलावतारोभव-
च्छ्रीमज्जुनरपत्तनाधिवसतिर्लोलिंबनामा कविः ।
तत्काव्ये भगवत्प्रिये हरिविलासाख्ये मया टिप्पणं
भट्टश्रीरघुनाथशर्मविदुषा संतन्यते कौतुकात् ॥ ४ ॥
हरिविलासकाव्यस्य श्रीलोलिंबराजकवेः कृतौ ।
नाम्ना सुबोधिनी व्याख्या रच्यते छात्रतुष्टये ॥ ५ ॥"

On folio 12 the commentator explains "लोलिंबानां" "वैद्यानां" and quotes a lexicon in his support :— "लोलिम्रस्तु चिकित्सकः इति केशवः" । In the colophon he refers to his guru त्र्यंबकराज ("श्रीमत्त्र्यंबकराजगुरुचरणप्रसादे प्रेरित).

2. On folio 14 we have the following Colophon :—

"इति श्रीमच्चतुर्भुजसुतभट्टश्रीकमलाकरविरचितायां साहित्यसच्चंद्रिकायां हरिविलास-व्याख्यायां प्रथमसर्गः समाप्तः ।

Colophon of II Sarga reads as follows :—

"इति श्रीमच्चतुर्भुज............द्वितीयः सर्गः । भूमंडलमध्यवर्त्तिपत्तनवरनगरसेहराभि-धानपुरविरचितवसतिना श्रीगौडक्षतिसुरवंशभूषणज्योतिर्विन्नृसिंहतत्पुत्रलिंबाभिधानतत्पुत्रहर-नाथास्तत्पुत्रदिनकरस्तत्पुत्रज्योतिर्विद्विश्रामतनुसंभवेन न्यायाब्धिपारकलनतत्परेण मातृहरि-व्याईकुक्षयुद्भवेन भ्रातृमनाहनाभिधानकनिष्ठभ्रात्रा भट्टकमलाकरेण कृतोयं लेखः परोपकृतये स्वोपयोगाय लक्ष्मीनाराय(ण)चरणकोकनदोल्लसाय च ।"

3. Vide Aufrecht C C II, 183. — Commentaries on the *Harivilāsa* :—

(i) By कमलाकर Son of Caturbhuja, Rgb. 425 (= No. 425 of 1884-87).

(*Continued on next page*)

briefly because Aufrecht records only two commentaries on this poem only one of which is available to me viz. that by Kamalākara noticed above.

(3) *Ratnakalā Caritra*

Only two MSS of the *Ratnakalā Caritra* have been recorded by Aufrecht. The MS in the India Office Library[1] is described as "a dramatic poem of 84 verses (mainly Prākrit) by Lolimba-rāja." This MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1708 = A. D. 1651. The interlocutors in this dramatic poem are *Lolimmarāja*, *Ratnakalā* a *Sakhī*, a *budhī* (?), *Daūlata* and *Ātmārāma*. Bühler records a MS[2] of the *Ratnakalā Caritra* but he has included it in the works on Medicine.

As the poem appears to have been composed in Marāṭhī its author may have been a resident of Junnara. He may also be

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(Continued from the previous page)

(ii) By यादवाकूत Son of केशवाकूत BL. 115 (1), 116 (2); it is called भावार्थदीपिका. Raghunātha's commentary on this poem was not known to Aufrecht.

1. Vide, p. 1491 of Vol. VII of *Ind. Office Mss* Catalogue (1904), Ms No. 2079*c*. Verse 1 at the beginning refers to the author :—

"जयति धरणिपीठे लाललोलिम्मराजः।"

Verse 83 at the end also contains a reference to the poet :—

": लोलिम्मराजरचितैर्विविधैर्विचित्रैर्-
वैदग्ध्यवद्भिरहरत्नकलाचरित्रैः।"

The specimens of the Prākrit as recorded in the catalogue may be given here :—

"यडिघडिमुजपासों गोष्ठित्या(?)ची करावों
सकलभुवनभित्ती तो विचित्रिं लिहावों(?)।
बहु बहु उतकण्ठा जोउ जाइ लिजाणा
क्षणभरि तुम्हि आणा लाललोलिम्मराजः ॥ २ ॥"

last verse— "अतिरत्नकलाचरित्रजाले
सकलां हि कविच्या मनासि आले (?)।
अमृताहुन गोडजाले
पठवां वे पुठिलासि (!) भक्तिभावैः ॥ ८४ ॥"

2. *Sanskrit Mss from Gujrat etc.*, Fase. IV, Bombay, 1873, p. 234. The MS belonged to Nilakaṇṭha Raṇchod of Ahmedabad.

identical with the रत्नकलारमणकवि[1] referred to in the verses 96 and 97 which appear to me to be an interpolation substituted in the Harivilāsa in place of the verses giving the genealogy of the patron of the author with some particulars, which yet remain to be identified.

Lolimbārāja the author of the *Ratnakalācaritra* referred to above appears to be identical with Lolimbarāja about whom the following particulars are recorded in Marāṭhī sources :—

In the History of Marāṭhī Literature called the *Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata*[2] by V. L. Bhave some account of poets of the "16th Century" is recorded. This account furnishes the following particulars about Lolimbarāja :—

Lolimbarāja is known as the author of a commentary in Marāṭhī on the 10th skandha of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. He was a resident of Junnar.[3] His surname was Joshi and his descendants are still living in Junnar province. He wrote a Sanskrit work on medicine called the *Vaidyajīvana*. Many songs attributed to him are found in literature and in some old MSS. He was a well-known saint being included among the saints like उद्धवचिद्घन, रङ्गनाथ and शिवराम. Devadāsa[4] also refers to him.. The account of his early

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1. The *Vaidyajīvana* contains references to रत्नकला as follows :—

"अबले कृत कामबले चलदृक् कमले कमलातनुरत्नकले" I. 74.

"अपि रत्नकले कलानिधे कुशले कोकिलकोमलस्वरे" I. 79.

"अयि रत्नककले नीलनलिनछदने क्षणे" III. 12.

"रत्नकला कृते मूलं गवाक्ष्या." etc. III. 43.

"'अयि रत्नकले कुसुमाकलहंसकलहंसकलत्रसमानगते" IV. 46.

The Commentator Harinātha (A. D. 1674) explains the name "रत्नकले" as "रत्नजातिश्रेष्ठे" (fol. 30 of Ms No. 913 of 1887-91). This explanation as also his explanation of सप्तशृङ्ग as हिमालय (fol. 4) is indicative of the fact that he (as early as A. D. 1674) was not aware of the biographical particulars about the Deccani Lolimbarājā. In verse 22 of *Vaidyajīvana* a medical preparation is named after रत्नकला "चूर्णं रत्नकलाभिधं गुडपयोयुक्तं etc).

2. 2nd Edition, Poona, 1919, Published by B. I. S. Mandal, pp. 167 ff.

3. Raghunātha in his Commentary on the *Harivilāsa* calls लोलिंब as resident Junnar (" जुन्नरपत्तनाधिवसतिः लोलिंबनामा कविः ")

4. Bhave quotes the following reference to Lolimbaraja in Devadāsa's work :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

life is very interesting. He was the son of Divākarabhṭṭa.[1] In his younger days he was of a gay temperament and given to enjoyments. From a work called लोलिंबराजआख्यान it appears that he married a beautiful young Mahommedan girl whom he named रत्नकला.[2] He was extremely attached to her. After her death his outlook on life changed- He then became a devotee of सप्तश्रृङ्गभवानी[3].

(*Continued from the previous page*)

" लोलिंबराजें करितांस्तवन । मस्तकीहून काढिलें जीवन ।
भक्तवत्सल तूं भगवान । महिमा कोण वर्णूं शके ॥ "

Mr. Bhave mentions two Marathi authors of the name देवदास, one of these two was the pupil of Saint Rāmadāsa, while the other was " चैतन्यशिष्य (*Mah. Sārasvata*, p. 285.)

1. In the Colophons of Mss of *Vaidyajīvana* Lolimbaraja is called दिवाकरसूनु. This parentage is supported by the following verse towards the close of Vilāsa V of the *Vaidyajīvana* (Ms No. 1093 of 1886-92, folio 33[a]) :—

" आयुर्वेदवचोविचारसमये धन्वन्तारिः केवलं
सीमा गानविदां दिवाकरसुधांबोधि त्रियामापतिः ।
उक्तं सः कविताकृतां मतिमतां भूभृत्सभाभूषणं
कांतोक्त्या कृत वैद्यजीवनमिदं लोलिम्मराज: कविः ॥ २४ ॥ "

The following editions of the *Vaidyajīvana* have been published :—(1) Bombay, 1874 ; (2) Edition with *Dīpikā* of Sukhānanda and *Bhāṣyanivṛtti* of Mihiracandra (Sanskrit aad Hindi, Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1920).

2. Mr. Bhave quotes the following verses from लोलिंबराज आख्यान (p. 169) :—

" ज्याची कीर्त्ति जगत्रईं प्रगटली मन्दाकिनीचेपरी ।
जो एके घटिकेंत शंभर नवीं पद्यें विनोदें करी ॥
ज्याला ' कविपातशाह ' पदवी विद्वज्जनी दीधली ।
तो हा रत्नकले ! तुला विनवितो लोलिंबराज: कवी ॥ "

3. Raghunātha in his Commentary on the *Harivilāsa* refers to this goddess and our author's devotion to her as follows :— ' सत्य (प्त) श्रृङ्गनिवासिनी भगवती लीलावतारोऽभवत् " (v. 4 at beginning of MS No. 182 of 1902-07).

The *Vaidyajīvana* refers to सप्तश्रृङ्ग in verse 2 at the begginning as follows :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

and after some penance came to be very much respected by the people. His work " Vaidyajīvana " was composed in Śaka 1555 (= A. D. 1633). — Mr. Bhave then describes a MS of *Vaidyajīvana* with him as follows :—

All the verses in this MS[1] are in Marāṭhī. The work is narrated to his beloved. The work ends with the line :—"इति श्रीलोलिंबराजग्रन्थ वैद्यजीवन संपूर्ण "

One त्र्यंबकराज[2] is often mentioned in this work. Can we surmise if त्र्यंबक was the name of the author himself ?

Lolimbarāja is referred to by many authors.

(4) *Camatkāracintāmaṇi*

The Bikaner MS of this work has been described by Rajendralal Mitra.[3] He describes it as a work "on practice of medicine. By Lolimbarāja, Son of Divākara Paṇḍita." The parentage of the author given in the colophon[4] of this MS is

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

" रत्नं वामदृशां दृशां सुखकरं श्री सप्तशृङ्गास्पदं
स्पष्टाष्टादशबाहुतद्भगवतो भर्गस्य भाग्यं भजेत् ।
यद्भक्तेन मया घनस्तनि घटी मध्ये समुत्पाद्यते
पद्यानां शतमङ्गनाधरसुधास्पर्धाविधानोद्धुरं ॥ २ ॥ "

Vide p. 433 of Pangarkar's *History of Marathi Literature*, II (1935). सप्तशृङ्ग is situated to the north of Nasik. The image of the goddess at this place is 12 ft. high, with 18 arms.

1. So far we know only the Sanskrit work *Vaidyajīvana.* The Marāṭhī *Vaidyajīvana* referred to by Mr. Bhave may be a Marāṭhī translation of the Sanskrīt original by the author himself or by रघुनाथ, the *Commentator* of the *Harivilāsa,* who mentions त्र्यम्बकराज as his गुरु in this *Harivilāsaṭīkā* while Mr. Bhave informs us that the Marāṭhī *Vaidyajīvana* contains numerous references to one त्र्यम्बकराज.

2. Raghunātha in his commentary on the *Harivilāsa* refers to one त्र्यम्बकराज as his guru (see MS No. 182 of of 1902-07).

3. Catal. of Bikaner MSS, Calcutta, 1880, p. 635.

4. This Colophon reads as follows :—

" इति श्रीमद्दिवाकरपण्डितसूनुलाललोलिम्बराजविरचिते चमत्कारचिन्तामणौ नरप्रदिको नाम समाप्तः ॥ "

(*Continued on the next page*)

identical with that given in the MS of the *Vaidyajīvana*.[1] Burnell[2] describes a MS of *Camatkāracintāmaṇi*, but he does not say anything about the authorship of the work, perhaps owing to the incomplete nature of the MS.

(5) *Vaidyāvataṁsa*

Burnell[3] describes a MS of this work and states that it is a work by Lolimbarāja. He does not say anything about the parentage of this author.

The above work described by Burnell is identical with the work[4] *Vaidyāvataṁsa* at the B. O. R. Institute, viz. No. 601 of

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(*Contiuued from the previous page*)

The name " लाललोलिम्बराज " given in the above Colophon is exactly identical with " लाललोलिम्मराज " in the following line of the रत्नकलाचरित्र (I. O. MS):—

" क्षणभारि तुम्हि आणा लाललोलिम्मराजः "

1. In verse 3 of *Vaidyajīvana*, Lolimbarāja refers to दिवाकर as follows :—

" दिवाकरप्रसादेन रोग्यारोग्यं समाहृया ।
समासेन वयं कूर्म वाक्यं सद्वैद्यजीवनम् ॥ ३ ॥ "

2. Tanjore MSS, Part I, London, 1879 — " a rather absurd work on the cure of diseases, beginning with fever and coughs by some pedant whose name is not given. " " Wants end ; recent. "

3. Ibid, p. 67[a] — " *Vaidyāvataṁsa*, brief description of the properties of articles of food, commencing with fruits and ending with meats and preparations of milk by *Lolimbarāja*. " Begins :— " अनुकृतमरकतवर्णा शोभितकर्णाकदम्बकुसुमेन .... कविकुलसुलतानो लालिलोलिम्बराजः "

" Recent. The abstract in red is mostly in Mahratta. "

According to लोलिंबराज आख्यान referred to by Br. Bhave Lolimbarāja was given the title कविपातशाह (ज्याला कविपातशाह पदवी विद्वजनीं दीधली) Compare this statement with the above line from *Vaidyāvataṁsa* viz. " कविकुलसुलतानो लालिलोलिम्बराजः "

4. The MS begins :—

" अथ वैद्यावतंस लिख्यते ।
अनुकृतमरकतवर्णा शोभितकर्णा कदंबकुसुमेन ।
नखमुखमुखरितवीणा मध्ये क्षीणा शिवाशिवं कुर्यात् ॥ १ ॥

(*Continued on the next page*)

1899-1915. This MS is dated Śaka 1724 = A. D. 1802. The work contains 155 stanzas in all, out of which 7 are devoted to the description and properties of the tobacco plant तमाखू. These stanzas bear numbers 56 to 62 and are followed by the statement that they have been taken from some other work.[1]

The name of the work has, however, not been indicated in the MS. These verses appear to me to be an interpolation for the reason that the description of the तमाखू plant as found recorded in them presupposes the plantation[2] of tobacco in India about which no definite evidence for the period 1600 to 1625 A. D. or so has

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

यत्प्रसिद्धमिह वर्तते फलं शाकमन्यदपि तन्निरूप्यते ।
अप्रसिद्धकथनं तु निष्फलं ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्न लिख्यते ॥ २ ॥"

The MS ends :—

"वाग्भटस्य मतमस्ति समस्तं
सुश्रुतस्य चरकस्य च किंचित् ।
तद्वदत्रितनयस्य विचित्रं
वाग्विलासरचना मम तावत् ॥ १५३ ॥
अधराद्दिकृतबिंबा जितशशिबिंबा मुखप्रभया ।
गमनाविरलाविलंबा विपुलनितंबा शिवाशिवं कुर्यात् ॥ १५४ ॥
समस्तपृथ्वीपतिपूजनीयो । दिगंगनाश्लिष्टयशःशरीरः ।
गुणिप्रियं ग्रन्थममुत्ततानं । लोलिंबराजः कविपातशाहः ॥ १५५ ॥
शके १७२४ दुन्दुभी नाम संवत्सरे फाल्गुनशुद्धद्वादशां मन्दवासरे ग्रन्थसमाप्तिगमत् ।"

1. Vide folio 7 of MS No. 601 of 1899-1915 —
"धूमाख्यो धूमवृक्षश्च.........श्लेष्माणं च विनश्यति ॥ ६२ ॥
इति तमाखूनाम गुणांश्च ग्रन्थातरात्संगृहीतं ।"

2. Vide article on *tobacco* in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903, p. 925. *About A. D.* 1604-05 — "In Bijapur I had found some *tobacco.* Never having seen the like in India I brought some with me and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. .... His Majesty (Akbar) was enjoying himself after receiving my presents .... his eye fell upon the tray with the pipe and its appurtenances : he expressed great surprise and examined the *tobacco* etc." In the beginning the tobacco was imported into India and was considered an article of curiosity. A gold *tobacco-box* was presented by the King of Siam in A. D. 1622 to Mr. Richard Fursland, "the President of the English nation" at Jaccatra (vide p. 297 of the *Journal of the Siam Society*, August, 1938).

been available, though references to its importation into India have been recorded. Aśad Beg (died 1626) on a mission from Akbar to Bijapur about A. D. 1603 saw tobacco for the first rime. In A. D. 1617 Emperor Jahangir forbade its use as it had very bad effect on the health of many people. In 1660 Tavernier speaks of its growing in large quantities near Barhanpur.[1] The third MS. of the *Vaidyāvatamsa* as recorded in the Ujjain MSS[2] Catalogue is incomplete.

(6) *Vaidyajīvana*

I am not aware of the authority on which Mr. Bhave[3] made his statement that the *Vaidyajīvana* was composed in A. D. 1633 (śaka 1555). Prof. Velankar states that Bühler[4] records a MS of the *Vaidyajīvana* which is dated *Samvat* 1664 (= A. D. 1608). If this date of MS is correct it conflicts with the above date of composition of the *Vaidyajīvana* given by Mr. Bhave, viz. A, D. 1633.[5] Harinātha's commentary[6] on the *Vaidyajīvana* was composed in *Samvat* 1730 = A. D. 1674. We may, therefore, safely put about A. D. 1650 as one terminus to the date of Lolimbarāja.

Though MSS of all the commentaries on the *Vaidyajīvana* are not available to me for examination, I may record here the following dates gathered from the MSS of the work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

1. Vide p. 165 of *Bombay Gazetteer* (Khandesh), Vol. XII.

2. *List of Ujjain MSS*. 1936, p. 50,

3. *Mahārāṣṭra, Sārasvata*, p. 170.

4. *Gujarat MSS*, Fasc. IV, (1873) p. 241.

5. Cf. *Bodleian MSS Cata·* by Winternitz and Keith, Vol. II, Oxford 1905, p. 112 — MS No. 1092(1) of वैद्यजीवन "*The date is uncertain*; A. D. 1633 according to Sinh Jee but a MS of 1608 appears to exist, Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 2." The text of *Vaidyajīvana* with Harinātha's Commentary was printed at Benares in 1868.

6. Velankar's *Cata. of BBRAS MSS*., Vol. I, 1925, p. 88—MS No. 199. — The Chronogram for the date of composition of the Commentary "विक्रमाब्दगगणनाखंवह्निसितेन्दु" Samvat 1730. The MS was copied at Akbarābād in Samvat 1884 = A. D., 1828.

Manuscript	No.	Collection	Saṁvat	Śaka	A. D.
Vaidyajīvana (= V J)	374	1882–83	1848	....	1792
VJ with Comm. of Rudrabhaṭṭa	463	1895–98	1927	....	1871
VJ with Harinātha's Comm.	462	—Do—	1920	....	1864
-Do-	913	1878-91	1890	1755	1834
VJ with Rudrabhaṭṭa's Comm.	353	1879-80	1843	....	1787
VJ with Harinātha's Comm.	635	1895-1902	1868	....	1812
VJ with Rudrabhaṭṭa's Comm.	178	A 1882–83	1822	1687	1766

It will be seen from the above table that the oldest dated MS of the VJ at the B. O. R. Institute is dated A. D. 1766, but this date of MS is of no use in our chronology of Lolimbarāja's works. In the *Catalogue of Ujjain MSS* a MS[1] of the *VJ* with Rudrabhṭṭa's Commentary dated Śaka 1728 (= A.D. 1806) has been recorded.

Kielhorn[2] records two dated MSS of the *VJ*; one is dated Saṁvat 1810 = A.D. 1754 while the other of the commentary of Jñānadeva or Dāmodara is dated Saṁvat 1669 = A. D. 1613. If this date of a MS of *VJ*, viz. A.D. 1613 is correct it supports the date A.D. 1608 of a MS of the text of the *VJ*, recorded by Bühler. The cumulative effect of these two dates would enable us to push back the date of Lolimbarāja *before A. D.* 1600[3]. This conclusion

1. *Cata. of Ujjain MSS*, *1936*, p. 50.

2. *C. P. MSS*, Nagpur, 1874, p. 221 — *MS No*. 74 - वैद्यजीवन सटीकम् — *Saṁvat* 1810 and MS 75 — वैद्यजीवनटीका of Jñānadeva or Dāmodara — *Saṁvat* 1669.

3. Mr. Pangarkar (in his *History of Marathi Literature*, Vol. II (1935), pp. 603-4) repeats the date of composition of *Vaidyajīvana* viz. Śaka 1555 (= A. D. 1633) given by Mr. Bhave. He further states that Lolimbarājā's Chronology lies between Śaka 1500 and 1570 i.e. *Between* A. D. 1578 to 1648, a period of about 70 years. According to Mr. Pangarkar Ratnakalā was the daughter of the Yavana Subhedār of Junnar.

based on the actual dates of MSS makes it impossible for me to believe in the accuracy of the statement of Mr. Pangarkar that Lolimbarāja flourished between A.D. 1578 and 1648.

The evidence recorded so far about Lolimbarāja's works leads me to divide it into two sections: (1) Evidence about Lolimbarāja, the author of the poem Harivilāsa and (2) Evidence about Lolimbarāja the author of Vaidyajīvana and other works. The details of this evidence may be best represented as follows : —

Lolimbarāja I	Lolimbarāja II
(1) Author of *Harivilāsakāvya* (= *HK*).	(1) Author of the following works : — (i) *Vaidyajīvana* = *VJ*. (ii) *Vaidyāvataṁsa* = *VT*. (iii) *Camatkāracintāmaṇi* = *CC* (iv) *Ratnakalācarita* = *RC* and other Marāṭhī works.
(2) Composed *HK* in A. D. 1583. The verse recording the chronogram for this date is found in two MSS of the *HK*, one of them being copied in A.D. 1622.	(2) The following chronology of the MSS of this author is available : — A.D. 1608 — MS of *VJ*. A.D. 1613 — MS of *VJ*-Comm. of Dāmodara. A.D. 1651 — MS of *RC* (I O. MS) A.D. 1674 — Harinātha composed Comm. on *VJ*. A.D. 1766—MS of Rudrabhaṭṭa's Comm. on *VJ*.
(3) In the *HK* the author refers to himself, only as "लोलिंबराज कविनायक" in the concluding verse of every Sarga in which he also states that he composed the poem *HK* by order of king हरि.	(3) The parentage of this author is given in the *CC* as दिवाकरपण्डितसूनु. (see Colophon) and in the *VJ* (in the text and in the Colophons).
(4) MSS of *HK* are dated as follows : — A. D. 1622 — No. 204 of 1879-80 A. D. 1624 — No. 78 of 1871-72.	(4) No reference to the patron king is found in the works
(5) Except the name Lolimbarāja the *HK* gives no information about the author. Verses 96 and 97	

Lolimbarāja I	Lolimbarāja II
referring to the poet as रत्नकलारमण are spurious. (6) Verses 96 and 97 at the end of the printed edition of the *HK* are spurious as they are not found in any of the 8 MSS of the *HK* examined by me. On the contrary the verses recording the genealogy of the patron of our author are supported by the following MSS :— (i) Ms referred to in *No.* 468 *of* 1884–87. (ii) *No.* 377 *of* 1884–87 which records the date of composition viz. A.D. 1583. (iii) MS referred to by the Editor of the Kāvyamālā Edition of the *HK* in the footnote at the end of the poem. (iv) Tanjore MS No. 3858 contains the verse "श्रीमान् ल्हामरसो etc." (7) There is no evidence in the *HK* to prove that its author belonged to the Mahārāṣṭra. On the contrary, the patron king of this author hailed from a place called गयाचलगिरि. This king's genealogy is as follows :— हरि–ल्हामरस रवि-पण्डित (m. येल्हांबिका) son हरि (patron of the author of the *HK*). This line belonged to मौनिभार्गवकुल which is called a द्विजकुल.	*VJ*, *VT*, *CC*, *RC*. This omission stands in vivid contrast with the name of king Hari referred to many times in the *HK* of Lolimbarāja I. (5) Ratnakalā, supposed to be the wife of this author is referred to in the *RC* which bears her name in the *VJ* in which she is addressed by name in some verses and in the Marāṭhī work लोलिंबराज आख्यान, in which our author is called कविपातशाह. In the *VT* the author calls himself कविकुलसुलतान as also कविपातशाह (v. 155). (6) The reference to the place सप्तशृङ्ग is found in verse 2 of *VJ* (this may be the सप्तशृङ्ग to the north of Nasik). This author belonged to the Mahārāṣṭra. The commentator Harinātha (A.D. 1674) having no knowledge of the सप्तशृङ्ग hill near Nasik wrongly explains the expression "सप्तशृंगास्पदं" as "सप्त शृङ्गे हिमालये एव आस्पदं स्थानं यस्य सत्" (fol. 4 of MS 913 of 1887–91). Rudrabhaṭṭa explains the expression as "सप्तशृङ्गाख्यः पर्वतः etc." (fol. 3 of MS No. 463 of 1895–98).

I hope the evidence recorded in this paper about Lolimbarāja and his works will enable scholars[1] to clarify some of the issues raised in this study but which still require more evidence to enable us to arrive at definite decisions. I have tried to put together whatever information I could get from the sources so far available to me with a view to helping a more detailed examination of the several works of Lolimbarāja than what I have been able to carry out in the preparation of this tentative study.

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1. Since this paper was drafted Dr. V. Raghavan of the Catalogus Catalogorum office, Madras University, has sent to me the information recorded by his office regarding Lolimbarāja and his works. Some of this information may be recorded here :—

(1) Edition of *Harivilāsa-Kāvya* (*Pandit*, II) — Here the editor makes Lolimbarāja a contemporary of Bhoja,

(2) There are numerous MSS of the *Harivilāsa*, in none of which we find the chronogram (= A. D. 1583) found in the B. *O*. R. Institute — 2 MSS.

(3) In the *Vaidyajīvana* Lolimba describes himself as proficient in Vaidyaka, Kāvya and Music. No MS of a music work of Lolimba has yet been found.

(4) In the South Indian MSS of the *Vaidyajīvana* (Trien. Cata. No. 2221 , 2371, 2844 (a) the work is called " *Sadvaidyajīvana*."

(5) In Madras MS No. 2371 referred to above the colophon says that Lolimba was the son of king of Muñja of Vidarbha.

(6) Rudrabhaṭṭa, the commentator on the *Vaidyajīvana*, was the son of Koneribhaṭṭa who was doctor to one *Khān Khān* and Rudra himself wrote under *Mīrkhān*. If the identity of these two *Khānas* is proved we may have some external datum for Lolimba's date limits. — I am thankful to Dr. Raghavan for the information sent by him.

15. Śṛṅgārālāpa *

A BIG ANTHOLOGY OF ŚṚṄGĀRA VERSES BY RĀMA AND ITS RARE MANUSCRIPT DATED A. D. 1556

Recently I sent for publication a paper on the date of an anonymous anthology of the title *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī* composed some time before A.D. 1600. While examining MSS in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute under this title I came across the following MS which is dated *Saṁvat* 1612 (= A.D. 1556) and hence very useful to the students of the history of Sanskrit *Subhāṣita* literature :—

No. 92 of 1883–84 (सुभाषितमुक्तावली—शृङ्गारालाप), folios about 82, appearance old, well preserved, पृष्ठमात्राs used occasionally. The MS begins :—

" ॐ ॥ नमो श्री मकरध्वजाय ॥

सरस्वति नमस्तुभ्यं वरदे कामरूपिणी ।
विधास्ये लेष(ख)नारंभं सिद्धि करोतु सर्वदा ॥ १ ॥

इन्द्रादिदेवतानां च खेचराणां तथैव हि ।
(लिख्यते) पादान्नत्वा च शृंगारस्य शतं खलु ॥ २ ॥

श्रोणीबंधस्त्यजति तनुतां सेवते मध्यभागः
पद्भ्यां मुक्तास्तरलगतयः संश्रिता लोचनाभ्यां ।
धत्ते वक्षः कुचसचिवतामद्वितीयं तु वक्त्रं
तद्गात्राणां गुणविनिमयः कल्पितो यौवनेन ॥ ३ ॥ "[1]

Folio 9 — " तन्वंग्याधरसन्निधौ........व्याजेन धूमावली ॥ १०५ ॥ छ ॥
॥ इति श्री श्लोकसंग्रहे सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे प्रथमं शतं ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

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* *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XV, P. 2, pp.81–88.

1. This verse is identical with verse 43 on p. 268 of सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911), which reads as follows :—

" श्रोणीबंधस्त्यजति तनुतां सेव्यते मध्यभागः
पद्भ्यां मुक्तास्तरलगतयः संश्रिता लोचनाभ्याम् ।
धत्ते वक्षः कुचसचिवतामद्वितीयं तु वक्त्रं
तद्गात्राणां गुणविनिमयः कल्पितो यौवनेन ॥ ४३ ॥ "

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि शृंगारस्य द्वितीयकं।
शतं चैवाधुना रम्यं सर्वलोकमनोहरं ॥ १ ॥

लोकानां धैर्यहरणं कामिनीवल्लभं तथा।
कंदर्पाधिक्य कर्त्तुरिं अतिसौभाग्यदं तथा ॥ २ ॥

लोके प्रसिद्धं तथा रम्यं दंपत्योः प्रीतिवर्द्धनं।
न पिबेदमृतं चेदं संसारे सतृषो भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥"

Folio 10 — " ॐ नमो श्रीमकरध्वजाय ॥
उत्तुंगस्तनपर्वतादवतरन्......छलात् ॥ १ ॥ " etc.

Folio 16 — " कुंकुमपंककलंकितदेहा गौरपयोधरकंपितहारा।
नूपुरहंसरणत्पदपद्मा कं न वशं कुरुते भुवि रामा ॥ १०३ ॥[1]

करे वेणी चेणीसदृशनयना स्नानविरतौ
दधानौ सौधाग्रे हरनयनभस्मीकृतमपि।
इयं मुग्धा दुग्धांबुधिसलिलकल्लोलसदृशी
दृशा भूयोरमनसिजतरुं पल्लवयति ॥ १०४ ॥[2] ॥ छ ॥

॥ इति श्लोकसंग्रहे सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे द्वितीयं शतं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीः ॥"

Folio 17 — " ॐ ॥ नमो कुसुमशराय ॥

कंदर्पाय नमस्तुभ्यं यो जयत्रिभुवनादिकं।
शतं च तृतीयं नूनं लिख्यते तु यथाक्रमं ॥ १ ॥

अये केयं धन्या......जयति मदनः स्मेरवदनः ॥ २ ॥ " etc.

Folio 22 — " ......हर दग्धस्य मनोभवस्क्रमस्य ॥ १११ ॥ छ ॥
॥ श्रीः ॥
इति श्री श्लोकसंग्रहे सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे तृतयिं शतं संपूर्णं ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥"

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1. Vide p. 265 of सुभा. र. भाण्डागार, verse 13:—
" कुङ्कुमपङ्केनाङ्कितदेहा गौरपयोधरकम्पितहारा।
नूपुरहंसरणत्पदपद्मा कं न वशीकुरुते भुवि रामा ॥ १३ ॥"

2. Vide p. 284 of सुभा० र० भा०, verse 46:—
" करे वेर्णामेणीसदृशनयना स्नानविरतौ
दधाना हर्म्याग्रे हरनयनतेजोहुतमपि।
इयं मुग्धा दुग्धाम्बुधिबहलकल्लोलसदृशा
दृशा वारंवारं मनसिजतरुं पल्लवयति ॥ ४६ ॥"

Folio 23 — " ॐ ॥ श्रीमत्स्यलांछनाय नमः ॥
अभंगुरगुणोदया......सिंजनीकंधनु ॥ १ ॥ " etc.

Folio 26 — " आगामि दीर्घविरहं चिरमाविरासीत्........
......चरणांयुधानां ॥ ४७ ॥ बालायाश्चेतसि
चरणायुधशब्देन प्रातरुत्पद्यते । नेतरथा......परपुरुषस्पर्शो
माभूदित्यभिप्रायः ॥ इति श्रीरामनाटकादुधृते श्लोकसंग्रहे
सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे सीतारामाविलासो नाम ॥
श्रीः रामस्य शापात् वनगमनं ॥ " etc.

Folio 30 — " जल्पन्ति सार्द्धमन्येन पश्यंत्यन्यं सविभ्रमाः ।
हृदये चिंतयंत्यन्यं प्रियं को नाम योषितां ॥ १०१ ॥[1]
इति श्री सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां श्लोकसंग्रहे शृंगारालापे
चतुर्थं शतं समाप्तं ॥ छ "

Folio 31 — " ॐ ॥ जगन्मोहाय नमः ॥ नमो विश्वैकजैत्रे ॥
सरस्वति नमस्तुभ्यं वरदे कामरूपिणि ।
लिख्यते हि शतं नूनं शृंगारस्यतु पंचमं ॥ १ ॥
विश्रम्य रवनश्रद्रुमाणां छाया सुतन्वी विचचार काचित् ।
स्तनोत्तरीयेण करोद्धृतेन निवारयंती शशिनो मयूखान् ॥ १ ॥[2]

Folio 34 — " वैराग्ये सिंचत्येको नीतौ भ्रमति चापरः ।
शृंगारे रमते कश्चित् दृष्टिभेदः परस्परं ॥ ३८ ॥
यद्यस्य नाभिरुचितं न तत्र तस्य स्पृहा मनोज्ञेपि ।
रमणीयेपि सुधांशो न नाम कामः सरोजिन्याः ॥ ३९ ॥
॥ छ ॥ शृंगारातिलकात् ॥ "

Folio 39 — " चित्रं चित्रगतोप्येष ममालि मदनोपमः ।
समुन्मूल्य चललज्जामुलुंठयति मानसं ॥ १७२ ॥
इति श्रीसुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां श्लोकसंग्रहे शृंगारालापे
पंचमं शतं संपूर्णं ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥ "

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1. Vide p. 364 of सुभा ० र ० भा ० verse 5 :—
" जल्पन्ति सार्धमन्येन पश्यन्त्यन्यं सविभ्रमम् ।
हृदये चिन्तयन्त्यन्यं प्रियः को नाम योषिताम् ॥ ५ ॥ "
(Index p. 44 mentions this verse as " भगवतो व्यासस्य ")
2. Vide p. 288 of सुभा ० र ० भा ० verse 16
" विश्रम्य विश्रम्य वनद्रुमाणां छायासु तन्वी विचचार काचित् ।
तनूत्तरीयेण करोद्धृतेन निवारयन्ती शशिनो मयूखान् ॥ १६ ॥ "

Folio 40 — " ॐ ।। नमो कामप्रदीपाय ।।

इर्ष्या कुलस्त्रीषु न नायकस्य
निःशंककेलिर्न परांगनासु ।
वेश्यासु वै तद्वितयं प्ररूढं
सर्वस्वमेतावदहो स्मरस्य ॥ १ ॥ "

Folio 48 — " शृंगारातिलको नाम ग्रंथोयं ग्रथितो मया ।
व्युत्पत्तये निषेवंते कवयः कामनिश्चयं ।। ८१ ।।

कामनीकाव्यकथाकीदृक् वैदग्धी को रसागमः ।
किं गोष्टी विबुधैः सार्द्धं शृंगारातिलकादृते ।। ८२ ।।

श्यामा यौवनशालिनी मधुरवाक् सौभाग्यभाग्योदया
कर्णातायतलोचनातिचतुरा प्रागल्भ्यगर्वान्विता ।
रम्या बालमरालमन्थरगतिर्मत्तेभकुंभस्तनी
बिंबोष्ठी परिपूर्णचंद्रवदना प्राप्नोतु भार्या भवान् ॥ ८३ ।। "

— " रघुवंशात् तृतीयसर्गात् । तदाननं मृत्सुरभिक्षितीश्वरो " etc.

Folio 49 — " अनेन मार्गेण विशेषरम्यं संभोगशृंगारमिमं वितन्वन् ।
भवेकविभवि रसांबुविद्ध विदग्धगोष्टी वनितामनोन्यः ।। १०२ ।।

।। छ ।। इति श्री सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां श्लोकसंग्रहे शृंगारालापे षष्ठं शतं संपूर्णं ।। शुभं भवतु ।।

याज्ञिक गणेशसुत राम पठनार्थं ॥

गणेशाय नमस्तुभ्यं सुरासुरैर्हि पूजितः ।
लिख्यते चाधुना सप्तं शतं च लोकमोहनं ।। १ ।।

ॐ ।। नमः श्रीमनोभवाय ॥ ऋतुवर्णनं ॥ नवमसर्गे वसंतवर्णन
अथ समावघृते कुसुमैर्नवै " etc.

Folio 52 — " ...अनंगमोहितः ।। ४३ ॥ कुमारसंभवात्
......निवारयन्ती ॥ १०१ ।।
इदं शतं पुण्यकृतात्मनीप्रियं
प्रतीक्षणं चैव विलोकनीयं ।
मयोद्धृतं सादरकेण नाम्ना "

Folio 55 — " रामेण चैदं कुलीनैनं नूनं ।। छ ।।
॥ इदं सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे सप्तमं शतं संपूर्णं।। "

Folio 56 — " ॐ ।। नमो पुष्पचापाय ।।
मातस्तर्णकरक्षणाय यमुनाकच्छेन गच्छाम्यहं
कस्माद्रस पिनष्टि पीवरकुचद्वंद्वेन गोपीजनः ।

भ्रूसंज्ञाविनिवारितोपि बहुधा जल्पन् यशोदाग्रतो
गोपीपाणिसरोजमुद्रितमुखो दामोदरः पातु वः ॥ १ ॥ "[1]

Folio 61 — " इदं पवित्रं लोकेस्मिन् सुखदं पुष्टिवर्द्धनं ।
कामदं रूपदं चैव संभोग्यस्य कारणं ॥ ९९ ॥

सौभाग्यदं तथा नृणां लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।
उद्धृतं च मया नूनं स्वल्पबुद्ध्या ततः परं ॥ १०० ॥

इन्द्रियाणां वनं चैव कामिनीस्थानकं तथा ।
मदनस्य बलं चैव रतेरूपं तया किल ॥ १०१ ॥

श्रृंगारसंग्रहो नूनं न करोति च यः पुमान् ।
सारासंसाररूपेहि तृषितः स सदा भवेत् ॥ १०२ ॥

अतोहि परमुत्कृष्टो श्रृंगारस्य तु संग्रहः ।
कर्त्तव्यो हि ततो पुंसामन्योन्यो चित्तहारकः ॥ १०३ ॥

श्रृंगारेण विना राजन् जायते रसनिस्पृहः ।
निस्पृहो हि सदाऽकामी पुरुषो कामहारकः ॥ १०४ ॥

सारात्सारतरं ग्रंथं कथितं स्वल्पबुद्धिना ।
अघतव्यो सदा ग्रंथं ब्रह्मयज्ञं यथा किल ॥ १०५ ॥

विलोकनीयं सदा पुंसा कामिना कामरूपिणा ।
अतोधिकं कथं वक्तुं शक्यते हि मया खलु ॥ १०६ ॥

॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥
इति सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे अष्टमं शतं समाप्तं ॥
॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ छ ॥ "

Folio 62 — " ॐ नमो मीनलांछनाय ॥ रामविरह वर्ण्यते
मायाकुरंग विनिहत्य रामो ॥ " etc.

Folio 65 — " **रामनाटकात्** । हनूमान् जानकी "

Folios 65-66 — Verses 49-59 begin with अद्यापि, *e.g.*, " अद्यापि
तानि मृदुमन्मथभाषितानि " etc.—59

Folio 66 — " ॥ **मेघदूतात्** । कश्चित्कांताविरहगुरुणा " etc.

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1. Vide p. 24 of सुभा ० र ० भा ० verse 146 :—
" मातस्तर्णकरक्षणाय यमुनाकच्छं न गच्छाम्यहं
कस्माद्वत्स पिनष्टि पीवरकुचद्वन्द्वेन गोपीजनः ।
भ्रूसंज्ञाविनिवारितोऽपि बहुशो जल्पन्यशोदाग्रतः
गोपीपाणिसरोजमुद्रितमुखो गोपीपतिः पातु वः ॥ १४८ ॥ "

Folio 70 — "......भोजयामास शश्वत् ॥ १०९ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥
॥ छ ॥ ॥ इति सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे पुरुष-
विरहवर्णनं नाम नवमं शतं समाप्तं ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

॥ कामरूपमिदं नूनं शतं चैवो धृतं खलु ।
अनेकेभ्यो हि ग्रंथेभ्यो भ्राजते जनमोहनं ॥ १ ॥"

Folio 71 — "ॐ नमो श्रीकामाय ॥ अस्मिन् प्रयाणसमये" etc.

Folio 73 — "भगिनीं च यथा बंधुं राजपुत्रीं हि बिल्हणः ।
कालिदासो यथा वेश्यां तथाहं तवदर्शनं ॥"

Folio 76 — "रामनाटकात् । हनूमतं प्रति"

Folio 78 — "॥ यदुक्तं ॥ माहिषं दधिशर्करा पयः
कालिदासकविता नवं वयः ।" etc.

Folio 79 — (दशम शत has no colophon)
"......त्वां विना कापिचेतः ॥ १०० ॥"
—एकादश शत begins here.

Last Folio 82 — "॥ रतिविलापो समाप्तः ॥ १०३ ॥

सुगंधवनितावस्त्र गानं तांबूलभोजनम् ।
वाहनाभरणं चैव अष्टभोगाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्री सुभाषितमुक्तावल्यां शृंगारालापे एकादशमं शतं समाप्तं ॥

॥ याज्ञिक मदनसुत याज्ञिकधरणीधरसुत याज्ञिककामासुत
याज्ञिकहानासुत याज्ञिकमधुसूदनसुत याज्ञिक नीलकंठसुत
याज्ञिकगणेशसुत रामेणेदं स्वहस्तेन स्वस्मै पठनाय लिखितं ।
परोपकृतये च ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ सं १६१२ वर्षे वैशाशुदि........"

The foregoing description of the rare MS of the शृंगारालाप of सुभाषितमुक्तावली discloses the following facts about this work and its importance :—

(1) The total number of verses in this big anthology on Love (*Śṛṅgāra*) is about 1145 as can be seen from the following table :—

Chaptar	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
Verses	105	104	111	101	102	102	102	106	109	100	103	=1145

This is perhaps the biggest anthology on Love devoted to *Śṛṅgāra* alone.

(2) The date of this MS *No. 92 of 1883–84* (शृंगारालाप) is Saṁvat 1612 = *A.D. 1556*, as recorded in the olophon at the end.

(3) The MS was written by one याज्ञिक राम in his own hand (स्वहस्तेन) and for his own study (स्वस्मै पठनाय). राम gives the genealogy of his याज्ञिक family as follows :—

मदन (याज्ञिक)
|
Son
धरणीधर
|
Son
कामा
|
Son
हाना
|
Son
गणेश
|
Son
राम (who copied the MS in *A.D. 1556*)

(4) As regards the name of the *author* I have to state that I could not trace his name anywhere except in the following verse on folio 55 at the end of the 7th Chapter of the शृंगारालाप :—

" इदं शतं पुण्यकृतात्मनो(ति !) प्रियं
प्रतीक्षणं चैव विलोकनीयं ।
मयोद्धृतं सादरकेण नाम्ना
रामेण चेदं कुलीनेन नूनं ॥ "

The author states that this 7th Chapter of 100 verses or so was composed by him, of the name राम (मया...नाम्ना रामेण उद्धृतं) of a respectable family. Evidently this राम is the author of the entire anthology of 1145 verses.

(5) We have seen above that राम गणेश of the याज्ञिक family copied this MS in *A.D. 1556* with his own hand and for his own study. It is possible to suggest that this very राम (याज्ञिक) is identical with कुलीन राम, the author of the शृंगारालाप. He has recorded the genealogy of his कुल for six generations. This fact perhaps explains why he calls himself कुलीन in the verse quoted above. If the above identity is accepted this very याज्ञिक राम becomes the author of this rare

anthology and the date of its composition becomes identical with *A.D. 1556*, the date of the copy before us. Possibly this is an *autograph copy* of the anthology compiled by राम याज्ञिक from several previous works.

(6) Rāma, the author of this anthology, has taken care to tell us in 8 verses (verses 99-106 at the end of Chapter VIII) that *Śṛṅgāra* or Love is holy (पवित्र). It is the giver of pleasure and prosperity (सुखद and पुष्टिवर्द्धन.) It indicates good fortune (सौभाग्यद). In fact the author beleives that Love is the essence of life and consequently an anthology devoted to *Śṛṅgāra* is the best anthology ("अतोहि परमुत्कृष्टो शृंगाररस्य तु संग्रहः"). A man loses all interest in life without Love ("शृंगारेण विना राजन् जायते रसनिस्पृहः"). The author, therefore, exhorts his readers to read his present collection of *Śṛṅgāra* verses (शृंगारसंग्रह) frequently for pleasure and profit.[1]

(7) As Love is the central theme of this anthology the author appropriately invokes the God of Love at the beginning of each Chapter with varied epithets such as मकरध्वजाय, कुसुमशराय, मत्स्यलांछनाय, जगन्मोहाय, कामप्रदीपाय, मनोभवाय, पुष्पचापाय, etc. He is confident that this anthology will stimulate love among married couples as it is an elixir in the absence of which a man must remain ever thirsty ("लोके प्रसिद्धं तथा रम्यं दंपत्योः प्रीतिवर्द्धनं। न पिबेदमृतचेदं संसारे सतृषो भवेत् ॥ ३॥")

(8) The author does not record the names of the works from which he has drawn for his anthology. I note below some names of works and authors which came to my notice during my study of the शृंगारालाप :—

रामनाटक — fol. 26, 65, 76
शृंगारतिलक — fol. 34, 48
रघुवंश (तृतीयसर्ग) — fol. 48
कुमारसंभव — fol. 52, (रतिविलाप) 103
राम (author himself) — fol. 55
मेघदूत — fol. 66
बिल्हण — fol. 73
कालिदास — fol. 73, 78

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1. Compare Plato's remarks on *Love* :—

" *Love* is the eldest, noblest, and mightiest of the gods, and the chiefest author and giver of virtue in life and happiness after death."

(Vide p. 255 of *Dictionary of Quotations*, by. Rev. James Wood London, 1922).

The name of बिल्हण in the above list enables us to fix about *A.D. 1100* as the earlier limit to the date of शृंगारालाप as the Kashmirian author बिल्हण, who is probably identical with बिल्हण mentioned here, flourished between A.D. 1030 and 1100.

As regards शृंगारतिलक from which our author quotes on folios 34 and 48 I have to point out that it is identical with शृंगारतिलक of रुद्र or रुद्रभट्ट as the following evidence will show :—

Verses 81 and 82 on folio 48 of शृंगारालाप MS read as follows :—

" शृंगारतिलको नाम ग्रंथोयं ग्रथितो मया।
व्युत्पत्तये निषेवंते कवयः कामनिश्चयं ॥ ८१ ॥
कामनी काव्यकथा कीदृक् वैदग्धी को रसागमः।
किं गोष्ठी विबुधैः सार्द्धं शृंगारतिलकादृते ॥ ८२ ॥ "

These verses are found at the end of B. O. R. Institute MS of शृंगारतिलक of रुद्र (No. 217 of 1882-83) as follows :—

" शृंगारतिलको नाम ग्रंथोयं रचितो मया।
व्युत्पत्तये निषेवत कवयः कामिनः स्वयं ॥ ८२ ॥
काम्या काव्यकथा कीदृक् वदग्ध्ये को रसागमः।
किं गोष्ठीमंडनं हंत शृंगारतिलकादृते ॥ ८३ ॥ "

It is clear from the above verses, which are practically the same in the MSS of शृंगारालाप and शृंगारतिलक of रुद्र that the author of the anthology is indebted to रुद्र for these verses. The B. O. R. I. MS of शृंगारतिलक which contains these verses is dated *Saṁvat 1654* = A.D. 1598. The work has been printed in the *Kāvyamālā* Series Pt. III, 1887.

The identity of रुद्र or रुद्रभट्ट, the author of शृंगारतिलक, with रुद्रट the author of काव्यालंकारसूत्र who flourished in the first-half of the 9th Century has been questioned by some scholars, but Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri[1] observes that "as early as 1200 A.D. Rudraṭa and Rudra, authors of the *Kāvyālaṁkāra* and the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, were considered to be identical."

The present MS of शृंगारालाप dated A.D. 1556 is very important as all verses in it are earlier than this date. Without a *Pratīka*

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1. Vide p. 113 of Intro. to the *Padyavenī* of Venīdatta, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1944. Vide article on रुद्रट (A. D. 800-850) in मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश, by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937, p. 710.

Index to all the verses in this big anthology it is impossible to trace them to their sources. On a cursory comparison of some of these verses with those in the सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार (N.S. Press, 1911) I find them recorded in this compendium but unfortunately this record is useless for our purpose as the sources of these verses are not indicated by the compilers.

It is difficult to edit this anthology on the basis of the single MS but this task would be easy if a *Pratīka Index* to the entire anthology is first prepared and then used for tracing many of the verses in earlier sources. Such an Index would give us a chronological control over the material incorporated in this anthology and in this way the work of reconstructing the history of our Sanskrit anthological literature would be facilitated. My friend Dr. E. D. Kulkarni, M.A., Ph.D., has agreed to my suggestion for the preparation of such a *Pratīka Index* and let me hope that he will start his work on it in the near future.

The rare MS of the *Śṛṅgārālāpa* described here discloses the following evidence regarding the chronology of this anthology :—

(1) Most probably *Rāma*, the author of the anthology, is identical with *Rāma Yājñika* who copied the whole MS in his own hand in *A.D. 1556*. If this statement is correct, the date of this work is A.D. 1556.

(2) Even if the above identity of the author and the scribe is not accepted we can assign the anthology to the period, *A.D. 1100—1556*, as it mentions Bilhaṇa of the 11th Century on the one hand and is represented by a MS of A.D. 1556 on the other. More evidence in support of these limits can be furnished only when the several verses in the anthology are traced to their sources.

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16. The Chronology of the Works of Mahīdhara, the Author of the Vedadīpa and Mantra-Mahodadhi — Between A. D. 1530 and 1610 *

Aufrecht[1] records several works of Mahīdhara "Son of Rāmabhakta, grandson of Ratnākara, pupil of Ratneśvara, a son of Keśava" who "lived at Benares." These works include works of Mahīdhara composed in A. D. 1589 (*Mantramahodadhi*) and in A. D. 1597 (*Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatāprakāśa*). Besides these works Aufrecht records under महीधर the works *Rudrajapabhāṣya*, and *Vedadīpa*[2] on *Vājasaneyīsaṁhitā*. Evidently Aufrecht's entry presumes the identity of the author of the मन्त्रमहोदधि (A. D. 1589) and the author of the वेददीप, both authors having the same name Mahī-

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXI, pp. 248–261.

1. *CC I*. 444. — works :— (1) अद्भुतविवेक (2) ईशावास्योपनिषद्भाष्य (3) एकाक्षरकोश, (4) कात्यायनगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य, (5) कात्यायनशुल्बसूत्रभाष्य, (6) नृसिंहपटल, (7) पुरुषसूक्तटीका, (8) मन्त्रमहोदधि and its commentary नौका written in *1589*. (9) मातृकाक्षरनिघण्टु or मातृकानिघण्टु, (10) योगवासिष्ठसारविवृत्ति, (11) रामगीताटीका, (12) रुद्रजपभाष्य (13) विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलताप्रकाश, written in *1597*, (14) वेददीप on वाजसनेयीसंहिता, (15) षडङ्गरुद्रभाष्य, (16) सारस्वतप्रक्रियाटीका, (17) सौत्रामणिविनियोगसूत्रार्थ.

2. *A* Ms of *Vedadīpa* at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 41 of 1887-91) is dated *Friday, 28th October 1614*. Its colophon on folio 37 reads :—

"संवत् १६७१ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि षष्ठी भृगुवासरे वाल्मिकज्ञाति आचार्यपद्माकरेण लिखितं जयदेवपठनार्थं"

Poleman (*Indic Mss in U. S. A.*, 1938, p. 6) records two Mss of the *Vedadīpa* in America, one of which is dated Śaka 1715 = *1793 A. D.* Other Mss of Mahīdhara's works recorded by Poleman are :—

बृहज्जातकविवरण — Nos. 5069-70 (No 5069 is dated *A. D. 1800*).

मन्त्रमहोदधि — No. 4381.

रामगीताव्याख्या — Nos, 1183-84 (No. 1183 is dated A. D. *1678*; No. 1184 is dated A. D. *1677*.

dhara. Dr. Lakshman Sarup[1] assigned the author of the *Vedadīpa* to the 12th century on the basis of an inscription[2] dated 1175 A. D. in which two villages have been given[3] by Jayacandradeva of Kanoja to one Hṛṣīkeśi Śarman who is described as the grandson of "महापण्डित महीधर" (पौत्राय). Two years ago I had an occasion to read Dr. Sarup's remarks about an early date for Mahīdhara viz. the beginning of the 12th century. His remarks in connection with the identity of the two *Mahīdharas* failed[4] to convince me in the absence of any other corroborative evidence except the similarity of names. I had, therefore, made some study of the available works of Mahīdhara with a view to seeing if Dr. Sarup's date for Mahīdhara is correct or otherwise. Recently, however, Mr. K. M. K. Sarma of the Adyar Library, published a paper[5] on the "*Rudrabhāṣya* and date *of Mahīdhara and Veṅkaṭanātha.*" In this paper Mr. Sarma makes the following remarks about Mahīdhara's date as given by Dr. Sarup : —

"On the basis of an inscription which mentions a Mahīdhara Prof. Sarup assigns our author to the *beginning of the 12th century* (*Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, pp. 73-74). This date cannot be accepted for this Mahīdhara whose *Mantramahodadhi* bears at the end the chronogram अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते वेदबाणनृपैर्मिते (1654 = A. D. 1597). The invocation to Lakṣmīnṛsiṁha at the beginn-

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1. Vide his paper on "*Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara.*" (Pp. 10-12 of Summaries of Papers — 5th A. I. O. Conf. Lahore, 1928).

2. *Ind. Anti.*, XVIII, 1889, pp. 129-134.

3. This copperplate grant was discovered 60 miles north-east of Benares. It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1232 = *A. D. 1175*.

4. Aufrecht's identity of the authors of the *Vedadīpa* and the *Mantramahodadhi* is also repeated by Keith and Winternitz (*Cata.* of *Bodleian Mss*, 1905) p. 36 — "Mahīdhara wrote in A. D. *1598* the *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatāprakāśa* (Weber, *Cata.* I. 158) and the *Mantra-Mahodadhi* in A. D. 1589 (*Bodl. Cata.* p. 99) or 1597, Bendall *British Mus. Cata.* p. 45. n. 2"

5. *Adyar Library Bulletin*, December, 1940 — Mahīdhara mentions सायण माधव and शंकर in his Rudrabhāṣya ("सायणमाधवशंकरप्रभृतिभिः"), औवट माधवीयम् in the वेददीप. As Mr. Sarma has pointed out महीधर is later than सायण (14th century).

ing of both the *Mantramahodadhi*[1] and the *Vedadīpa* is proof of the identity of the author."

In the B. O. R. Institute Mss of the *Mantramahodadhi* the date of composition is given as बाणवेदनृपैर्मिते = A. D. 1589 (Saṁ. 1645).[2] I shall now consider the verses of invocation in the other works of Mahīdhara :—

(I) The कात्यायनशुल्बसूत्रभाष्य[3] (B. O. R. Institute Ms No. 653 of Viś. I. It contains a reference to Nṛsiṁha as will be seen from the verse at the commencement which reads —

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1. Ms of the *Mantramahodadhi* (No. 653 of Viś. I at the B.O.R. Institute begins :—

" प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं महागणपतिं गुरुम् ।
तंत्राण्यनेकान्यालोक्य वक्ष्ये मन्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥ "

The *Vedadīpa* begins :—

" प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं
भाष्यं विलोक्यौवटमाधवीयम् ।
यजुर्मनूनां विलिखामि चार्थं
परोपकाराय निजेक्षणाय ॥ "

[See शुक्लयजुर्वेदसंहिता (वाजसनेयी माध्यंदिन) with commentaries by उवट and महीधर — N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912].

The objective identity of the 1st line of the *Mantramahodadhi* with the 1st line of the *Vedadīpa* is not accidental. It proves the identity of authorship for both the works as pointed out by Mr. Sarma.

2. In the British Mus. Ms of मन्त्रमहोदधिटीका (नौका) the chronogram of the date of composition is " सायकवेदभूपति " = A. D. 1589 (Vide p. 46 of Bendall's Cata. 1902).

3. Ms *No. 363-of 1883-84* (B. O. R. I.) of the Bhāṣya contains its date of composition viz. *Sunday 8th March 1590* = Saṁvat 1646 Ravivāra, Trayodaśī. (*Ind. Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 382.) The chronogram of this date is found in the colophon of the Ms which reads as follows :—

" रसवेदांगभूवर्षे भाष्यंते धवले दले ।
त्रयोदश्यां रवेर्वारे वाराणस्यां महीधरः ॥ १ ॥
श्रीरत्नेश्वरमिश्रस्य गुरोः केशवजन्मनः ।
आज्ञया विवृतिं शौल्बीं भाष्यवृत्यनुसारिणीं ॥ २ ॥

(*Continued on next page*)

" श्रीनृसिंहं नमस्कृत्य रमेशं भक्तवत्सलं।
शुल्बस्य विवृतिं वच्मि भाष्यवृत्यनुसारिणी ॥ "

The " रामकृतावृत्ति " referred to by Mahīdhara in verse 3 of the concluding verses of the कात्यायनशुल्बसूत्रभाष्य was composed by रामचन्द्र वाजपेयिन्, who composed his कुण्डाकृति in A. D. *1489* (See Aufrecht C C I, 513) or A. D. *1449* (Kane H. D. Vol. I, p. 534).

(II) In the concluding verses of Mahīdhara's विवरण on the योगवासिष्ठसार we find a reference to god नृसिंह or " नरकेसरी " in the following extract:—

Ms *No. 75 of 1882-83* — folio 71 — " इति श्रीयोगवासिष्ठसार-विवरणे महीधरकृते दशम प्रकरणं ॥ १० ॥

" काश्यां वासिष्ठसारस्य विवृतिर्या मया कृता।
तया ब्रह्मस्वरूपोसौ प्रीयतां नरकेसरी ॥ १ ॥
यस्य तृष्णा न विश्रांता दरिद्रं तस्य वै ध्रुवं।
यस्य तृष्णा हि विश्रांता स सुखी प्राणिनां प्रभुः ॥ २ ॥
... ...

संवत् १७७५ वर्षे चैत्र सुदि २ बुद्धेल० पं० भूला विश्वेश्वर ॥ शिवोहं ॥ श्री ॥ '

The above Ms is dated Saṁvat 1775 = A. D. *1719*. Another MS of Mahīdhara's विवरण [1] on the योगवासिष्ठसार viz. *No. 74 of 1882-83* is dated " संवत् १७३० " = A.D. *1674*. On folio 1[a] of this Ms we have the endorsement " यतींद्रमधुसूदनस्यायं योगवासिष्ठसारः शिवाय प्रदत्तः " Ms *No. 279 of 1892-95* is dated *Saṁvat 1808* = A. D. 1752.

(III) Mahīdhara mentions God नृहरि in the following verse

(*Continued from the previous page*)

विदुषां सुखबोधाय व्यधाद्बुध्यनुसारतः।
भाष्यं रामकृतां वृत्तिं सूत्राण्यालोच्य तत्त्वतः ॥ ३ ॥
नीलकंठो रमानाथः सिताभः चन्द्रशेखरः।
भैरवेशः कृपासिंधुः समे तुष्यान्नृकेसरी ॥ ४ ॥

इति श्रीमन्महीधरविरचितं शुल्बसूत्रविवरणं समाप्तम् ॥ "

God रमानाथ ... नृकेसरी mentioned in verse 4 above is the same as रमेश ... नृसिंह mentioned in verse 1 at the beginning of का. शु, सू. भाष्य).

1. Vide p. 194 of Bendall's *Cata. of Brit. Mus. Mss*, 1902 — Ms No. 1302 of Mahīdhara's *Vivaraṇa* is dated *A. D. 1782*.

at the commencement of the विष्णुभक्तिकल्पलताविवरण composed in A. D. 1597-8 (= Saṁvat 1654):—[1]

Ms No. 320 of A 1881-82 —

" नृहरिं गिरिशं गिरिजां गणेशं
गुरुपादाब्जयुगं शिवं प्रणम्य ।
गुरुभक्तिलताभिधेऽत्र काव्ये
विवृत्तिं वच्मि यथामतीशतुष्ट्यै ॥ १ ॥ "

(IV) The work मातृकानिघण्टु mentioned by Aufrecht as the work of महीधर begins with an invocation to नृसिंह, गणेश and शिव as follows:—

Ms No. 243 of A 1883-84 — dated Saṁvat 1875 = A. D. 1819[2]

" श्रीनृसिंहं गणेशानं भारतामीश्वरं शिवम् ।
नत्वा वक्ष्ये मातृकाया निघंटं बालबुद्धये ॥ १ ॥ "

(V) The invocation of the ईशावास्योपनिषद्भाष्य of महीधर reads as follows:—

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1. The following verse at the end of the Ms contains the chronogram of the date (श्रुति, बाण, रस, इन्दु).

" श्रुतिबाणरसेन्दुमानवर्षे
नभसि स्कन्ददिने सितेऽर्कवारे ।
महिदासबुधो गिरीशपुर्यां
कृतवान्कल्पलताप्रकाशतां हि ॥ "

In the Ms (No. 63 of 1886-92) of पुरुषसूक्तटीका by महीधर I do not find any reference to नृसिंह. The Ms of शतरुद्रिय होम (No. 82 of 1886-92) ends as follows:—

" श्रीमन्महीधरकृते वेददीपमनोहरे ।
शतरुद्रियहोमोऽयं षोडशोऽध्याय इरितः

इति श्रीमहीधरकृते वेददीपे शतरुद्रियहोममन्त्रकथनम् नाम षोडशोऽध्यायः । "

2. The Ms ends as follows:—

Folio 5:—

" ग्रंथाननेकानालोक्यं महीदासेन धीमता ।
मातृकाक्षरसंज्ञेयबुद्धस्य परबुद्धये ॥ ५७ ॥

इति मातृकानिघण्टः पूर्तिमगमत् ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १८७५ मा. १२ शनिवासरे ॥ "

Ms No. 5 of 1895–98 dated Śaka 1775 = A. D. 1853.[1]

"गणेशं नृहरिं लक्ष्मीं नत्वा तत्कृपया मया ।
संहिताचरमाध्याये वेददीपो वितन्यते ॥ १ ॥"

(VI) महीधर refers to god नृसिंह in the concluding verse[2] of his रामगीताटीका which reads as follows :—

Ms No. 31 of A 1883–84 — folio 12.

"नभोंगषड्रूप मिते[3] च वर्षे
मास्याश्विने कृष्णदले भगाहौ ।
विश्वेशपूर्यां नृसिंहतुष्ट्यै
श्रीरामगीतां विवृतिमहीत्ताक् ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीमहीधरविरचिता रामगीतावृत्ति समाप्ता ॥"

(VII) In the षडंगरुद्रजपटीका the author महीधर invokes gods नृसिंह, गणेश etc. as follows :—

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1. The colophon of the Ms reads as follows :—

Folios 10-11 —

"श्रीमन्महीधरकृते वेददीपे मनोहरे ।
व्यास्तचर्मोध्यायः एवमात्मननिरूपकः ॥

इति श्रीवेददीपे चत्वारिंशोध्यायः ॥ श्रीकल्याणमस्तु ॥

इति वाजसनेयसंहितायां ईशावास्यभाष्यसंपूर्णमस्तु ॥ शके १७७५ प्रमादी नाम संवत्सरे उदगयने ग्रीष्मऋतौ ज्येष्ठमासे कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ॥ लिखितं मोरेश्वर सदाशिव पाठकस्येदं पुस्तकं ॥ स्वार्थं ॥ परार्थं च ॥ हस्ताक्षर शौचे इत्युपनामकस्य वासुदेवेन लिखितं etc."

2. The invocation at the commencement of the work is as follows :—

"गणेशं कमलानाथं प्रणिपत्य गुरोः पदं ।
करिष्ये रामगीताया व्याख्यानं बालबोधये ॥ १ ॥"

3. The chronogram नभस् , अग, षड्, रूप = Saṁ. 1660 (month of Āśvina, Kṛṣṇapakṣa and Sunday (भगाहौ). This date may correspond to *16th or 23rd October 1603* (Vide p. 9 of Vol. VI of *Indian Ephemeris*). Aufrecht has recorded only two dates of composition of two different works of महीधर viz. A. D. *1589* and *1597*. The above chronogram gives us A. D. *1603* as the 3rd date of composition of **Mahīdhara's work रामगीताटीका.**

Ms No. 113 of 1882-83 dated Saṁvat 1778[1] = A.D. 1722, -fol. 1

" नृसिंहं गणपतिं वाणीं नत्वा गुरुपदांबुजं।
चतुस्त्रिंशतेऽध्याये वेददीपोऽधुनोच्यते ॥ "

From the uniform references to god नृसिंह in his works it appears that महीधर was specially devoted to this god and hence it is but natural that this god should be invoked in the वेददीप as also in the मन्त्रमहोदधि and other works of महीधर.

In addition to the identity of invocations at the beginning of the वेददीप and मन्त्रमहोदधि Mr. Sarma urges against Dr. Sarup's date for महीधर the identity of the genealogy[2] of महीधर as recorded by him in the वाजसनेयसंहिताटीका called वेददीप and also the मन्त्रमहोदधि. Both these works give an identical genealogy as follows :—

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1. This date is recorded on folio 20 — " संवत १७७८ वर्षे माघ शुदी गुरवौ लेखः "

Folio 25 " इति षडंगरुद्रजपभाष्यं भट्टमहीदासविरचितं समाप्तं "

The B. O. R. I. *No. 63 of 1886-92* is महीधर's भाष्य on the पुरुषसूक्त. It does not contain any reference to god नृसिंह either at the beginning or at the end. It ends — " वेददीपे महीधरकृते. "

2. This is given in the *Vedadīpa*, as also in the *Mantramahodadhi* :—

" श्रीमद्वत्सऋषेः कुले समभवरला (द्रत्ना) करः पण्डितः
तत्सूनुः फनुसंज्ञकः समजनि श्रीविद्ययोर्भाजनम् ।
तत्पुत्रस्तु महीधरः समलिखन्मन्त्रार्थ मैते (शे) पुरे
स्वीयज्ञानकृते तेनो (ततो वि) तनुतां सन्मङ्गलं श्रीपतिः ॥ "

(Weber *Vāj. Saṁ.* Various Readings and Corrections of the Press, p. 19).

" आसीद्रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वान्ख्यातो धरातले।
तत्तनूजो रामभक्तः फनूभट्टाभिधोऽभवत् ॥
महीधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ।
निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीम् ॥
सेवमानो नरहरिं तत्र ग्रन्थमिमं व्यधात् । "

— *Mantramahodadhi* (Calcutta Edn. p. 398).

रत्नाकर (of वत्सकुल)
|
Son
फनुभट्ट (or रामभक्त)
|
Son
महीधर (author of वेददीप[1] and मन्त्रमहोदधि composed in A. D. *1589*)

The above identity of genealogy furnished by both the *Vedadīpa* and the *Mantramahodadhi* is a conclusive proof of the identity of authorship for both the works, one of which was composed in A. D. 1589.

In the *Mantramahodahi* Mahīdhara refers to a son of his, called कल्याण, who along with other Brahamans helped Mahīdhara to compose the *Mantramahodahi* in A. D. 1589.[2]

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1. The B. O. R. Institute possesses the following dated Mss of the *Vedadīpa* :—

No. 31 of 1879-80 — *Śaka* 1672 = A. D. *1750*.
No. 10 of A. 1881-82 — *Saṁ*. 1858 = A. D. *1802*.
No. 32 of 1879-80 — *Saṁ*. 1728 = A. D. *1672*.
No. 41 of 1887-91 — *Saṁ*. 1671 = A. D. *1615*.

Vide folio 37 —

" संवत् १६७१ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि षष्ठी भृगुवासरे वाल्मीकज्ञातिआचार्यपद्माकरेण लिखितं जयदेवपठनार्थं परोपकारार्थं शुभमस्तु "

This appears to be the earliest dated Ms of the *Vedadīpa* copied in A.D. 1615 i.e. 12 years after महीधर's composition of the रामगीताटीका in A. D. 1603. The India Office Mss of the *Vedadīpa* bear the date *Saṁvat 1791* = A. D. *1735* (Vide p. 29 of *Ind. Office Cata.* Part I, 1887). The British Mus. Ms No. 933 of *Vedadīpa* appears to have been copied from an original copy dated Saṁ. 1690 = A. D. *1634* (Vide p. 37 of Bendall's *Cata.* 1902).

2. The colophon of the *Mantramahodadhi* is important as it gives us more details about Mahīdhara's family than what we find recorded in his other works. I shall, therefore, reproduce it below :—

Ms No. 1138 of 1886-92 — folios 150-151.

" अहिछत्रद्विजछत्रवत्सगोत्रसमुद्भवः ।
आसीद् रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वत्ख्यातो धरातले ॥ ३० ॥

(*Continued on the next page*)

This reference by the learned father to his son proves that the son was also devoted to the learned pursuits of his father. It appears that कल्याण mentioned by महीधर as his son in the *Mantramahodadhi* is identical with कल्याण who composed a work on medicine called बालतंत्र in A. D. 1587[1] i.e. two years before the composition

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

तत्तनूजो रामभक्त क्त(फ)नूभट्टाभिदोभवत् ।
महीधरस्तद(दु) पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ॥ २१ ॥
निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीं ।
सेव्यमानो नरहरिं तत्र ग्रंथोमिमं व्यधात् ॥ २२ ॥
कल्याणाभिधपुत्रेण तथान्यै द्विजसत्तमैः ।
अनेकानागमग्रंथान्विलोकितुमनीश्वरैः ॥ २३ ॥
एकग्रंथास्थितं सर्वतंत्राणां सारमिछुभिः ।
संप्रार्थितः स्वमत्यासौ नाम्ना मन्त्रमहोदधिं ॥ २४ ॥
आविछिन्नान्वयाः संतु निजधर्मपरायणाः ।
मंगलानि प्रपश्यंतु सर्वे द्रोहपराङ्मुखाः ॥ २५ ॥
हरिः करोतु कल्याणं सर्वेषां जगदीश्वरः ।
प्रवर्त्तयंत्विमं ग्रंथं यावद्वेदो रविः शशी ॥ २६ ॥
नरसिंहो महादेवो महादेवार्तिनाशनः ।
मुदे परो महालक्ष्म्या देवावरनतोस्तु मे ॥ २७ ॥
नृसिंह उत्संग समुद्रजो मां । समुद्रजद्वीपगृहे निषस्तः ।
समुद्रजो हीनमतिः सदा व्यात् । समुद्रभक्ताखिलसिद्धिदायी ॥ २८ ॥
राजा लक्ष्मीनृसिंहो जयति सुखकरं श्रीनृसिंहं भजेयं ।
धैत्याधीशा महांतो वसतु नृहरिणा श्रीनृसिंहाय नौमि ।
सेव्यो लक्ष्मीनृसिंहादपर...ह नहि श्रीनृसिंहस्यपादौ ।
सेवे लक्ष्मीनृसिंहं वसतु मम मनः श्रीनृसिंहावभक्त ॥ २९ ॥
विश्वेशे गिरिजाबिंदमाधवो मणिकर्णिका ।
भैरवो जान्हवी दंडपाणिर्मे तन्वतां शिवं ॥ ३० ॥
अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते बाणवेदनृपैर्मिते ।
ज्येष्टाष्टम्यां शिवस्याये पूर्णे मंत्रमहोदधिः ॥ ३१ ॥"

1. Aufrecht *CC I*, 86 — "कल्याण, son of Mahīdhara, grandson of Rāmadāsa composed in 1587.

— बालतंत्र (med.) L. 818. K. 214. Peters 3, 399.

CC I, 371 — " बालतन्त्र med. B. 4. 230.

(***Continued on the next page***)

of the *Mantramahodadhi*. At the commencement of his *Bālatantra* Kalyāṇa states that he composed this work on the basis of *Prayoga-sāra*, *Suśruta* and other works.[1] At the end[2] of the work he refers

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

— by कल्याण, Son of Mahīdhara, L. 818. K. 214. P. Peters, 399.

CC II, 84— " बालतन्त्र med. by कल्याण, son of Mahīdhara. Oudh XX, 174. Peters, 4. 40."

CC III, 79 — " बालचिकित्सा or बालतन्त्र in Paṭalas by कल्याण, son of Mahīdhara, grandson of Rāmadāsa. AK. 999. AS p. 117. Bd. 900. Lz 1181 (breaks off in ninth Paṭala)."

The Mss of the बालतन्त्र in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute are follows :—

No. 623 of 1895-1902 — dated Saṁvat 1682 = A. D. *1626*.
No. 593 of 1899-1915 — dated Saṁvat 1848 = A. D. *1792*.
No. 999 of 1891-95 — dated Saṁvat 1836 = A. D. *1780*.
No. 1063 of 1886-92 — dated (Saṁvat) 1808 = A. D. *1752*
No. 433 of 1884-86— incomplete.

Possibly Ms No. 623 of 1895-1902, copied in A.D. *1626*, may prove to be the *earliest dated* Ms of the *Bālatantra*.

1. Ms *No. 999 of 1891-95* of Bālatantra begins—

" विघ्नव्रत(त)ति विध्वंसकारिणं दुःखहारिणं ।
कल्याणोहं नमस्कुर्वे विघ्नेशं ग्रंथसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥
प्रयोगसारप्रमुखागमेषु । प्रोक्तेषु शास्त्रेषु च सुश्रुताद्यैः ।
यदुक्तमेकत्र विरच्यतेस्मिन् । ग्रंथे मया तत् खलु बालतंत्रे ॥ २ ॥ "

2. The above Ms ends as follows :—

" ग्रंथान्विलोक्य प्रचुरप्रयोगान्
पद्यैः स्वकीयै कतिचित्रदायैः ।
रामचंद्रार्चनरतो रामदासः सतां प्रियः ॥ २ ॥
विद्वज्जनह्लादकरो मनस्वी महीधरः
सर्वजनाभिवंद्यः लक्ष्मीनृसिंहांघ्रिसरोजभृंगः
तदात्मजो भूद्विदितागमार्थः ॥ ३ ॥
कल्याण इत्युद्‌गत नामधेय-
स्तदात्मजो ग्रंथवरान्विलोक्य
परोपकाराय च वंधतंत्र ।
सतासमालोकनयोग्यमेतत् ॥ ४ ॥

(*Continued on the next page*)

to his own father महीधर as a devotee of god लक्ष्मीनृसिंह and also to his grandfather रामदास who was a devotee of god Rāmacandra. He also records the date of composition of the work viz. Saṁvat 1644 (= A. D. *1587* mentioned by Aufrecht). He belonged to the अहिछत्र line.[1] Mahīdhara also mentions this line of Brahmans "अहिछत्र, द्विजछत्र, वत्स गोत्र, समुद्भवः" in the *Mantramahodadhi*. Mr. Nanda Lal Dey (p. 2 of *Geogr. Dictionary*, 1927) identifies अहिछत्र with Ramnagar, 20 miles west of Bareli in Rohilkhanda. In the Plates of Gayāḍatuṅgadeva (J. P. A. S. B. Vol. V, pp. 348 ff) the grantees are certain Brahmans who originally came from *Ahicchatra* and settled in *Oḍra-viṣaya*. In a Jain rock inscription[2] of A. D. 1170 (*5th February*) reference is made to one सामन्त, a Brahman of the वत्सगोत्र in अहिछत्रपुर. It appears to me that Mahīdhara and his son Kalyāṇa, who state that they belong to the अहिछत्र line and the वत्सगोत्र were descended from the line of Brahmans in अहिछत्रपुर having the वत्सगोत्र referred to in A. D. 1170. If this view is accepted we have to state that his line flourished at Ahicchatra (or Ramnagar) for no less than 400 years and Mahīdhara left his country and went to

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

युगवेदयथाकाशमिते वर्षे नभे रवो
पौर्णिमायां चकारेदं लिलष च शिवालये ॥ ५ ॥"

The Chronogram युग, वेद, रस, आकाश, = Saṁvat 1644 = A. D. 1587.

1. On p. 219 of *Notices* (Vol. II, 1874) Rajendralal Mitra describes Ms No. 818 of बालतन्त्र and observes :—"The author was born in Ahichatra but the work was completed at Benares on *Sunday the full moon of Śrāvaṇa* in the Saka year 644 = A. D. 720." These remarks are quite wrong as the Chronogram, viz. युग, वेद, रस, आकाश = 1644 and not 644 as stated by Mitra. The exact date appears to be *Sunday, 28th July 1588* (vide *Ind. Ephemeris* Vol. V, p. 379). The Ms described by Mitra has the reading "अहिच्छत्राद्ध्योजातः" which is obviously a wrong reading for "अहिछत्रान्वये जातः" found in the oldest copy of the work of A. D. *1626* which records the verse correctly as follows :—

"अहिछत्रान्वये जातः पंडितैकशिरोमणिः।
रामचंद्रार्चनरतो रामदासः सतां प्रियः ॥ २७ ॥"

2. Vide p. 51 of D. R. Bhandarkar : *Inscriptions in Northern Ind.* — Inscri. No 344 — *Saṁ. 1226* – Inscription at Bijolia (Udaipur State, Rajputana).

Benares,[1] say between A. D. 1575 and 1590 for spiritual reasons after having passed his early life at Ahicchatra (or Ramnagar).

As a result of the foregoing discussion we are in a position to reconstruct the genealogy of Mahīdhara as follows :—

रत्नाकर — c. A. D. 1490 (of वत्सगोत्र ; at अहिछत्र)
|
Son
रामदास or रामभक्त[2] alias फनुभट्ट (at अहिछत्र) — c. A.D. 1520.
|
Son
महीधर — Between 1540 and 1610 A. D. (at Benares)
| pupil of रत्नेश्वर (Son of Keśava)
Son
कल्याण[3] — Between 1575 and 1640 A. D. (at Benares).

The dates of composition of the works of Mahīdhara and his son Kalyāṇa recorded in this paper, together with the dates of Mss of these works noticed by me are given below with a view to facilitating further study of the chronology of the works for which no dates could be fixed by me in this study :—

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1. Cf. " निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणशीं पुरीम् " (*Mantramahodadhi*) It appears that Mahīdhara's son Kalyāṇa also migrated to Benares along with his father and carried on his literary pursuits at this seat of learning.

2. Cf. Aufrecht *CC I*, 515— " रासदास or रामभक्त Son of Ratnākara father of Mahīdhara, grandfather of Kalyāṇa (Bālatantra *1587*) L. 818, Oxf. 100[a]. "

3. Aufrecht CC I, 86 makes the following entry :—

" कल्याणसूत्र a contemporary of Mahīdhara (1589) Oxf. 100[b]."

Evidently the above entry is based on the wrong reading of Oxford Ms wherein we have " कल्याणाभिधसूत्रेण " instead of " कल्याणाभिधपुत्रेण. " Mahīdhara is here referring to his son Kalyāṇa. There was no such person as कल्याणसूत्र. This is only a comedy of errors.

A. D.	Saṁvat	Śaka	Particulars
			Dates of Composition
			M = Mahīdhara ; *K* = Kalyāṇa
1588	1644	,,	*K* refers to his father *M* in his *Bālatantra*
1588	1644	,,	Kalyāṇa (Mahīdhara's son) composed his *Bālatantra*
1589	1645	,,	M composed *mantramahodadhi* in which he refers to *K*
1590	1646	,,	*M* composed his *Kātyāyanaśulbasūtrabhāṣya*
1597	1654	,,	*M* composed *Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā-vivaraṇa*
1603	1660	,,	*M* composed his comm. on *Rāmagītā*
			Dates of MSS
1614	1671	,,	B.O.R.I. MS of *Vedadīpa* of *M* copied — (*No. 41 of 1887-91*)
1626	1682	,,	MS of K's *Bālatantra* (*No. 623 of 1895–1902*)
1672	1728	,,	MS of M's *Vedadīpa* (*No. 32 of 1879–80*)
1674	1730	,,	MS of M's *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāravivaraṇa* (*No. 74 of 1882–83*)
1678	1734	1600	MS of रामगीताटीका in America
1719	1775	,,	— Do — (*No. 75 of 1882–83*)
1722	1778	,,	MS of M's *Ṣaḍaṅgarudrajapa-ṭīkā* (*No. 113 of A 1882–83*)
1752	1808	,,	MS of *Yoga. vā. vivaraṇa* (*No. 279 of 1892–95*)
1819	1875	,,	MS of M's *Mātṛkānighaṇṭu* (*No. 243 of A 1883–84*)

Judging by the works of Mahīdhara examined by me in this paper, Mahīdhara appears to have been a versatile writer. Whether he composed works pertaining to subjects not covered up by the list of his works recorded by Aufrecht is a matter for investigation.[1] There is reason to believe in the identity of Mahīdhara

1. महीदास appears to have been a second name of महीधर (Aufrecht CC I, 444). If this is so, we must examine the works

(*Continued on the next page*)

the author of the *Vedadīpa* etc. with Mahīdhara the author of the commentaries on the *Līlāvatī* and the *Bṛhajjātaka*. I am not, however, quite sure about the identity of this author with Mahīdāsa the author of a commentary on the *Caraṇavyūha*.[1]

(*Continued from the previous page*)

ascribed to writers of the name महीदास and महीधर as well. The following entries made by Aufrecht need to be examined :—

" महीदास—चरणव्यूहभाष्य "
" महीदास—ताजकमणि, मणित्थ, लीलावती टीका composed in *1587* वर्षफल पद्धति "
महीधर—बृहज्जातकविवरण "

Ms *No. 342 of 1882-83* of the बृहज्जातकविवरण begins—

" श्रीगणेशं नृसिंहं च शारदां गुरुपंकजं ।
नत्वा संक्षेपतो वच्मि बृहज्जातकटिप्पणं ॥ १ ॥ "

Compare **महीधर**'s **षडंगरुद्रजपटीका**—

" **नृसिंहं गणपतिं वाणीं नत्वा गुरुपदाम्बुजं** "

compare also लीलावतीविवरण (Ms No. 569 of 1895-1902).

" नत्वा लक्ष्मीनृपंचास्यं हेरंबं भारतीं रविं ।
लीलावतीविवरणं वक्ष्ये गुरुकृपावशात् ॥ "

The date of composition of the बृहज्जातकविवरण is Śaka 1520 = A. D. *1598* as recorded in *Ms No. 342 of 1882-83* (A. D. 1745).

" ख नेत्रेषु शीतांशु १५२० शाके व्यतीते
सहो मासि धातुस्थितौ सोमवारे ।
महीदासविप्रो महेशानुपुर्याम्
बृहज्जातके टिप्पणं संव्यधत्त ॥ १ ॥ "

This verse is followed by salutation to God नृसिंह who is referred to in all works of महीधर —

" वरा भीतिचक्रं पिनाकं दधानं
त्रिनेत्रे फणीशातपत्रं सिताभं ।
श्रियालिंगितं दाडिमं संदधत्या
नृसिंहं विरच्यादि सेव्यं भजेयं ॥ २ ॥ "

S. B. Dikshit (p. 486 of *Bhā. Jyotiḥśāstra*, 1896) identifies महीदास and महीधर who composed लीलावतीटीका in A.D. 1587 and बृहज्जातकविवरण in A. D. 1598. The B. O. R. I. Ms of लीलावतीटीका of महीदास viz. *No. 205 of 1883-84* is dated *Saṁvat 1733* = A. D. *1677*.

1. Vide p. 26 of Vol. I (Vedic) of *Cata. of Baroda* Mss, 1925 —

(*Continued on the next page*)

In view of the date recorded in this paper I would request Dr. Sarup to re-examine his date for Mahīdhara: viz. *12th Century* and give us his final opinion on the question of Mahīdhara's date in the light of any other independent evidence which he may have gathered since the publication of his paper in support or otherwise of the views already expressed by him. I have not succeeded so far in finding out any evidence in support of an early date for Mahīdhara but on the contrary I have recorded ample evidence in this paper to prove that *Mahīdhara flourished between A.D. 1530 and 1610 or so.*[1]

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Ms No. 41 (चरणव्यूह with भाष्य of महीदास) is described with the remark "*D. C. C. Saṁvat 1613.*" If this is date of composition we have to take *A. D. 1557* as the date of composition of this भाष्य, which agrees with महीधर's lifetime say between A. D. 1540 and 1610 as fixed by me. If this date is the date of the Ms I find it difficult to harmonise it with the lifetime of our Mahīdhara, the author of the *Vedadīpa* and the *Mantramahodadhi*. On p. 10 of the *List of Ujjain Mss* (1936) we find the following entry :—

" No. 226 — चरणव्यूहव्याख्या by महीदास (काशी)
(काल) सं ० १६०३ (लेखक) विश्वेश्वर
(copied in) सं ० १९३६ — पूर्ण "

It appears from the above entry that Saṁvat 1603 = A. D. *1547* is the date of composition of Mahīdhara's भाष्य on the चरणव्यूह while according to the entry in the *Baroda Cata.* quoted above the date of composition of this work appears to be A. D. *1557*. I am unable to verify these dates at present as the Mss at Ujjain and Baroda are not before me. In case, however, we can prove this महीदास to be identical with महीधर the author of the वेददीप and other works we shall have to fix his life-time between say A. D. *1530* and *1610*, a period of 80 years, which is not an impossibility as his son कल्याण composed a work in A. D. 1587.

1. After this paper was composed by the press I had an occasion to consult Prof. Bhagavadatta's *History of Vedic Literature* (in Hindi) Lahore, 1931, pp. 92-95. I am glad to find that Prof. Bhagavadatta's criticism of Dr. Sarup's date for Mahīdhara though brief coincides with mine and is justified by the evidence gathered in this paper.

17. Ākāśabhairava-Kalpa, an unknown Source of the History of Vijayanagara* ‡

In 1926 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona procured a copy of a Manuscript called the *Ākāśabhairava kalpa*[1] from the Sarasvati Mahal Manuscript Library of Tanjore. This is a modern copy prepared for the Institute from MS No. 6707[2] of the Tanjore Library. Dr. Burnell has included this MS in the manuscripts on Tantrik literature and has given a short notice of it in his catalogue. He observes thus—" This (MS) contains in a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, the *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā* but ends abruptly in paṭala 136. Gr. 3900. It describes the worship of *Sāmrājyalakṣmī* and then goes on to describe how a king's palace should be built ; what kind of elephants and weapons etc. he should possess. *Paṭala* 29 describes the way of laying out his city."[3] The MS contains 132 folios. Dr. Burnell also refers to other copies of this work which appear to be fragmentary.[4] My present paper is based on MS No. 6707 and not on other fragmen-

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* *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. V, Part I (Jan. 1938), pp. 7–18.

‡ Paper read before the 6th Karnatak Historical Conference held at Dharwar on 25th May 1938.

1. MS No. 43 of 1925-26 in the Gov. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

2. Vide Burnell's *Catalogue of Tanjore MSS*, 1879, p. 234.

3. *Ibid* p. 204.

4. *Ibid* " No. 6708 ff 77 a recent copy " of No. 6707.
   " No. 6709 ff 13 paṭalas 21·22 " copy of No. 6707.
   " No. 6710 ff 10 pp. 132-133 " copy of No. 6707.
   " No. 6716 ff 11 p. 129 "
   " No. 6717 ff 17 pp. 19, 20, 34, 37, 33, 40, 41. Imperfect."
   " No. 6715 ff 64. A recent copy but with many lacunae of another part of the same *Tantra* the *Umā Maheśvara saṁvāda* in 72 short *adhyāyas*. This section treats of the worship of the gods.

tary copies of the work mentioned by Burnell under Nos. 6708-10 and 6715-17 in his catalogue.

It will be seen from the analysis of this MS in the present paper that the work has no connection whatsoever with Tantrik literature proper, and that the name *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* given to it in the colophons[1] is quite misleading. It appears from the colophons that the author planned a big work with the title *Ākāśa-bhairavakalpa* of which the fragment before us (136 paṭalas = 537 pages of the B. O. R. I. copy) is a portion with the title *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā* which may be translated as 'a line or tradition of Imperial glory.' Though the subject-matter of the work is put in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī it can hardly be called Tantrik as will be seen from the topics of the several paṭalas noted below :—

Paṭala	Topic	Page
1.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमाहात्म्यकथनं	6
2.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीस्वरूपकथनं	10
3.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमन्त्रस्वरूप-कथनं	14
4.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीयन्त्रस्वरूप-कथनं	17
5.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमन्त्रजपस्वरूप-कथनं	20
6.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमन्त्रजपभेदस्वरूप-कथनं	22
7.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमन्त्रहोमस्वरूप-कथनं	27
8.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमन्त्रहोमभेद-स्वरूपकथनं	30
9.	महापूजानिमित्योत्पातस्वरूप कथनं	34
10.	महापूजार्थमण्टपनिर्माणस्वरूप-कथनं	36
11.	सावरणसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीगतिमा-स्थानस्वरूपकथनं	39
12.	साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीषोडशोपचारपूजा-मन्त्रस्वरूपकथनं	44
13.	महापूजास्वरूपकथनं	48
14.	महाशान्तिप्रयुक्तमण्टपस्वरूप-कथनं	51
15.	आचार्यर्त्विग्वर्णनस्वरूपकथनं	54
16.	महाशान्त्यङ्गवास्तुहोमस्वरूप-कथनं	60
17.	महाशान्त्यङ्गग्रहयज्ञस्वरूपकथनं	63
18.	महाशान्त्यङ्गदिक्पालहोमस्वरूप-कथनं	66
19.	महाशान्तिपूजाहोमस्वरूपकथनं	70
20.	महाशान्तिस्वरूपकथनं	76
21.	अष्टविधगिरिदुर्गस्वरूपकथनं	80
22.	वर्जनीयगिरिदुर्गाष्टकस्वरूपकथनं	81
23.	वनदुर्गादिसप्तविधदुर्गस्वरूप-कथनं	83
24.	अष्टविधसालनिर्माणस्वरूप-कथनं	87

1. The colophon of the first paṭala reads as follows on page 6 of the B. O. R. I. copy :—

"इत्याकाशभैरवाख्ये कल्पे महाशिवतंत्रे साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपीठिकायां साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी-माहात्म्यकथनं नाम प्रथमः पटलः ॥"

It will be seen from the foregoing list of the contents of the several *paṭalas* of this big compendium that the central figure of the entire work is the king, and each chapter or paṭala prescribes or describes what the king should do and what he should not do. The work appears to be designed somewhat like a manual on Indian polity with special reference to the practices current at the time the work was composed. The entire subject-matter has been standardised and generalised in such a manner that the manual should be of use to any Hindu king who wants to follow the Hindu code of ethics, religion and politics. The work deals with the worship of the goddess of sovereignty (*Sāmrājyalakṣmī*), and prescribes elaborate details of ritual to be carried out by the sovereign. About twenty *paṭalas* of the present treatise are devoted to this subject-matter which is followed by the description of the fortresses to be constructed by the king as also fortresses to be avoided by the king. We have also a description of the several ramparts of the fortresses and towns. One chapter is devoted to the detailed lines to be followed by the sovereign in laying out his capital and the construction of several buildings therein including the royal pavilions, the palaces with innumerable apartments including the inner apartments for ladies. The treatise also prescribes the auspicious marks of the sovereign and the necessity of his visits to the holy places with a schedule of his duties to be performed at these places. Description is also given of the military expeditions of the king. All this subject-matter closes with paṭala 40. From *paṭala* 41 onwards we get a description of the several religious festivals to be performed with all eclat by the sovereign during the course of a year. These include the festivals to be performed on the New Year's day, the celebrated *Rāmanavamī* festival, the *Kṛṣṇajayantī* festival, the *Navarātra* festival with special reference to V*ījayādaśamī*, the *Divāli* festival, the *Holi festival* styled as the *Kāmavrata* in which the image of god Cupid is painted on a piece of cloth and taken in a procession through the city. One chapter gives us a list of seventy two public servants, beginning with the prime minister and ending with the *Pīṭhamar-*

daka. A chapter is devoted to the exposition of the 64 arts. Chapters 84-104 are devoted to the description of *Nṛpābhiṣeka* or the coronation of the sovereign and all the ritual connected with it together with some information about the construction of the royal throne and the manner of its occupation by the sovereign. Ch. 111 deals with the characteristics of the sovereign and Ch. 112 is devoted to the description of the characteristics of the *Rājamahiṣī* or the queen consort. Ch. 113 deals with *rājanīti* or polity. Chs. 114-118 deal with the component parts of the king's military equipment such as the chariot, the elephants, the horses, foot-soldiers, bows and arrows. Ch. 119 is specially devoted to the study and practice of archery. Chs. 120–21 are devoted to the exposition of the art of warfare. Chs. 122 to 136 deal with the daily routine of the king from morn till eve including his morning duties, listening to the Purāṇas, conversation with poets, learned men and singers and taking counsel of ministers on matters of state. Chs. 128–29 describe the midday programme of the king including a description of the royal dinner with all its grandeur in company of the ladies of the royal house-hold. Ch. 130 deals with evening duties of the king. Ch. 131 deals with the king's attendance at a dancing performance which is followed by the king's moon-light diversions in the company of ladies of the harem. Ch. 134 is devoted entirely to a detailed description of the royal hunt and the king's return to the capital for washing away his sins consequent upon this hunt by making gifts of cows, land and gold.

I have described in brief the nature and extent of this elaborate treatise with a view to emphasising its importance as a source-book for the inner life of the Vijaynagara Empire as observed by the author of the treatise whose name cannot unfortunately be traced in the fragment before us. It remains for me now to adduce my reasons for the connection of this treatise with the Vijayanagara Empire.

It may be observed at the out-set that the treatise nowhere refers to any of the kings of Vijayanagara by name. We also do not find in the treatise any mention of any place specifically belonging to the ancient domain of the Vijayanagara Empire. This absence of nomenclature, geographical and historical, makes the problem of proving the connection of this treatise with the history of the Vijayanagara Empire still more difficult. I shall, however, attempt to record in this paper whatever proofs of a general nature I have noticed during a cursory study of this fragment, which leave no doubt that the treatise is connected with the social and political

back-ground of the Vijayanagara Empire to which Dr. B. A. Saletore has devoted two ponderous volumes.

(1) In the whole of the treatise there are only three references to *Vijayapura.* These are found in the following verses :—

Paṭala 3, p. 12 —

" क्षीरसागरमध्यस्थे श्वेतद्वीपेऽतिविस्तृते ।
विजयाख्ये पुरे रम्ये चिन्तामणिगृहाग्रतः ॥ "

Here we get a description of the installation of the goddess of sovereignty (*Sāmrājyalakṣmī*). We are told that it should be installed in the town called *Vijayapura,* which I believe is identical with *Vijayanagara.* The second verse which is almost identical with the above verse is found towards the close of the fragment and reads as under :—

Paṭata 136, p. 534 —

" क्षीराब्धिमध्ये श्वेताख्ये मनोज्ञे द्वीपनायके ।
विजयाख्ये पुरे रम्ये चिन्तामणिगृहान्तरे ॥ "

In this verse also the author gives us a description of the goddess of sovereignty and the place of its installation, which is a town called *Vijayapura.* I have not been able to make out exactly what is meant by the expression चिन्तामणिगृह in front of which the gooddess of sovereignty is to be installed. Most probably the expression refers to a royal palace called by this name. This inference, however, needs contemporary corroboration.

The name *Vijayapura* has been also applied to the modern Bijapur in the poetical works of the 17th century. For instance Jayarāmakavi in his poem called the *Parṇālaparvatagrahaṇākhyāna*[1] while describing the capture of the Panhāḷā fort by Śivāji, very ofen uses the name *Vijayapura* for Bijapur as will be seen from the following verse :—

Chapter IV, v. 80 —

" विजयपुरपतिस्तद्वज्रपाताभिघात-
प्रचुरतरकठोरा रावमाकर्ण्य तूर्णम् ।
सचिवपदमदेनाप्युद्धतः क्रुद्धपूर्वान-
विकलमतिखवासः स्थापयामास मुख्यान् ॥ "

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1. Ed. by S. M. Divekar, B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1923.

In this verse Khavāskhān is styled as *Vijayapurapati* or the master of Bijapur. As the poem under reference was composed by Jayarāmakavi in *Śaka* 1595 (*i.e.* A. D. 1673) we must look upon this usage as a 17th century usage of the term *Vijayapura* as equal to Bijapur. We must, therefore, record a usage of the identity of *Vijayapura* and Vijayanagara in support of our conjecture that the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* in the two verses quoted above means by Vijayapura the town of Vijayanagara and not the modern town of Bijapur. Dr. Saletore in his two volumes already mentioned refers to an inscription[1] which is contemporaneous with Vijayanagara history. In this inscription we find the name *Vijayapura* used for a town in the domains of the Vijayanagar Empire and as this is an earlier usage of the term *Vijayapura* I am of opinion that it supports to a certain extent my identity of the terms *Vijayapura* and *Vijayanagara* as adumbrated above.

The third reference to Vijayapura and to the royal palace—called Cintāmaṇi in the midst of it is found in *paṭala* 2, p. 7 as will be seen from the following verses :—

" मध्ये दुग्धाम्बुधेः श्वेतो नामास्ति द्वीपनायकः ।
लक्षयोजनविस्तारः सप्तप्राकारशोभितः ॥

कुट्टिमौघप्रभाजालपाटलीकृतदिङ्मुखः ।
जाम्बूनदमयैर्वृक्षैरसंख्यैरन्वितश्च यः ॥

तन्मध्येऽस्ति पुरी काचित् विजयाख्यातिशोभना ।
सालैस्त्रिभिर्युता रत्नस्वर्णरूप्यविनिर्मितैः ॥

तन्मध्येऽस्ति गृहं रम्यं चिन्तामणिसमाह्वयं ।
हेमप्रकारसवीतं बहुकक्ष्याभिरन्वितं ॥ "

The expression चिन्तामणिसमाह्वयं as applied to गृह in the verses quoted above leaves no doubt that *Cintāmaṇi* was the name of the

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1. B. A. Saletore : *Social and Political life in Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. II, p. 369 —

" In about Śaka 1449 (A. D. 1527-28) all the *nādgaudas* of *Vijayapura* granted land to Bayirappa Nāyaka etc. " — *Ibid p. 206* — God Rāmanātha of *Vijayapura* is referred to in an inscription (E.C. IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, text p. 106). I have not verified if this *Vijayapura* is identical with Vijayanagara. This *Vijayapura* is different from Bijapur and was apparently situated within the ancient domains of the Vijayanagara Empire *Cf.* विजयापुर = Bijapur, *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by Aiyangar, p. 111.

royal palace as suggested by me already. It would be possible to identify this name in the contemporary records.

(2) Dr. Saletore has emphasized the fact that the Vijayanagara kings upheld the system of administration based on the Hindu *varṇāśramadharma.*[1] In the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* also we find this system recommended to the king in *paṭala* 56, pages 176-77 as will be seen from the following verses :—

" जात्युत्कर्षापकर्षौं च विमृश्य च मुहुर्मुहुः ।
जातिसांकर्यराहित्यं कुरु साम्राज्यशासनम् ।।

जात्या श्रेष्ठोऽथवा हीनो यः कश्चित्स्वीयवर्त्मनी ।
संचरेत्तं सदा शोध्य तत्रैव परिपालय ।।

व्यत्यस्ताचारभेदे तु यः कश्चिदनुवर्तते ।
तं संशिक्ष्य यथापूर्वं संस्थाप्य परिपालय ।।

चतुर्वर्णाश्रमस्थानां तारतम्यमवेक्ष्य च ।
तत्तद्वर्णानुगुण्येन परामृश्यैव पालय ।। "

We know as a matter of history that the Vijayanagara empire stood as a bulwark of Hinduism against Mohamadanism for more than two centuries. The system of *varṇāśramadharma* or division of society according to four classes being of the very essence of Hinduism was enforced by the Vijayanagara kings and in the *paṭala* under reference, which is called the *Rājadharmopadeśasvarūpakathanam* or 'exposition of the duties of the king' it is but natural that the sovereign should be advised to prevent by his authority any tendency towards *jātisaṁkara* or mixture of castes by discriminating wisely between the higher and the lower castes and punishing severely all those who try to go against this steel-frame of Hinduism.

(3) Leaving aside the question as to how far the ancient domain of Vijayanagara could be called a *sāmrājya* in the light of our modern conception of an empire we have to point out that the present treatise which deals specifically with *sāmrājyapīṭhikā* or the Imperial tradition throughout uses the term sāmrājya as will be clear from the following expressions culled by me from the several *paṭalas* :—

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1. Saletore : *Social and Political life of Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. II, ch. I, pp.1-23.

साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी, pp. 6, 10, 14, 20, 23, 27, 30, etc.

सर्वसंपत्करं सर्वं व्रतानामुत्तमोत्तमम् ।
साम्राज्यदं विशेषेण राज्ञां साम्राज्यकांक्षिणां ।। —p. 147
साम्राज्यसंपदं देहि सततं सन्ततिं च मे । —p. 149
साम्राज्यस्थैर्यसिद्ध्यर्थं । —p. 227
साम्राज्यलक्ष्म्याः स्थैर्याय । —p. 238
साम्राज्यस्थैर्यसिद्धये । —p. 232
साम्राज्यस्थैर्यदं । —p. 259

Similar expressions are used on pages 260, 261, 267, 270, 293, 297, 306, 308, 327, 355, 360, 402 and 435. In ch. 41 we find the following verses mentioning the terms सम्राट्, मण्डलेश्वर and ग्रामनायक.

p. 128—" कुर्यान्महोत्सवं सम्राट् राजा वा मण्डलेश्वरः ।
तथा कतिपयग्रामनायको वापि मानवः । "

Other passages where the emperor and his tributary princes are mentioned are the following :

p. 155—" सार्वभौमो नरपतिर्मण्डलस्याधिपो दिवा (?) ।
देशस्य नगरस्यापि नायको वा महीपतिः ॥ "
p. 194—" सैन्यावलोकनमुखान् विनोदान्विबुधैस्सह ।
पश्यन्नृपतिसम्राट् राजा वा मण्डलेश्वरः ॥ "
p. 199—" एवं प्रतिदिनं सायं नवरात्रे महोत्सवं ।
कृत्वा नरपतिस्सम्राट् राजा वा मण्डलेश्वरः ॥ "

It is clear from these usages of the terms साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी, सम्राट्, मण्डलेश्वर and ग्रामनायक that the idea of *sāmrājya* or empire was dominant in the mind of the author of the treatise and it must have also been current in his times.

(4) Prof. V. Ramanayya states[1] that Kṛṣṇa Devarāya of Vijayanagara was expert in playing the game of chess and that gambling was a fashionable pastime in the aristocratic circles of the period. He also states that there are constant allusions to the game of dice by contemporary writers. We are also informed by him that the wealthy people of the period sought diversion in playing chess and the dice and that the game of dice was more popular than the game of chess.

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1. N. V. Ramanayya : *Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, 1935, pp. 410-419.

In the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* we find in *paṭala* 32 detailed instructions regarding the construction of the several inner apartments of the royal palace. These apartments are as follows :— स्नानगेह or the bath-room ; पचनालय or the kitchen-room ; शयनागार or the bed-room ; कोषागार or the store room ; शस्त्रशाला or the armoury ; मज्जनालय or the swimming bath ; विद्याशाला or the study room ; भोजनालय or the dining room ; धनगेह or the treasury ; रत्नमन्दिर or the room for keeping jewellery ; वस्त्रसदन or a room for storing clothes ; गन्धमन्दिर or a room for keeping scents ; देवतागार or the temple, and the द्यूतमन्दिर or the room for playing at dice.

I am of opinion that the provision of a special room called the द्यूतमन्दिर provided for playing at dice leaves to doubt that the kings of the period were fond of dice and consequently the writer of the present manual intended for the use of Kings of the period, has taken care to specify a द्यूतमन्दिर in the list of the king's inner apartments recorded by him.

(5) We are told by the writers of Indian history that the first record of the use of the cannon and gun-powder in Indian warfare is in the *Memoirs of Baber*.[1] In 1528 Baber forced the passage of the Ganges near Kanauj with the aid of artillery. If this statement is correct we must find a reference to guns in the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* which according to our interpretation is possibly written by some one between 1500 and 1565. In fact we do find a reference to gun in this treatise. In *paṭala* 60 the king is advised to worship thirty-two weapons in which No. 23 is *nālikā*, which I interpret as a small gun. The verse containing reference to this weapon reads as follows :—

p. 189—" त्रयोविंशं नालिकास्त्रं स्वस्तिकं तदनन्तरम् ।
पञ्चविंशं तु टंकं स्यात् षड्विंशं हलमीरितम् ॥ "

In support of my interpretation I shall quote a passage from a work composed in A. D. 1596 by Rudrakavi in which the word *nālikā* definitely means a gun.[2] This passage refers to red hot iron balls issuing from the cannon's mouth and Rudrakavi describes this gun-fire by the expression ' नालिकाविनिहतज्वलदायसगोलकैः. ' This usage is, I believe, conclusive so far as the meaning of the term *nālikā* is concerned and is further supported by the use of

1. Sir P. C. Ray : *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I. pp. 98-99.

2. *Rāṣtrauḍhamahāvaaṁśkāvya* Ch. XXV 52. (G. O. Series, Baroda.)

gun-powder indirectly referred to in the description of fire-works given in the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa.* In *paṭala* 62 which deals with several entertainments for the king we find a description of the fire-works in the following passage :—

p. 197—" ततः पश्येद्दारुयन्त्रविशेषान् स्यन्दनाकृतीन् ।
दिवाभ्रान्त्या कल्पयतः केनचित्तेजसानिशि ॥

उच्चावचान् बाणवृक्षान् ततः पश्यज्जनेश्वरः ।
स्फुलिंगान् चामराकारान् तिर्यगुद्गिरतो बहून् ॥

ततः प्रलयकालोद्यत् घनगर्जितभीषणम् ।
शृणुयाद्बाणनिनदं विनोदावधिसूचकम् ॥

एवं प्रतिदिनं राजा विनोदान् पञ्चविंशतिम् ॥ "

In this passage the author gives us a description of the several structures used in the pyrotechnic display that the king was to witness every day. The expression बाणवृक्षान् possibly refers to structures on which the *bāṇas* or rockets were hung and from which they were fired off in the air. Sparks of fire were emitted from these structures and the whole display looked like the hairs of a chowrie. Some of the sparks issuing from these structures were shot off at a tangent. The entire display came to a close by the sound of a rocket that was thrown last to indicate the closure of the entertainment.

We know from the foreign travellers at the court of Vijayanagara kings that fire-works were specially used by the Vijayanagara kings during the celebrated *Mahānavamī* festival. Abdur Razzaq,[1] the Persian embassador, who witnessed the *Mahānavamī* celebrations observes : " One cannot, without entering into a a great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibbs and various other amusements which were exhibited. " Another foreign observer from Portugal who was present at the Vijayanagara court describes the *mahānavamī* festival and refers to the fire-works used during this festival as follows :—" When these amusements are ended they begin to throw up many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs (tiros) and rockets. "[2] I think the castles mentioned by the Portuguese chronicler are identical with the structures described by the expression दारुयन्त्रविशेषान् स्यन्दना-

1. Saletore, Op. cit., vol. II, pp. 373-74.
2. *Ibid*, p. 381.

कृतीन् and the rockets referred to by him are identical with the बाण-वृक्षs referred to by the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa.* As the use of gun-powder was quite a novelty in India when it was first imported it is possible to suppose that its use for purposes of fire-works on a large scale became a special feature of royal entertainments as evinced by the descriptions of fire-works given by foreign observers and also recorded in the *Ākāśabhiaravakalpa* as we have seen above.

(6) Prof. Venkata Ramanayya[1] while dealing with the military organization and the *Kandācāra* department of the Rāyas of Vijaya-nagara observes that *four* kinds of forts are mentioned in the *Rāyavācaka* which is an account of the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in Telugu prose. But a contemporary writer divides the forts into *eight* classes. This contemporary writer is no other than Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, a great scholar of the time of Kṛṣṇadevarāya. This scholar in his *Daivajñavilāsa* (Rājacaritrakhaṇḍa)[2] mentions the eight classes of forts as follows :—

" प्रथमं गिरिदुर्गं च वनदुर्गं द्वितीयकम् ।
तृतीयं गह्वरं दुर्गं जलदुर्गं चतुर्थकम् ॥
पञ्चमं कर्दमं दुर्गं षष्ठं स्यान्मिश्रकं तथा ।
सप्तमं ग्रामदुर्गं स्यात् कोष्टदुर्गं तथाष्टकम् ॥ "

The *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* has a regular chapter (21st *paṭala*) which is called "अष्टगिरिदुर्गस्वरूपकथनम्" in which we find Lolla Lakṣmīdhara's verses repeated almost *verbatim* with slight varia-tion as follows : —

" प्रथमं गिरिदुर्गं स्याद्वनदुर्गं द्वितीयकम् ।
तृतीयं गह्वरान्तस्थं जलदुर्गं चतुर्थकम् ॥
पञ्चमं कर्दमाविष्टं स्यान्नाभिनामकम् ।
सप्तमं नरदुर्गं स्यात्कोष्ठदुर्गं तथाष्टमम् ॥ "

It is difficult to say whether the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* is directly indebted to Lolla Lakṣmīdhara for the above verses or not. Leav-ing aside the question of direct borrowing, we can at least state that the eight-fold classification of forts was a patent idea with writers on polity during the Vijayanagara period of history.

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1. *Third Dynasty*, 1935, p. 120.
2. *Ibid*, foot-note, where the pertinent passage is quoted.

(7) We are told by historians that Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara tried to get the monopoly of importing horses from Persia and Arabia.[1] Let us now compare the following passage from the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* in which Persian horses are stated to be the best of all other breeds :—

paṭala 161, p. 428 :—

" उत्तमाः वाजिनः प्रोक्ताः पारसीकसमुद्भवाः ।
उरोजाताश्च शीलाश्च हयाश्चारट्टदेशजाः ॥
कथिता मध्यमा देवी सिन्धुदेशनदीभवाः ।
कबलाश्चार्यजाताश्च तथा सारस्वता हयाः ॥
अधमाष्टं कर्णोत्थाश्च येच प्राग्दक्षिणोद्भवाः "

I am inclined to believe that the preference given to the Persian horses in Kṛṣṇadevarāya's time has been recorded in the first line of the above extract *viz*. " उत्तमा वाजिनः प्रोक्ताः पारसीकसमुद्भवाः " found in the *paṭala* called " अश्वोत्पत्त्यादिस्वरूपनिरूपणम्."

(8) Mr. Longhurst in his *Hampi Ruins* (p. 42) gives a photograph of the *Tulāpuruṣadāna* monument. The *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* has a chapter (78th *paṭala*) called the " नानादानस्वरूपनिरूपणम् " in which we find the following verses mentioning तुलापुरुषदान as an important one (महादान) :—

Pages 264-5 :—

" संपत् सारस्वतप्राप्त्यै सत्सन्तानाभिवृद्धये ।
सर्वशत्रुक्षयार्थाय विजयाय विशेषतः ॥
तुलापुरुषमुख्यानि महादानानि षोडश । "

(9) The Vijayanagara empire was very much famous in the days of its grandeur for the huge scale on which it celebrated its round of Hindu festivals which attracted much attention from the foreign observers. Accordingly we find in the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* chapters devoted to the observance of these festivals such as the *Rāmanavamī* festival, the *Navarātri* festival, the *Vījayādaśamī* festival, the *Divālī* festival, the *Kāmadeva* festival etc. Chapter 79 of this treatise is actually designated as नानाविधोत्सवस्वरूपकथनं and is concluded by the author as follows :—

Page 269 :—

" एवं नृपतिभिस्सम्यक् कर्त्तव्या देवतोत्सवाः ।
संक्षेपात्ते निगदिताः किमन्यच्छ्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥ "

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1. *Imperial Gazetteer*, New Edition, 1928, p. 344.

Space forbids us to record in this paper many other characteristic features of the *Ākāśabhairavakalpa* which tend to support my hypothesis that this treatise was composed by some learned pandit or minister in close touch with the court of Vijayanagara especially during its palmy days when the routine of social and religious life of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara had become so standardized and popular as to warrant the composition of a regular treatise some what on the analogy of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. I am confident that protagonists of the Hindu culture of Vijayanagara would find ways and means to publish this treatise, though fragmentary, and keep it at the disposal of scholars for full exploitation of its rich contents, which depict in a simple manner the life as lived from day to day by those Rāyas of Vijayanagara and their zealous subjects who kept alive for more than two centuries the glory of Hindu religion and culture against the onslaught of Islam.

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18. Sābāji Pratāparāja, A Protégé of Burhān Nizām Shah of Ahmadnagar, and His Works — Between A. D. 1500 and 1560 *

In June 1941 my friend the late Dr. H. D. Sharma visited Poona and during his stay of a month or so carried out a complete analysis of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Paraśurāmapratāpa* at my instance. The results of his elaborate analysis of this compendium represented by some Mss at the B. O. R. Institute have been already published in the *Poona Orientalist.*[1] Though Dr. Sharma saw through the proofs of this paper he has not lived to see it in a published form ! I had promised Dr. Sharma a paper on the author of this work but unfortunately I could not draft it earlier owing to other preoccupations.

The author of the *Paraśurāmapratāpa* (= *P*) is Sābāji Pratāparāja (= *SP*). Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding this author and his works :—

CC I 327—" परशुरामप्रताप dh. by Sāmbājīpratāparāja. B. 3., 102. Burnell 131.[a] Poona 157, 158, 560, II, 233-245. Quoted by Kamalākara Oxf. 278[b] Comm. श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका by Vopadeva, Poona II, 246. "
See *CC I*, 711 (साम्बाजी प्रतापराज)."

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona), Vol. XXIV, pp. 156-164.

1. Vide pp. 1-26 of *PO*, VII (April and July 1942) Dr. Sharma makes the following remarks about this work :—

" *Paraśurāmapratāpa* is a huge work of an encyclopaedic nature. No other library possesses a complete Ms of this work, except the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, Library. But even the Institute Mss of this work have a large number of folia missing. The work is on the general topics of *Dharmaśāstra* and contains 16 Sections or Kāṇḍas. It has been split up into 17 different codices in the Institute library. Burnell's Catalogue of Tanjore library (p. 131a) records only 5 Mss of 5 Sections. In the Baroda Oriental Institute there is only one Ms (No. 5887) of one Section (राजवल्लभकाण्ड). The stupendous nature of the work can be judged by the total number of *leaves* which is *2445.* "

M. M. Prof. P. V. Kane[1] makes the following remarks about the works of *SP* :—

P. 755 —" साम्बाजी or साबाजी प्रतापराज son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र. He was a protégé of निजामसाह ; a. of परशुरामप्रताप and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका (vide Ms No. 5887 Baroda O. I. for राजवल्लभकाण्ड of the परशुरामप्रताप and दानकाण्डपर्व a part of it). "

P. 578 —" परशुरामप्रताप by साबाजी or साम्बाजी प्रतापराज son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र and pupil of भट्ट कूर्म and a protégé of निजामसाह. Seems to have contained at least आह्निक, जातिविवेक, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, संस्कार, राजनीति and श्राद्ध. Vide Viśrāmbāg collection (in Deccan College) II, No. 243-246 and Burnell's Tanjore Cata. p. 131[a]. A huge work. Baroda O. I. 5887 is राजवल्लभकाण्ड which is like मानसोल्लास in subject-matter. C. श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपकलिका of बोपदेवपण्डित. Quotes हेमाद्रि कालादर्श."

P. 598 —" भार्गवार्चनदीपिका by साबाजी (or - म्बा) alias प्रतापराज Ulwar Cata. extract 648. "

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding भार्गवार्चन दीपिका :—

CC I, 407—" भार्गवार्चनदीपिका quoted in द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका Oxf. 274[a], in निर्णयसिन्धु and शान्तिसार."

As Kamalākara, the author of निर्णयसिन्धु (A. D. 1612) quotes Sābāji's परशुरामप्रताप and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका we must infer that *SP* is earlier than A. D. 1612. The Mss of दानकाण्ड and संस्कारकाण्ड of *P* noted by Burnell (131[a]) belong to " *about* 1650. " The author of the द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका, which quotes *SP*'s भार्गवार्चनदीपिका, was born in A. D. 1668 according to Prof. P. V. Kane (*HD*, I, 566). The शान्तिसार, which quotes भा. दीपिका, is possibly of दिनकरभट्ट (*HD*, I, 636) who is assigned by Kane " *between 1575-1640.*" All these chronological references indicate that *SP* is definitely *earlier than A. D. 1600*.

SP appears to have composed a poem called the " भृगुवंशमहा-

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1. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, 1930.

काव्य ", a Ms[1] of which is dated *Saṁvat 1667* (A. D. *1611*). This date is very important as it confirms the conclusion regarding *SP's* date arrived at by me to the effect that *SP* is earlier than A. D. 1600.

Let us now consider the evidence furnished by the works of Sābāji[2] about his Muslim patron. This evidence is as follows :—

(1) Sābāji refers to निजामशाहनगरी as follows on folio 2ᵃ of *Ms No. 233 of Viś II* —

" भूचक्रस्य निजामशाहनगरी कामैकदोग्ध्री नृणाम् ॥ १४ ॥ "

" श्रीमद्राजनिजामशाहनगरी संलक्षि(क्ष्य)ते भूमिपैः ॥ १५ ॥ "

" याहंमदेति पुरवासिभिरुद्धतासौ संकीर्तिता वरगुणैरभिनंद्य काले ॥ १८ ॥ "

Both अहंमदपुर and निजामशाहनगरी refer to the same capital of Sābāji's patron viz. *Ahmadnagar*, which was founded by Ahmad Nizam Shah between A. D. 1490 and 1508.

(2) Sābāji refers to his relation to his patron निजामशाह as follows :— (folio 2ᵃ of *Ms No. 233 of Viś II*)

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1. Vide p. 71 of H. P. Sastri's *Des. Cata. of History and Geography Mss* in the R. A. S. B., Calcutta, 1923 (Vol. IV) — Ms No. 3101 Post colophon endorsement :— " परशुरामार्पणमस्तु संवत् १६६७ वर्षे पौष शुदि १ ले बुधे लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं. " S. R. Bhandarkar notes a Ms of परशुरामप्रताप dated *Saṁvat 1556* [Vide p. 35 of his *Report* for 1904-1906 (Rajputana and Central India)] This date of Ms, if correct, comes to A. D. 1500. I am unable to verify it as no details of it are recorded in the *Report*. If the year belongs to the Śaka era, the date would be A. D. 1578, which would be in harmony with the evidence regarding the chronology of Sābāji Pratāparāja recorded in this paper. It is difficult to reconcile the date A. D. 1500 for a Ms of परशुरामप्रताप with its date of composition which seems to lie between c. A. D 1509 and 1553, the period of the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar.

2. One साबाजी अनंत चतुर is often mentioned in the Maratha Chronicles. I am unable to penetrate the mist of gossip about this personage, who is supposed by some writers to belong to *Nizāmshāhi* and by others to belong to *Adilshāhī*. Another writer says that he flourished towards the close of the Peshwa Period (Vide pp. 355-356 of *Madhyayugīna Caritra Kośa* by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937). The question of the identity or otherwise of our साबाजी प्रतापराज with साबाजी अनंत चतुर needs to be examined by students of the Maratha history.

" श्रीमत्प्रौढनिजामशाह नृपतिः.........महान् ॥ १९ ॥
तस्यानुमान्यो नृपतिः प्रतापः कुलप्रदीपः सुकृतैकधामा ।
राज्ञामतिप्रेमतयाभिवंद्यो धर्मप्रवृत्तौ हरिरेव साक्षात् ।। २६ ।। "

In the colophons Sābāji refers to his patron as follows :—

" इति श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापनृपतिशरण्यनिजामशाहनुचरजामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्रोद्भवसाबाजीप्रतापराजकृतनिबंधे परशुरामप्रतापे etc. "

In the colophon of the Ms of the भृगुवंशमहाकाव्य (dated A. D. 1611) Sābāji refers to निजामसाह as follows :—

" इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलमंडनायमानगुणनिकरविराजमानश्रीमदविनाश(शी)-परशुरामप्रसादपरिप्राप्तमहाभाग्योदय – निजामसाहानुचर – जामदग्निवच्छगोत्रोत्पन्न-द्विजाधिराजश्रीमदविनाशिश्रीमत्साबाजीपंडितप्रतापराजविरचिते भृगुवंशे महाकाव्ये रामचन्द्रवरप्रदानं नाम एकविंशतितमः सर्गः ॥ "

The foregoing references leave no doubt that Sābāji Pratāparāja was highly favoured by his patron निजामशाह of अहंमदपुर or Ahmadnagar. We must now try to identify this निजामशाह in the list [1] of the Kings of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar.

The Nizam Shāhi Kings of Ahmadnagar appear to have been patrons of Hindu writers. Dalapatirāya,[2] the author of the cele-

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1. Vide page 389 of *Imperial Gazetter of India*, Vol. II, (1909), Table XI–*Nizām Shāhī Kings of Ahmadnagar–Nizām-ul-mulk*, Bahri, a converted Brahmin.

I — Ahmad Shāh (d. 1508).
II — *Burhān Shāh* (d. 1553-4) (Patron of साबाजी प्रतापराज).
III — *Husain Shāh* (d. 1565).
IV — *Murtaza Shāh* (" the madman " murdered 6th July 1588).
V — *Husain Shāh* (deposed April 30, 1589).
VI — *Ismail Shāh* (deposed by his father May 26, 1591).
VII — *Burhān Shāh* (died April 30, 1595).
VIII — *Ibrāhim Shāh* (killed in battle Sept. 1595).
IX — *Ahmad Shāh* (usurper set aside Feb. 1596).
X — *Bahādur Shāh* (deposed and sent to Gwalior, Capital taken by Akbar, 1600).
XI — *Mutraza Shāh* (imprisoned and strangled 1631),
XII — *Husain Shāh* (a boy of ten, removed by Mughals and sent to Gwalior, 1635).

See also p. 320 of Lane-Poole : *Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1925.

2. Vide my paper on Dalapatirāya in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (1933) pp. 313-318.

brated *dharmaśāstra* work *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda* was not only a high army-officer in the employ of Ahmad Nizam Shah (A.D. 1490-1510) but was also his Keeper of Records. I have already identified this author in the *Burhān-i-Masir* or the *History of the Nizamshahi Kings of Ahmadnagar*, which Lt. Col. Haig regards as " fairly trustworthy so far as it relates to domestic affairs." In this very *Burhān-i- Masir* its author gives an account of the meeting between Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat as follows :—

" Some historians have related that the meeting of these two Kings (Burhān Nizāmshāh and Bahadur) took place in a village near Daulatabad and without the intervention of Shah Tahir but by the advice and intervention of *Khwaja Ibrahim*, the Councillor and *Sābāji* and that these two men were *rewarded for the service which they had performed*, the former with the title of *Latif-Khān* and the latter with that of *Pratāp Rāi* ; but the story told here at length is the correct account. After this meeting Burhan Nizam Shah returned to his capital and Sultan Bahadur returned to Gujarat."[1]

The author or the *Burhān-i-Masir* wants to take away the credit of bringing about the meeting of the two Kings from *Sābāji Pratāp Rāi* and his colleague *Khwaja Ibrāhim Latif Khān* and to give it to Shah Tahir, the great poet of this period. We are not concerned here with the truth or otherwise of this statement of the author but with the fact of the existence of a Hindu personage of the name *Sābāji Pratāp Rāi* during the reign of Burhān Nizam Shah (A. D. 1510-1554) I am inclined to believe that this *Sābāji Pratāp Rāi* is none else than our सावाजी प्रतापराज, the author of परशुरामप्रताप, भृगुवंशमहाकाव्य and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका. Evidently he carried on the tradition of compiling *dharmaśāstra* works in the manner of the author of the नृसिंहप्रसाद viz. दलपतिराय highly favoured by Ahmad Nizam Shah[2] (A. 1490-1510) who was the founder of the

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1. Vide p. 184 of *Indian Antiquary* XLIX (October 1920) History of the Nizām Shāhī Kings of Ahmadnagar by Lt. Col. S. W. Haig.

2. Vide Mr. V. S. Bendre's article on " *Death of Ahmad Nizam Shah I Bahri* " in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-244. Mr. Bendre examines the relevant sources and concludes " All we can say for the present with any certainty on the strength of the contemporary evidence of such a realiable source as Affonso de Albuquerque, is that the death of Ahmad Nizam Shah must have occurred some time *between the end of April and the middle of October 1510 or in the beginning of 916 A. H.* ".

Ahmadnagar line of Nizamshahi Kings. If this position is accepted we may try to determine the approximate period during which Sābāji composed his परशुरामप्रताप and भृगुवंशमहाकाव्य etc.

Sābāji tells us that he was निजामशाह-अनुचर or a servant of निजामशाह, whom we have identified with Burhān Nizam Shah. He also refers to his title प्रतापराज constantly in his works as follows :—

(1) Colophon of भृगुवंशकाव्य —

"साबाजी पंडितप्रतापराजविरचिते भृगुवंशे etc."

(2) Text of परशुरामप्रताप — "नृपतिः प्रताप:" (= प्रतापराज);

— "राजा प्रतापः कृतपुण्यनंदितः"

— "कांडैः शोडशभिः प्रतापनृपतिः etc."

— "श्रीरामांघ्रिरतप्रतापनृपतेः श्रीकूर्मआदेशतः"

(3) Colophon of परशुरामप्रताप —

"साबाजीप्रतापराजरचितनिबंधे"

(B. O. R. I. Ms *No. 157 of Viś I, dated A. D. 1784*)

If प्रतापराज was a title of Sābāji it must have been conferred on him by his royal patron Burhān Nizam Shah and the story about the award of this title referred to in the *Burhān-i-Masir* may be taken to be correct in so far as the fact of the award of this title is concerned. We are not concerned here with the nature of the service specifically rendered by Sābāji to his master Burhān Nizam Shah. If we believe in the story current before the time of *Burhān-i-Masir* that Sābāji got the title प्रतापराज as a reward for bringing about the meeting of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat with Burhān Nizam Shah it is easy for us to narrow down the limits for the dates of the परशुरामप्रताप and भृगुवंशकाव्य for the following reasons :—

(1) Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat ruled for 11 years (*July 1526 — February 1537 A. D.*). In 1527-29 A. D. he forced Burhān Nizam Shah to retreat and acknowledge him as his Suzerain and read *Khutbah* in his name.[1]

(2) In 1531 A. D. Bahadur Shah granted to Burhān Nizam of Ahmadnagar and also to his nephew, Muhammad of Khāndesh permission to affix the title of *Shah* (शाह) to their names.[2]

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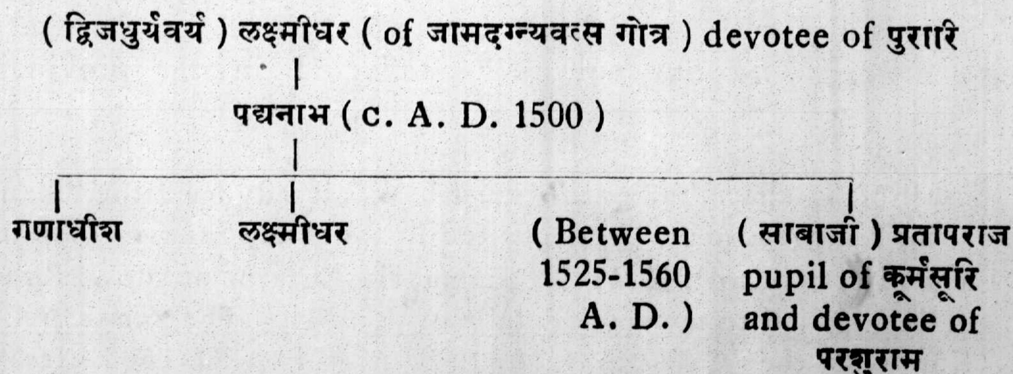
1. Vide p. 80 of *Humāyūn Bādshāh* by S. K. Banerji, 1938.

2. Ibid p. 81.

(3) If the title प्रतापराज was a result of the meeting of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat with Burhān Nizam it must have been conferred on साबाजी between A. D. 1526 and 1537 A. D., which is the period of Bahādur Shāh's reign.

(4) If the expression निजाम-शाह used by साबाजी contains the title शाह the use of which was permitted for Burhān Nizam by his Suzerain in A. D. 1531 we have to suppose that साबाजी composed his works after A. D. 1531 and before A. D. 1553-54, the closing year of Burhān Nizam Shah's reign at Ahmednagar.

I have identified साबाजी प्रतापराज with his name-sake mentioned in the *Burhān-i-Masir.* This work was written by Syed Ali Tabātabā at the bidding of Burhān Nizam Shah II in A. D. 1591 i. e. a few years before Ferishtā. According to Prof. H. K. Sherwani "greater reliance may be placed on the simple narration of the *Burhān* than on the flowery and interesting, though at times inaccurate and exaggerated, description couched in Ferishta's History."[1] In view of this evaluation of the *Burhān-i-Masir* my identification of साबाजी प्रतापराज in this Persian source of the Nizām Shāhī history written in A. D, 1591 is sufficiently reliable and possesses almost a contemporary character. I shall, however, feel thankful to Persian scholars if they succeed in throwing more light on the personality of साबाजी प्रतापराज and his relations with his master Burhān Nizam Shah, so much applauded in the verses of the *Paraśurāmapratāpa* quoted by Dr. Sharma in extenso.[2] The genealogy of साबाजी as recorded by him in these verses is as follows :—



My friend Prof. Dasharath Sharma of Bikaner will be shortly

1. Vide pp. 230-232 of *Mahmud Gawan* by H. K. Sherwani, 1942.
2. *PO*, VII, p. 7.

publishing the *Bhṛgu-vaṁśa Kāvya*[1] of Sābāji Pratāparāja on behalf of the Bikaner Darbar. I hope the chronology of Sābāji discussed in this paper would be of some use to him in dealing with the life-history of this author, who flourished at Ahmadnagar court in the first half of the 16th century.

The works of Sābāji on Dharmaśāstra were used by subsequent writers for their own compilations. I have already referred to them as recorded by Aufrecht. During the course of my studies I have noticed the following references to Sābāji's works not noticed by Aufrecht or M. M. P. V. Kane :—

(1) *c. A. D. 1675* " तदुक्तं भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायाम् "......

" इति परशुरामजयंतीनिर्णयः "

(Vide p. 43[b] of Ms of निर्णयरत्नावलि composed by रघुनाथ महादेव घांटे of Hardi near Rajapur (A. D. 1650-1725). This Ms is with the Rajapur Sanskrit Pathashala—Ghate collection.).

(2) *c. A. D. 1650-1680*—रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त the friend of Saint Rāmdasa quotes परशुरामप्रताप in the *2nd Pariccheda* of his भोजनकुतूहल (Vide folio 90 of the Ms of this work in the Raḍḍi collection, B. O. R. Institute. The quotation is also found in the Ms of this Pariccheda with my friend Rajavaidya S. A. Jagtap of Kolhapur.

In the heat of controversies over the details of political and dynastic history the literary history of the Deccan receives scanty attention at the hands of responsible scholars. We have yet to reconstruct this literary history on the basis of Mss yet unknown to the historians. I have been constantly discovering new sources of this history and publishing papers on them for the use of future historians of our culture as reflected in the provincial

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1. Prof. Dasharatha Sharma must have already used the Bikaner Ms of this *Kāvya* (No. 2897) deposited in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. My friend Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, the Curator of this Library has kindly supplied to me some details of this Ms. The *2nd copy* of this Kāvya is the Calcutta R. A. S. B. Ms of A. D. 1611 already referred to in this paper. The *3rd copy* (Sargas 1-7) is recorded by Dr. H. Poleman on p. 105 of his *Census of Indic Mss in U. S. A. and Canada*, 1938 (Harward No. 1238). Prof. D. V. Potdar of Poona possesses the *4th copy* of this poem. He has agreed to keep a microfilm copy of his Ms at the disposal of the Bikaner Darbar for the use of Prof. Dasharatha Sharma.

sources still untapped. The linking up of literary history with political or dynastic history, if successfully attempted, is bound to clarify our knowledge of the history of our ancestors, who were not merely soldiers or politicians but were persons full of religious zeal coupled with a taste for fine arts, like poetry, music and technical sciences like Śilpa Śāstra, town planning, dietetics, medicine, cookery etc. By a thorough study of the sources, bearing on these subjects the present partial picture of our history can be put in correct historical relief, which will not fail to create greater interest of the people in our past than what we notice to-day in our schools and colleges.

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19. Date of Rasakadambakallolinī, a Commentary by Bhagavaddāsa on the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva — Between A. D. 1550 and 1600*

Jayadeva, the author of the celebrated *Gītagovinda* flourished "between 1200 and 1300 A.C."[1] He is said to have been a protégé of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, whose Gayā inscription is dated A. D. 1116.[2] Aufrecht[3] records MSS of numerous commentaries on the *Gītagovinda.* I have not studied the chronology of all these commentaries and hence cannot say anything about them in this paper, which is devoted to the chronology of one of these commentaries viz. the *Rasakadambakallolinī* of Bhagavaddāsa. This commentary is represented by some MSS recorded by Aufrecht[4] in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. These MSS are as follows :—

CC I, 154— "Bh. 25."

CC II, 31— " Rgb. 345 " (= No. 345 of 1884-87—B. O. R. Institute).

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, pp. 360-366.

1. P. V. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, ed. 1923. Intro. p. cxxxiii.

2. Bühler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 64.

3. Vide *CC* I, 153; *CC* II, 31, 197; *CC* III 33. Vide also *I. O. Cata.* VII, Nos. 3860-66, 3868-73, A. B. Keith (*I. O. Cata.*) Nos. 7043-6, 8125 etc.

4. *CC* I, p. 154 and *CC* III, 33. A MS of this commentary has been described by Dr. Eggeling (see *India Office Cata.*, part VII, No. 3871) who observes :—

" Besides its verbal explanations principally founded on the *Amarakośa* and the *Viśvaprakāśa* the commentary lays particular stress on the art of composition as developed in the poem, illustrating it by the rules laid down in rhetorical works and by specimens of poetical composition chosen from the *Bhāgavata* and other *Purāṇas* as well as from the *Sṛṅgāratilaka*, the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* and similar works. "

CC III, 33 —" I O. 3054,[1] Lz. 435.[2] Peters[3] 5, 343, 344."

Besides the MSS of Bhagavaddāsa's commentary recorded by Aufrecht, I find a MS of it recorded by Dr. H. Poleman in his *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada*.[4] In my *Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*[5] *at the B. O. R. Institute* (Govt. MSS Library) I have described all MSS of the *Gītagovinda* and its commentaries available at this Institute. The MSS of Bhagavaddāsa's *Rasakadambakallolinī* described by me are :—

(1) *No. 345 of 1884-87* ; (2) *No. 77 of A 1879-80* dated *Saṁ. 1684* (= A. D. *1628*); (3) *No. 45 of 1871-72* ; (4) *No. 343 of 1892-95*.

In the *Catalogue of Adyar MSS*[6] numerous MSS of the text of the *Gītagovinda* and some commentaries[7] thereon are recorded but

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1. Vide p. 1456 of *Ind. Office Cata.*, VII, 1904 — MS No. 3871 folios 170.

2. Vide p. 130 of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Leipzig MSS*, 1901, MS No. 435.

3. These MSS are identical with Nos. 343 and 344 of 1892-95 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

4. *American Oriental Series* Vol. 12, New Haven, 1938, p. 75 MS No. 1647 — *Gītagovinda* with Bhagavaddāsa's commentary *Rasakadambakallolinī* folios 154. H. 1579 (Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachussets), MSS No. 1637 to 1654 recorded here are of *Gītagovinda* and its commentaries by (1) *Bhagavaddāsa*, (2) *Vanamālin Bhaṭṭa*, (3) *Śaṅkaramiśra*, (Saṁ. 1815 = A. D. 1759) (4) *Kumbhakarṇamahendra* (Saṁ. 1619 = A. D. 1563), (5) *Viṭṭhaleśvara* and (6) a Hindi commentary (Saṁ. 1876 = 1820 A. D.).

5. Vol. XIII, part I, (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1940) pp. 208-257 — MS No. 344 of 1892-95 is of *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's* commentary on the *Gītagovinda* (pp. 233-34). At the end of it a misleading endorsement is made in a small hand as follows :—

" श्रीमद्वृन्दावनेश्वरी... हृदयेनश्रीममद्भगवद्दासेन... विरचितेयं रसकदंबकल्लोलिनी "

6. *Sanskrit MSS* (Adyar), Part II, 1928, page 17 — commentaries recorded here are (1) श्रुतिरञ्जिनी by लक्ष्मीधरसूरि, (2) श्रुतिरञ्जिनी by लक्ष्मणसूरि, and 3 केरलव्याख्या on 40 ślokas of 1st sarga.

7. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* has influenced Canarese literature as

(Continued on the next page)

no MS of Bhagavaddāsa's commentary is found in this catalogue. The spread of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* to the Deccan is attested by its influence on Bhāskara-Bhaṭ Borīkar, a Mahānubhāva author who flourished between 1275 and 1320 A. D. Prof. V. B. Kolte[1] of Amraoti has already pointed out parallel passages from the *Gītagovinda* and Bhāskarabhaṭṭa's *Śiśupālavadha* composed about *Śaka 1230 (A. D. 1308)*. The spread of the *Gītagovinda* in Gujarat has recently been pointed out by Dr. M. R. Majmudar[2] of Baroda. This influence is vouched by the stone inscription of Śārṅgadeva dated Saṁvat 1348 (A. D. 1291) in which the invocation verse is taken from the last verse of the 1st canto of the *Gītagovinda*.

References in the *Rasakadambakallolinī* to earlier works and authors are as follows as found by me in *MS No. 345 of 1884-87* in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute :—

(1) कर्णामृते, 2, (2) भागवते, 3, 18, 35, 36, 37, 63, 132, 150, (3) भरतः, 4, 23, 36, 52, 54, 90, 131, (4) अमरः, 18, 10, 12, 16, 17, 22, 24, 29, 30, 34, 38, etc. (5) विश्वः, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 28, 32, 34, 39, 48, (6) दंडी, 9, 59, 95, 110, 114, 119, 131, 147, 172, (7) धरणिः, 13, 103, 107, 116, 130, 143, 144, 150, (8) श्रुतिः, 18, (9) भगवद्गीता, 18, 180, (10) दशरूपके, 26, 77, (11) पाद्मे, 35, (12) हारावली, 39, 52, 67, 70, 76, 129, 146, 155, (13) शृंगारतिलके, 41, 45, 52, 66, 65, 74, 80, 100, 143, etc.

(Continued from the previous page)

well. My friend Prof. K. G. Kundangar of the Rajaram College informs me in a private communication dated 6-11-1940 as follows :—

" Aprameya Śāstri of about A. D. 1750 has written a commentary in Kannaḍa on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* by name *Śṛṅgāraprakāśike*. He hails from Malur (Mysore State). The colophon at its end says :—

" इति श्रीमद्भक्तिवर्धनविमानस्थितारविंदवल्लिकापतेरप्रमेयस्वामिनः पादारविन्दार्चकेन अप्पाजिभट्टारकपुत्रेणाप्रमेयशास्त्रिणा विरचितगीतगोविंदटीकायां शृंगारप्रकाशिकायाम् etc. "

Cikka-devarāja (A. D. 1672-1704) the ruling prince of Mysore has written a poem called *Gīta-gopāla* on the lines of the *Gītagovinda*.........From the internal evidence it is suggested that this poem was written by his minister Tirumaleyārya."

1. Vide p. 103 of भास्करभट बोरीकर by V. B. Kolte, Amraoti, 1935.

2. *Jour. of the Bombay University*, (Sept. 1943) Vol. XII, (N. S.) part 2, p. 43.

(14) संगीतरत्नाकरे, 51, 53, (15) रतिरहस्ये, 52, 56, 112, (16) रत्नमाला, 52, (17) पंचसायके, 53, 54, 116,—(*c.* A. D. 1324—This work was composed by ज्योतिरीश्वर कविशेखर), (18) वात्स्यायनीये, 56, (19) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम्, 62, (20) रसार्णवसुधाकरे, 57, 64, 66, 73, 143, 161, (21) काव्यप्रकाशे, 70, 77, (22) शाश्वत: 70, (23) रत्नकोष:, 82, 155, (24) रसामृतसिंधौ, 123, (25) विश्वप्रकाश:, 150, (26) वाराहसंहितायाम्, 163, (27) स्वामिचरणै:, 179.

(28) मनोरमाकार, 56 — "तदुक्तं वात्स्यायनीये पुरुषायितप्रकरणे स्वजघनमेव दोलायमानं सर्वत्र भ्रामयेदिति प्रेंखोलितमिति तत्र सर्वत्रशब्दो मनोरमाकारेण व्याख्यात: मध्यात्पूर्वपश्चिमभागे दक्षिणोत्तरभागे चेति"[1]

(29) रसरत्नदीपिका — fol. 41

"भावयन्ति विशेषेण ये रसान् वै मनोहरान्।
ते विभावास्तु कथ्यन्ते नाट्यशास्त्रविशारदै:॥"

All the foregoing references are found in the other MSS of this commentary at the B. O. R. Institute viz. No. 77 of A 1879-80 which is dated A. D. 1628. The following extract containing a reference to Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa of Mewar (A. D. 1433-1469)[2] is found in MS No. 77 of A 1879-80 but is not found in MS[3] No. 345 of 1884-87, which appears to be a late copy though it is undated :—

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1. In MS *No. 77 of A 1879-80* of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* this extract reads as follows :—

"तदुक्तं वात्स्यायनीये॥ पुरुषायितप्रकरणे। स्वजघनमेवं दोलायमानं सर्वत्र भ्रामयेदिति। प्रेंखोलितं तु विज्ञेयं रसिकै: सर्वदा जनैरिति तत्र सर्वशब्दो मनोरमाकारेण व्याख्यात:। मध्यात्पूर्वपश्चिमभागे दक्षिणोत्तरभागे चेति"

This MS in which the reference to मनोरमाकार is found is dated Saṁvat 1684 = A. D. 1628. It was copied by मेथजी, son of वासुदेव at मल्लपुर while महाराजाधिराज राउल श्रीउदयकर्ण was ruling (vide also *folio 53* of MS *No. 343 of 1892-95* and *folio* 68 of MS *No. 45 of 1871-72* where the above reference to मनोरमाकार will be found).

2. G. S. Gahlot, *History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, p. 207, Jodhpur, 1937.

3. Vide folio 133a of MS No. 345 of 1884-87 where the extract ought to have been between "पीडयावशोकमित्यर्थ:" and "तवेदमिति" (in line 6 from the top of the folio).

Folio 504— इति श्रीगीतगोव्यंदे सप्तदशप्रबंधः ॥

श्लोकः कुंभकरणे[1] उक्तः —

सदानन्दसंदोहकंदं मुकुंदं नमस्कृत्य पद्मांकविद्युत्पयोदं ।
नृपः कुंभकर्णो विधत्ते विचित्रं वरं गीतगोव्यंदधातु विचित्रं ॥ १ ॥

श्रीकृष्णतवास्मि । सुरतनाथ तवास्मि । तदेवमिति "

If the above extract found in a MS of A. D. 1628 is a genuine part of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* of Bhagavaddāsa we may safely infer that this commentary was composed between A. D. 1469 and A. D. 1628.

In the list of references recorded above there is a reference to a work called रसामृतसिन्धु[2] (vide folio 123 of MS No. 345 of 1884-87 and folio 18 of MS No. 77 of A 1879-80). This work appears to be identical with the भगवद्भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु[3] composed by Sanātana Gosvāmī in A. D. 1542. If this identification is correct the date of Bhagavaddāsa is narrowed down between A. D. 1542 and 1628. These limits may be further narrowed down between say A. D. 1575 and 1620 or so if we can identify the मनोरमाकार mentioned by our commentator with Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,[4] the author of प्रौढमनोरमा[5] a commentary on the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of his guru Śeṣa-

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1. Perhaps the correct reading ought to have been "कुंभकरणेन (कुंभकर्णेन)" as Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa wrote a commentary on the *Gītagovinda*. Vide p. 75 of H. Poleman's *Indic MSS in USA.*, where MS No. 1152 of this comm. called रसिकप्रिया dated A. D. 1563 (Saṁ., 1619) is recorded. Another reference to *Kumbhakarṇa* is found on folio 3a of MS No. 77 A 1879-80.—

" त्वयैवायं गृहिणीमान स्यात् इति सख्यागूढं परिसितमिति कुंभकर्णोक्तेः " (Vide folio 7 of MS No. 45 of 1871-72).

2. Vide Aufrecht, *CC*, I.

3. *Ibid.*, *CC*, I.

4. Vide my paper on " A new Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita " in *Annals* (Tirupati), Vol. I, part 2, pp. 117-127, where I have tried to prove that Bhaṭṭoji flourished between *c*. 1560 and 1620 A. D.

5. This is a commentary on the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa a guru of Bhaṭṭoji. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja did not like Bhaṭṭoji's criticism of his guru's work in the मनोरमा and hence he wrote a refutation of मनोरमा in a work called मनोरमाकुचमार्दिनी.

kṛṣṇa. If Bhagavaddāsa's reference to मनोरमाकार in a MS of A. D. 1628 turns out to be a genuine reference to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the author of प्रौढमनोरमा, it supports my limits for Bhaṭṭoji's date viz. A. D. 1560-1620. In my paper on Bhoṭṭoji's date referred to above I have noted that A. D. 1633 is the earliest date of a MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabdakaustubha* (R. A. S. Bengal). Since this paper was published I have traced a MS[1]:of an abridgement of Bhaṭṭtoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī* dated A. D. 1624. Now we find मनोरमाकार (= Bhaṭṭoji) referred to in a MS of A. D. 1628. The cumulative effect of all these dates viz. A. D. 1624, 1628, and 1633 strengthens my inference that Bhaṭṭoji's literary career ended by A. D. 1620.

Leaving aside the reference to मनोरमाकार made by Bhagvaddāsa in his Rasakadambakallolinī let us examine some other references which may enable us to fix the earlier limit to his date. Our commentator mentions several times a work on alaṁkāra called the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (vide No. 20 in the list of references given above). This work was composed about A. D. 1330 or A. D. 1350 according to scholars[2] by Śingabhūpāla. This reference enables us to fix about A. D. 1400 as one sure limit to the date of the *Rasakadambakallolinī*. This limit is further strengthened by another reference made by this commentary to a work on erotics called

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1. Vide H. Poleman: *Indic MSS in U. S. A.*, (1938), p. 130 — MS *No. 2635* of *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* by Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, dated Saṁvat 1680 = A. D. 1624. We must necessarily presume some intervals of time between —

(1) the composition of *Siddhāntakaumudī* by Bhaṭṭoji.

(2) its abridgement by Varadarāja in the form of the *Laghu*° *Kaumudī*,

and (3) the copying of this abridgement in A. D. 1624. I may also note here the references to मनोरमाकार :—

(1) A. D. 1628 — MS of रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी refers to मनोरमाकार.

(2) Bhaṭṭoji's son भानुजिदीक्षित refers to मनोरमा on p. 14 of his commentary on अमरकोश (N. S. Press, 1905)—
" कारग्रहणाच्च इति मनोरमायाम् उणादौ दीक्षिताः "

(3) A. D. 1652 — B. O. R. I. MS of प्रौढमनोरमा (No. 331 of 1895-1902).

2. Vide pp. 242-43 of *History of Sanskrit Poetics* Vol. I, (1923) by Dr. S. K. De. Prof. P. V. Kane assigns it to about A. D. 1350 (vide p. clxxiii of his *Intro.* to *Śahityadarpaṇa*, 1923).

the *Pañcasāyaka*[1] which was composed by Jyotirīśvara about A. D. 1324 and which is referred to by our author several times (vide No. 17 in the list of references). Other references to earlier works like the संगीतरत्नाकर of the 13th century need not be considered as they don't help us to improve our chronology of this author. It would thus be seen that the date of Bhagavaddāsa surely lies between A. D. 1400 and 1600 and if the references to the रसामृतसिन्धु and the मनोरमा turn out to be genuine references to the भगवद्भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु composed in A. D. 1542 and to the प्रौढमनोरमा composed before A. D. 1600 or so by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita we shall be in a position to infer that Bhagavaddāsa composed the *Rasakadambakallolinī* say between A. D. 1600 and 1628, the date of the B. O. R. I. MS of this commentary.

As regards the personal details of our commentator no information except the name of the author and the title of the commentary has been recorded by him as will be seen from the following extract at the end of the commentary :—

" प्रफुल्लभगवज्जनं रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी
प्रफुल्लयतु मोहने भजनतानसंवर्द्धिनी ।
समस्तपटुचातुरीवलितगीतगोव्यंदतः[2]
प्रशस्तरसदीपिका मधुरपुंजमंजूषिका ॥ २ ॥

गीतगोव्यंदत[3] इति षष्ठ्यंतं पदं। सार्वविभक्तिकस्तस् इत्यभिघानात् ॥ ॥ श्रीवृंदावनेश्वर प्रियकृच्चरणपंकेरुहमकरंदास्वादनपटुचंचरीकसंभाषणमध्वानंदादोलनचपलहृदयेन श्रीमद्भगवद्दासेन भगवज्जनपरितोषाय विरचितेयं रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी श्रीमद्रसवेदिभिर्भगवत्प्रियैः आनंदसंदोहसंदीपितपरमोज्वलरसावगाहितमनसा अहर्निशविचारणीया ॥ ६ ॥ इति श्रीगीतगोव्यंदस्य रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी टीकेयं समाप्ता ॥ "[4]

Aufrecht records only one namesake[5] of our commentator and

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1. Vide p. 650 of *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Krishnamachariar, 1937.

2. MS No. 345 of 1884-87 reads "वपित गीतगोविंदतः ".

3. *Ibid*, गोविंदतः for गोव्यंदतः

4. I have copied this extract from MS No. 77 of A 1879-80.

5. Vide *CC*, II, 89 — " भगवद्दास In Rgb. 652 he is called a pupil of Dāmodara.

(1) अष्टादशरहस्यटीका (2) ईश्वरतत्वनिरूपणटीका."

(*Continued on the next page*)

his works, which are commentaries in Hindī on Sanskrit works. I have not examined the question of the identity or otherwise of the author of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* with this Hindī commentator.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

C C, II, 7 — " अष्टादशरहस्यानि by Rāmānuja, Comm. by भगवद्दास Rgb. 651. "

C C, II, 11 — " ईश्वरतत्त्वनिरूपण (रामानुजमत) by वरदनायकसूरि " Comm. by भगवद्दास Rgb. 652. "

MS Rgb. 652 and 651 are identical with MSS No. 652 of 1884-87 and No. 651 of 1884-87 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. MS No. 651 is dated Saṁvat 1757 = A. D. 1701. In the colophons of both the MSS the author is called a pupil of दामो. The colophon of MS No. 651 reads as follows :—

" श्रीप्रतिवादिभयंकराचार्यके विद्यारथी श्रीस्वामीकूवाजीके पोताशिष्य श्रीस्वामी दामोदरजीके शिष्य गुसाई भगवानद्दास ॥ ए अष्टादशरहस्य नामग्रंथ उपरि । वृजकी भाषामाही । रहस्यप्रकाशनाम ग्रंथ कीयो है ॥६॥ संवत् १७५७ वर्षे आसाढ सुदि गुरुवासर " etc.

Vide p. 23 of *Report*, *Hindi MSS*, 1914 — where we find mentioned one भागवतदास author of भागवतचारित्र (over 10,000 ślokas). No date of this author is known.

20. Some dated Manuscripts of the Tantrasāra of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa and their Bearing on the Limits for his Date (A. D. 1500 to 1600)*

According to Farquhar[1] the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa dates from A. D. *1812*. In the *Catalogue*[2] *of MSS* in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat we find two MSS of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Bhaṭṭācārya, which are dated A. D. *1693* and *1770*. If the work called the *Tantrasāra* mentioned by Farquhar is identical with its name-sake represented by two dated MSS referred to above we must reject the date A.D. 1812 for it given by Farquhar. In fact this contradiction of dates for the *Tantrasāra* led me to the search of a MS of the work which is dated 54 years earlier than the MS of A. D. 1693 mentioned above. This MS[3] is identical with MS *No. 388* of *1882-83* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute,

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* *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I, part 2, pp. 177–184.

1. Vide p. 355 of *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920. On p. 389 also this author and his work are assigned to A. D. 1812.

2. Published 1935 (Calcutta) — Page 57.

MS No. 585 — तन्त्रसार by कृष्णानन्दभट्टाचार्य Copied in Śaka 1615 (= A. D. *1693*) ; *in Bengali characters.*

MS No. 1623 — Do — copied in *Śaka 1692* (= A. D. *1770*).

3. MS *No. 388 of 1882-83* (तन्त्रसार) begins as follows :—

" श्री गणेशायनमः

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वंद्वं ब्रह्मादिसुरवंदितं ।
गुरुं च ज्ञानदातारं कृष्णानंदेन धीमता ॥
तत्तद्ग्रन्थगताद्वाक्याज्ञानार्थं प्रतिपद्यत ।
सौकर्य्यार्थं च संक्षेपात्तन्त्रसारः प्रतन्यते ॥ "

Colophon on the last folio 337b resds :—

" ...श्रीकृष्णानंदनवागीशभट्टाचार्यांय संग्रहः........संवत् १६८५ समय आषाढ वदि पदि वा लिषित पक्षधरमिश्रेण ॥ "

Poona. It is very old but well preserved. It is dated *Saṁvat 1695* (= A. D. *1639*) and may, therefore, be looked upon as one of the oldest dated MSS of the *Tantrasāra*. I note below some of the references to previous authors and works as found in this MS of A. D. 1639 :—

(1) सारसंग्रह — fol. 1.
(2) नारदवचनात् — fol. 1, 3, 10.
(3) योगिनीतंत्रे — fol. 1, 2, 9, 31.
(4) गणेशविमर्शिन्यां — fol. 2, 31.
(5) रुद्रयामले — fol. 2, (रुद्रजामले) 6.
(6) मत्स्यसूक्ते — fol. 2, 48.
(7) वैशंपायनसंहितायां — fol. 2.
(8) भैरवतन्त्रे — fol. 2, 124.
(9) वाराहीतन्त्रे — fol. 3, 9, 18.
(10) साम्प्रदायिकाः — fol. 3.
(11) तन्त्ररत्ने — fol. 4.[1]
(12) श्रीक्रमे — fol. 4, 10, 132.
(13) रामार्चनचन्द्रिकायाम् — fol. 5, 8.
(14) निबन्धे — fol. 6, 24, 29, 32, 49, 55, 66, 87, 96, 109, 114, 121.
(15) विश्वसारे — fol. 6, 22, 59, 162.
(16) वाराहीजामलादौ — fol. 7.
(17) आगमकल्पद्रुमे — fol. 7, 81.
(18) सनत्कुमारवचनात् — fol. 8, 11, 45.
(19) गौतमीयात् — fol. 9, 11, 12, 16, 25.
(20) सनत्कुमारसंहितायाः — fol. 9.
(21) हंसपरमेश्वरे — fol. 10.
(22) मुंडमालायां — fol. 10, 17, 122.
(23) भगवद्वचनात् (B. Gita) — fol. 11.
(24) योगिनीहृदये — fol. 13, 15, 17, 18, 190.
(25) अगस्त्यसंहितायां — fol. 13, 17, 80.
(26) कुलार्णवे — fol. 14, 16, 253.
(27) तन्त्रराजे — fol. 17.
(28) स्वतंत्रतंत्रे — fol. 20, 35, 156.
(29) नीलतंत्रे — fol. 20, 177, 186.

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1. Aufrecht *C C I*, 222 — तन्त्ररत्न by कृष्णविद्यावागीश (of नवद्वीप) *IO*, 364, L 240, *Bik*. 617.

(30) सारदायां — fol. 25, शारदायां (fol. 30), 44.
(31) नवरत्नेश्वरे — fol. 28, 43, 153.
(32) राघवभट्टः fol. 29, "इति भट्टः" (fol. 42, 46, 244), "भट्टधृतं" (fol. 45).
(33) वासिष्ठे — fol. 30, 32, 295.
Colophon on folio 34 — "इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीकृष्णानंदविद्यावागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचिते तंत्रसारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः"
(34) मालिनीतंत्रे — fol. 35.
(35) महासंमोहनतंत्रे — fol. 36.
(36) ज्ञानार्णवे — fol. 36, 41, 44, 113, 117, 298.
(37) कुलचूडामणौ — fol. 36, 61, 263.
(38) तारादौ — fol. 39.
(39) विशुद्धेश्वरतंत्रे — fol. 40.
(40) ब्रह्मयामले — fol. 45, ब्रह्मजामले (130).
(41) विद्यानंदनिबंधे — fol. 48.[1]
(42) स्वच्छंदसंग्रहे — fol. 49.
(43) दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहितायाम् — fol. 64, 113, 126.
(44) पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिकायाम् — fol. 81.
(45) बृहद्गौतमीये — fol. 85.
(46) सनत्कुमारकल्पे — fol. 89.
(47) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम् — fol. 93.
(48) प्रपंचसारे — fol. 112.
(49) त्रिपुरासारे — fol. 122.
(50) कुब्जिकातंत्रे — fol. 129, 261.
(51) महारुद्रयामले — fol. 130.
(52) हंसमाहेश्वरे तंत्रे — fol. 131.
(53) स्वछंदभैरवे — fol. 136.
(54) कालीतंत्रे — fol. 169, 171, 191.
(55) वीरतंत्रे — fol. 169, 180
(56) नीलसारस्वततंत्रे — fol. 172.
(57) सिद्धसारस्वते — fol. 184.
(58) महाशङ्खे — fol. 185.
(59) मायातंत्रे — fol. 185.
(60) मातृकार्णवे — fol. 186.

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1. Aufrecht — *C C I*, 574 — mentions one विद्यानंदनाथ as the author of two tantra works लघुपद्धति and सौभाग्यरत्नाकर (Burnell 208 — MS A. D. 1509).

(61) भावचूडामणौ — fol. 191.
(62) चामुंडातंत्रे — fol. 205.
(63) कुक्कुटेश्वरतंत्रे — fol. 207.
(64) मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिकायाम् — fol. 220.
(65) गारुडतंत्रे देवीश्वरसंवादे — fol. 223.
(66) बटुकस्तोत्र — fol. 226.
(67) मन्त्रतंत्रप्रकाशे — fol. 239.
(68) कालिकापुराणे — fol. 241.
(69) "इति गुरवः" — fol. 254.
(70) भागवत षष्ठस्कंध — fol. 270.
(71) पद्मपुराण — fol. 272.
(72) वसिष्ठसंहिता — fol. 304.
(73) कुमारीतंत्रे — fol. 324.
(74) उत्तरतंत्रे — fol. 324.

On folio 29 we find an author of the name राघवभट्ट[1] who is, in my opinion, identical with राघवभट्ट the author of a commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*. This commentary was composed in A. D. *1494*. Subsequent references to राघवभट्ट (*vide* reference No. 32 in the above list) are made briefly as "इतिभट्टः." If this identification is accepted we may fix the date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya *between A. D. 1494 and A. D. 1639*, the date of the B. O. R. I. MS of the *Tantrasāra* analysed above.

According to Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya[2] Kṛṣṇānanda, the

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1. This reference is found in the Oxford MS of the *Tantrasāra* (*vide* p. 95b of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Oxford MSS*, 1864).

2. *Vide* p. 80 of *Bulletin* of Rama Varma Research Institute, Vol. X, Part II (July, 1942) — " Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of *Tantrasāra* was a disciple of Pūrṇānanda, who in his turn was a disciple of Brahmānanda. Pūrṇānanda wrote a work *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, which was composed in the Śaka year 1499, which corresponds to A. D. 1577. Kṛṣṇānanda, who is one generation later, *can be confidently placed in about A. D. 1607*." — Dr. Bhattacharya notes the following works mentioned in the *Tantrasāra* :—

आगमसार, भैरवीतन्त्र, एकवीराकल्प, गोविन्दवृन्दावन, हंसमाहेश्वर, अगस्त्यसंहिता, देव्यागम, गणेशविमर्षिणी, हंसपारमेश्वर, ज्ञानार्णव, क्रियासार, कुलामृत, कुलार्णव, कालिकापुराण, मत्स्यसूक्त, मुण्डमालातन्त्र, नवरत्नेश्वर, पिङ्गला, पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, श्रीक्रम, शारदातिलक, सिद्धयामल, समयतन्त्र, ताराप्रदीप, तत्त्वसार, वैशम्पायन-

(*Continued on next page*)

author of the *Tantrasāra,* " *can be canfidently ptaced in about A. D. 1607*" because his *guru* Pūrṇānanda composed his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* in *Śāka 1499* = A. D. *1577*. Dr. Bhattachary's date for Kṛṣṇānanda, *viz.*, "*about A. D. 1607*" is in harmony with the limits for the date of this author fixed by me (*Between A. D. 1494 and 1639*). It, however, conflicts with the date of a MS of the *Tantrasāra* recorded by Poleman.[1] This MS is dated *Saṁvat 1586* = A. D. *1530*. Presuming that this date is correct we have to fix the limits for the date of the *Tantrasāra between A. D. 1494 and 1530*. These limits harmonize with the dates of **वासुदेवसार्वभौम** as given in the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*,[2] where we are told that our Kṛṣṇānanda was the pupil of **वासुदेवसार्वभौम** (c. A. D. 1550—1525). Dr. S. K. De[3] in his recent book on *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* states : "Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the author of *Tantrasāra* and the great exponent of Tāntric doctrines in Bengal, is said to have been (like Raghunandana) a contemporary of Caitanya ; and there can be hardly any doubt as to the widespread character of Tāntric teaching in Bengal." Later in the same book Dr. De refers to the tradition according to which Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had 4 pupils : —(1) **रघुनाथ शिरोमणि**, (2) **रघुनन्दन**, (3) **कृष्णानन्द आगमवागीश** and (4)

(*Continued from the previous page*)

संहिता, विश्वसार, विशुद्धेश्वर, कुलचूडामणि, कुलावली, कुलोत्तर, कुब्जिकातन्त्र, मालिनीविजय, निगमकल्पद्रुम, नीलतंत्र, प्रपञ्चसार, रुद्रयामल, रत्नावली, सारसंग्रह, शक्तियामल, सिद्धसारस्वत, सम्मोहनतंत्र, तन्त्रार्णव, तन्त्रराज, वाराहीतन्त्र, विष्णुयामल, यामल ।

1. *Vide* p. 218 of a *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A.* and *Canada*, Newhaven, 1938 — Poleman's entry reads as follows :—

" Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa.

4372. *Tantrasāra.* Bengali Script. 390 ff. 18 × 3·75. 8 lines. *Saṁ. 1586*. Auf. I. 222. UP 765. "

2. By Pt. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937 — Page 730.

Farquhar (p. 289 of *Outlines*, etc.) puts वासुदेवसार्वभौम to the period " from 1470 — 1480 " when he taught at Nuddea.

3. Published, Calcutta, 1942, page 21. Navadvīpa (modern Nadiyā) was a famous seat of mediæval Sanskrit learning. " It was also the stronghold of orthdox Brahmanism, as well as of Neo-Tāntricism and produced a stringent social dictator like Raghunandana as well as a champion of obscure Tāntric rites like Kṛṣṇānanda " — (*ibid*. p. 23).

चैतन्य, Dr. De thinks that Caitanya's pupilship, even though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact and that "रघुनन्दन and कृष्णानन्द belonged to much later times."[1]

According to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri[2] Raghunandana "was a contemporary of Śrī- Caitanya and flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century. The period of his literary activity probably lay between 1520 and 1570." According to Dr. S. K. De Caitanya was born in *February, 1486* and passed away in June-July, 1533.[3] Prof. Śri Ram Sharma[4] includes Raghunandana[5] in his list of Sanskrit writers of the reign of Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1542-1605).

The chronological data recorded in the foregoing discussion may now be tabulated as follows :—

A. D.	Remarks ; *K* = Kṛṣṇānanda, author of *Tantrasāra*
1486	Birth of Caitanya, who is supposed to be a contemporary of **K** and Raghunandana.
C. 1450 - 1525	Dates of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, supposed to be the *guru* of **K**.
1494	Date of शारदातिलकटीका by Rāghavabhaṭṭa, who is mentioned by **K** in his *Tantrasāra* as pointed out by me.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 65, footnote 2.

2. *Vide* p. 132 of Appendix to the Edition of *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, Calcutta, 1940. — There is some contradiction in the extract, quoted above. "*Close of the fifteenth century*" would necessarily be before A.D. 1500 while Dr. Chaudhuri gives "*between 1520 and 1570*" as the period of Raghunandana's literary activity. This period falls in the 16th century.

3. *Vide* pp. 51 and 76 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith*, etc.

4. *Vide* p. 156 of *Bibliography of Mughal India*, K. P. House, Bombay.

5. According to M. M. Prof. P. V. Kane Raghunandana flourished between A. D. 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity lies between *1520 and 1570*.

A. D.	Remarks ; K = Kṛṣṇānanda, author of *Tantrasāra*
1530	Date of MS of *Tantrasāra* of K in U. S. A. according to Poleman.
1533	Death of Caitanya.
1520–1570	Literary activities of Raghunandana according to M. M. P. V. Kane and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. K is supposed to have been a contemporary of Raghunandana.
1542–1605	Dates of Emperor Akbar during whose reign Raghunandana flourished according to Sri Ram Sharma.
1577	Date of *Tattvacintāmani* by पूर्णानन्द, the *guru* of K according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya.
C. 1607	Date of K according to Dr. Bhattacharya.
1639	Date of B. O. R. I. MS of *Tantrasāra* analysed in this paper.
1693	Date of a MS of *Tantrasāra* of K with V. S. Pariṣat, Calcutta.
C. 1725	Date of Gauri-kānta who quotes *Tantrasāra* in his commentary on *Anandalaharī* (Oxford, 108b) MS of A. D. *1770*.
1770	Date of another MS of *Tantrasāra* with V. S. Pariṣat.
1812	Date of *Tantrasāra* of K according to Farquhar.

The chronology tabulated sbove will, it is hoped, help to clarify the problem of the exact date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa, who can be definitely put ***between**, **say***, A. D. *1500* and *1600* according to my data recorded in this paper. If the date A. D. *1530* of the MS of the *Tantrasāra* as recorded by Dr. Poleman is correct it will clinch down the date of the *Tantrasāra* between A. D. *1494 and 1530*. I request Dr. Bhattacharya to examine the data recorded by me in this paper and see how far it could be reconciled with his date for Kṛṣṇānanda, ***viz.***, "about A. D. 1607."

21. Date of the Aśvacikitsita of Nakula — Before A. D. 1000*

In the list of works and authors mentioned and quoted in the *Yuktikalpataru*[1] of King Bhoja as recorded by Pandit Isvara Chandra Sastri, I do not find the name of *Nakula*, who is quoted from in the अश्वयुक्ति section of the *Yuktikalpataru* as follows :—

Page **183 —**

" अथ वर्णाः[2]

यदाह नकुल :—

सप्तवर्णा भवन्तीह सर्वेषां वाजिनां ध्रुवम् ।
तानहं कीर्त्तयिष्यामि भेदैस्तांस्तामनेकधा ॥ ३८ ॥

सितो रक्तस्तथा पीतः सारङ्गः पिङ्ग एव च ।
नीलः कृष्णोऽथ सर्वेषां श्वेतः श्रेष्ठतमो मतः ॥ ३९ ॥

श्वेतः कुन्देन्दुसङ्काशो रक्तः कौसुम्भसन्निभः ।
हरिद्रासदृशः पीतः सारङ्गः कर्बुरः स्मृतः ॥ ४० ॥

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* *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XV, Part III, pp. 127–134.

1. Ed. with a Foreword by Dr. N. N. Law, Calcutta, 1917 — On the last page the following names of works and authors quoted in the *Yuktikalpataru* are recorded: —

बृहस्पतिनीतिः, उशनसी, गर्गः, भोजः, भविष्योत्तरम् , पराशरः, नीतिशास्त्रम् , मत्स्यपुराणम् , वात्स्यः, पराशरसंहिता, गरुडपुराणम् , विष्णुधर्मोत्तरम् , गारुडः, लौहार्णवः, लौहद्वीपः, लौहप्रदीपः, पद्मपुराणम् , बृहद्धारीतः, नागार्जुनः, गर्ग्यः, पालकाप्यः, शङ्खः ।

2. *Cf.* वर्णाध्याय (verses 1 – 30) in अश्वायुर्वेद of वाग्भट son of विक्रम (B. O. R. Institute, MS No. 581 of 1899 — 1915) *folios* 15—16.

" अभिधास्यामि वर्णानामिदानीमत्र लक्षणम् ।
श्वेतः कृष्णोऽरुणः पीतः शुद्धाश्चत्वार एव हि ॥ १ ॥
पञ्चमोऽन्यस्तु वर्णस्याग्मिश्रश्चान्योन्यसंगतौ ।
ख्याता वर्णाः षडेवैते जाता भेदादनेकधा ॥ २ ॥ " etc.

पिश(ष)ङ्गः कपिलाकारो नीलो दूर्वादलप्रभः ।
कृष्णो जम्बूफलाकारः शास्त्रज्ञैः समुदाहृतः ॥ ४१ ॥

इति अश्ववर्णाः "

The above quotation raises the question of Bhoja's indebtedness to नकुल, whose अश्वचिकित्सित was published long ago in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1887). It will be clear from the following evidence that the अश्वयुक्ति of Bhoja's युक्तिकल्पतरु is indebted to the अश्वचिकित्सित of नकुल :—

(1) The quotation from नकुल introduced with the words "यदाह नकुलः" reproduced above is taken from Chapter 3 of नकुल-अश्वचिकित्सित (pp. 7-8 of *Bib. Indica*, Edition, 1887) where it read as follows :—

" अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः । वर्णवर्णनम् ।

वर्णाः सप्त भवन्तीह सर्वेषां वाजिनां ध्रुवम् ।
तानहं कीर्तयिष्यामि भेदैर्जातानकेधा ॥ १ ॥

सितो रक्तस्तथा पीतः सारङ्गः पिङ्ग एव च ।
नीलः कृष्णोऽथ सर्वेषां श्वेतः श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः ॥ २ ॥

श्वेतः प्रालेयसङ्काशो रक्तः कुङ्कुमसन्निभः ।
हरिद्रासदृशः पीतः सारङ्गः कर्बुरः स्मृतः ॥ ३ ॥

पिङ्गः कपिलकाकारो नीलो दूर्वाग्रसंनिभः ।
कृष्णो जम्बूफलाकारः शास्त्रज्ञैः समुदाहृतः ॥ ४ ॥ "

In spite of a few variants this passage is almost identical with the passage quoted by Bhoja with the words "यदाह नकुलः".

(2) To corroborate the above identification I record below additional comparison of verses and groups of verses common to भोज and नकुल :—

Bhoja (=B) p. 181—

" सपक्षा वाजिनः पूर्व्वं संजाता व्योमचारिणः ।
गन्धर्वेभ्यो यथा कामं गच्छन्ति च समन्तताः ॥ २३ ॥ "

Cf. Nakula (= N) p. 2.

" सपक्षा वाजिनः सर्वे (पूर्व्वं) संजाता व्योमचारिणः ।
गन्धर्वेभ्यो यथा कामं गच्छन्ति च समन्ततः ॥ ५ ॥ "

B. 181 —

" उत्तमा मध्यमा नीचाः कनीयांसस्तथा परे ।
चतुर्धा वाजिनो भूमौ जायन्ते देशसंश्रयात् ॥ २५ ॥ "

B. 182 —

" ताजिताः खुरशालाश्च तुषाराश्चोत्तमा हयाः ।
गोजिकाणाश्च केकाणाः प्रौढाहाराश्च मध्यमाः ॥ २६ ॥

ताडजा उत्तमाशाश्च राजशूलाश्च मध्यमाः ।
गह्वराः साध्यवासाश्च (*v. l.* साध्ववासाश्च) सिन्धुदाराः
कनीयसः ॥ २७ ॥

अन्यदेशोद्भवा ये च ते वै नीचाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
वाजिनो जलजाः केचिद्वह्निजातास्तथापरे ॥ २८ ॥

समीरप्रभवाश्चान्ये तुरगा मृगजाः परे ।
जलोद्भवा द्विजा ज्ञेयाः क्षत्रिया वह्निसंभवाः ॥ २९ ॥

प्रभञ्जनभवा वैश्या मृगजाः शूद्रजातयः ।
पुष्पगन्धिर्भवेद्विप्रः क्षत्रियोऽगुरुगन्धिकः ॥ ३० ॥

घृतगन्धो भवेद्वैश्यो मीनामोदी च शूद्रकः ।
विवेकी सघृणो विप्रस्तेजस्वी क्षत्रियो बली ॥ ३१ ॥

कोष्णभावो(भावे) भवेद्वैश्यः शूद्रो निःसत्वको भवेत् ।
विप्राद्याः वाहनाः सर्वे प्रिया भूमिपतेः सदा । "

Cf. N. 4 —

" उत्तमा मध्यमा नीचा कनीयांसस्तथापरे ।
चतुर्धा वाजिनो भूमौ जायन्ते देशसंश्रयात् ॥ १ ॥

ताजिकाः खुरशाणाश्च उत्तराश्चोत्तमा हयाः ।
गोजिकाणाश्च केकाणा प्रौढाहाराश्च मध्यमाः ॥ २ ॥

भाण्डजाश्चोत्तमांसाश्च राजशूलाश्च मध्यमाः ।
गोह्वराः शावराश्चैव सिन्धुपाराः कनीयसः ॥ ३ ॥

अन्यदेशोद्भवा ये च नीचनीचाश्च ते स्मृताः ।
वाजिनो जलजाः केचिद्वह्निजातास्तथापरे ॥ ४ ॥

समीरप्रभवाश्चान्ये उलूकमृगजास्तथा ।
जलोद्भवा द्विजातीयाः (*v. l.* द्विजा ज्ञेयाः) क्षत्रिया वह्नि-
संभवाः ॥ ५ ॥

समीरप्रभवा वैश्या एणोलूकाश्च शूद्रजाः ।
विवेकी सघृणो विप्रस्तेजस्वी क्षत्रियो बली ॥ ६ ॥
दुष्टभावस्तथा वैश्यः शूद्रो निःसत्वकातरः(कारकः) ।
ब्राह्मणः सामवाही च भेदवाही च क्षत्रियः ॥ ७ ॥
उपादानेन वैश्यः स्याच्छूद्रो दण्डेन ताडितः ।
पुष्पगन्धः सदा विप्रः क्षत्रियोऽगुरुगन्धकः ॥ ८ ॥

घृतगन्धः सदा वैश्यो मीनामोदी च शूद्रकः ।
विप्रार्हा वाजिनः सर्वे क्षत्रियो भूपतेः सदा ॥ ९ ॥ "

B. 186 —

" नासिकाग्रे ललाटाग्रे शङ्खे कण्ठे च मस्तके ।
आवर्त्तो जायते येषां ते धन्यास्तुरगोत्तमाः ॥ ६२ ॥

ललाटे यस्य चावर्त्तो द्वितीयस्तु ककुन्दरे ।
मस्तके च तृतीयस्तु स विज्ञेयो हयोत्तमः ॥ ६३ ॥ "

Cf. N. 10 —

" नासिकाग्रे ललाटाग्रे शङ्खे कण्ठे च मस्तके ।
आवर्त्तो जायते येषां ते धन्यास्तुरगोत्तमाः ॥ ४ ॥

....

ललाटे यस्य चावर्त्तो द्वितीयस्य स लिङ्गकः ।
मस्तके च तृतीयश्च पूर्णकुक्षिः स उत्तमः ॥ ६ ॥ "

B. 186 —

" द(ग)ण्डावर्त्तो भवेद्यस्य वाजिनो दक्षिणाश्रयः ।
स करोति महासौख्यं स्वामिनः शिरसंज्ञितः (सज्ञितः) ॥ ६४ ॥ "

Cf. N. 11 —

" गण्डावर्त्तो भवेद्यस्य वाजिनो दक्षिणाश्रयः ।
(*v. l.* कपोलाभ्यन्तरावर्त्तो विद्येते)
स करोति महासौख्यं स्वामिनः शिवसंज्ञिकः ॥ १५ ॥ "

B. 186 —

" कर्णमूले यदावर्त्तः स्तनमध्ये तथापरः ।
विजयाख्यावुभौ तौ तु युद्धकाले जयप्रदौ ॥ ६५ ॥ "

Cf. N. 12 —

" कर्णमूले यदावर्त्तस्तन्मध्ये च तथापरः ।
विजयाख्यावुभौ ज्ञेयौ युद्धकाले जयप्रदौ ॥ १७ ॥ "

B. 186 —

" नासामध्ये यदावर्त्त एको वा यदि वा त्रयः ॥ ६६ ॥

चक्रवर्त्ती स विज्ञेयो वाजी भूपालभूषितः ।
कण्ठे यस्य महावर्त्तः प्रोक्तश्चिन्तामणिः शुभः ॥ ६७ ॥ "

Cf. N. 12 —

" नासामध्ये यदावर्तं एको वा यदि वा त्रयः ।
चक्रवर्ती स विज्ञेयो वाजी भूपालपूजितः ॥ १८ ॥

कण्ठे यस्य महावर्त्तं एकोऽश्वस्य (एकः स्पष्टः) प्रजायते ।
चिन्तामणिः स विज्ञेयश्चिन्तितार्थविवृद्धिदः ॥ १७ ॥ "

B. 186 —

" स्कन्धपार्श्वे यदावर्त्तः स भवेत्सुखकारकः । "

Cf. N. 12 —

" स्कन्धे पार्श्वे यदावर्त्तः स भवेत् पद्मलक्षणः ।
करोति विधिवत्पद्मे स्वामिनः सततं सुखम् ॥ २० ॥ "

B. 184 —

" चतुर्भिर्वत्सरैर्दन्ताश्चत्वारः परिकीर्त्तिताः ।
पञ्चभिश्च षडित्येवं जायन्ते त्वथ कालिकाः ॥ ४४ ॥

षष्ठे संवत्सरे प्राप्ते कालिकान्या भवेत् तु हि ।
तथान्या सप्तमे वर्षे चतुर्थी (*v. l.* चतुर्थे) कालिका भवेत् ॥ ४५ ॥

अष्टमे वत्सरे प्राप्ते जायन्ते सर्वकालिकाः ।
नवमे त्वथ ताः सर्वा आपीताः सम्भवन्ति च ॥ ४६ ॥

केचिदेकादशे वर्षे तावत्पीतत्वमागताः ।
ततः श्वेता प्रजायन्ते चतुर्दशसमावधि ॥ ४७ ॥

ततः काचप्रभा सम्यग् यावत्संवत्सरास्त्रयः ।
ततः सप्तदशादूर्ध्वं यावद्वर्षाणि विंशतिः ॥ ४८ ॥

मक्षिकाभा वदन्त्येषां (*v.l.* मक्षिभाभावदन्तेषां) यावद्वर्षत्रयं पुनः "

Cf. N. 14 —

" चतुर्भिर्वत्सरैर्दन्ताः कालिकान्ये भवन्ति च ।
तथान्यः सप्तमे वर्षे चतुर्थः कालिको भवेत् ॥ ४ ॥

अष्टमे वत्सरे प्राप्ते प्राप्ताः स्युः सार्वकालिकाः ।
नवमे त्वथवा रेखा पीतत्वं शंसयन्ति च ॥ ५ ॥

तथाप्येकादशे वर्षे तावत्पीतत्वमागताः ।
तिष्ठन्ति दशनास्तेषां वाजिनामप्यसंशयम् ॥ ६ ॥

ततः श्वेताः प्रदृश्यन्ते यावद्वर्षत्रयं पुनः ।
ततः काचप्रभा सम्यक् यावत्संवत्सरास्त्रयः ॥ ७ ॥

ततः सप्तदशादूर्ध्वं यावद्वर्षाणि विंशतिः ।
मक्षिकाभा रदास्तेषां यावद्वर्षत्रयं पुनः ॥ ८ ॥ "

B. 184 —

" कालिका हरिणी शुक्ला काचा मक्षिकया सह ।
शङ्खो मूषलकश्चैव दन्तानां चलतां (ता) तथा ॥ "

Cf. N. 15 —

" कालिका हारिणी शुक्ला काचा वाप्यथ मक्षिकाः ॥ १ ॥
शङ्खो दूखलकश्चैव दन्तानां चलनं तथा । "

B. 184 —

" यस्य दत्ता यवा भोज्ये शिशिरे समुपस्थिते ।
अकृत्वापि क्रियाः सर्वाः स हयः सुखमृच्छति ॥ ३७ ॥ "

Cf. N. 40 —

" यस्य दत्ता यवा भोज्ये शिशिरे समुपस्थिते ।
अकृतापि (*v.l.* क्रिया अपि) कृता सर्वा पञ्चर्तुजनिता हये ॥ १७ ॥"

B. 190 —

" चलकिशलयपादः कर्णमध्यैकदृष्टि-
र्न चलति कटिदेशः स्वासने संस्थितो यः ।
हयहृदयगतिज्ञः स्थानदण्डवतापः (°दण्डावपाती)
स खलु तुरगयाता पूज्यते पार्थिवेन्द्रैः ॥ २ ॥

मेरुः स्थिरो यस्य चलौ च पादौ
त्रिकोन्नतं संहतमासनञ्च ।
स वाजिवाहः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
शेषा नरा भास्करा हयानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ "

Cf. N. 21 —

" चलकिसलयपादः कर्णमध्यैकदृष्टिः
न चलति कटिदेशे आसने संस्थितञ्च ।
हयहृदयगतिज्ञः स्थानदण्डावपाती
स खलु तुरगयोक्ता मान्यते पार्थिवेन्द्रैः "

B. 185 —

" दीर्घाः शुष्का विशालास्या ये भवन्ति तुरङ्गमाः ।
ते शस्ताः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य यानवाहनकर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ "

Cf. N. 16 —

" दीर्घसूक्ष्मावभासास्या ये भवन्ति तुरङ्गमाः ।
ते शस्ताः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य यानवाहनकर्मणि ॥ १ ॥ "

The foregoing comparison of extracts from the अश्वयुक्ति section of Bhoja's युक्तिकल्पतरु and from the अश्वचिकित्सित of Nakula clearly shows how Bhoja, who definitely mentions नकुल by name and quotes from his अश्वचिकित्सित has borrowed freely from Nakula's work. If the अश्वयुक्ति section in the युक्तिकल्पतरु is a genuine work

of king Bhoja we have to conclude that the अश्वचिकित्सित of नकुल is earlier than Bhoja (*c. A. D.* 1050). We are thus in a position to determine *the later limit for Nakula's work viz. c. A. D. 1000.*

As regards the earlier limit to Nakula's अश्वचिकित्सित I have to make the following observations :—

(1) The passage mentioning the *Arabian* (ताजिक) and *Khurasan* (खुरशाण) horses as the best horses is common to both Bhoja and Nakula as we have seen above. The expression " ताजिताः खरशालाः " in Bhoja's अश्वयुक्ति is a misreading for " ताजिकाः खुरशाणाः" used by Nakula.

(2) *Khurason*[1] is a Province of North East Persia bounded on the North by the U. S. S. R., on the West by Mazandaran and Iraq Ajemi, on the South by Kuhistān, and on the East by Afghanistan. It consists partly of desert and partly of high-lying land, portions of which are fertile. Evidently the खुरशाण horses are equivalent to पारसीक horses, mentioned by जयदत्त in his अश्ववैद्यक, by the अमरकोश, by हेमचन्द्र in his अभिधानचिन्तामणि (c. A. D. 1140), by सोमेश्वर in his मानसोल्लास (*c. A. D.* 1130) and even by बाण in his हर्षचरित (c. A. D. 630).[2]

(3) I have presumed that the ताजिक horses mentioned by नकुल and भोज are equivalent to Arabian horses on the assurance of some friends. The Marathi Dictionary called the *Śabdakośa* mentions ताजी = Arabi horse (Arabic—ताझी). Whether the term ताजिक is identical with ताजी cannot be said with certainty as in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (p. 156 of Gladwin's Trans. 1897) seven kinds of horses are mentioned, in which the *Arab* horse is distinguished from the *Tazee*, which is given as the name of the best horse

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1. Vide p. 615 of *World Pictorial Gazetteer* by J. A. Hammerton.
2. I propose to write a paper on *Persian Horses in Sanskrit literature* in which I shall record detailed evidence about Persian horses mentioned in Sanskrit texts and its bearing on the history of the import of Persian and Arabian horses in large numbers referred to in the *Bambay Gazetteer* (*Thana*) 1882 as follows: — (Page 431)— (810 — 1260 A. D.) *Trade Centres* — " The chief trade in Animals was towards the close of the period (1290), a great import of horses from the Persian Gulf and from Arabia. No ships came to Thana without horses...... This great demand for horses seems to have risen from the scare among the Hindu rulers of the Deccan caused by the Mussalman cavalry. As many as 10,000 horses a year are said to have been imported. " (Yule's *Morco Polo*, II, 330.)

"mostly bred in Hindustan." To make confusion worse confounded we have *Tajik* as the name of a republic of Russia formed in 1924 out of the former regions of *Bukhara* and *Turkistan* and further सोमेश्वर in his मानसोल्लास (A. D. 1130) mentions तेजी horses among the best breeds of horses. It remains to be seen whether the terms ताजिक, तेजी, *Tazee*, *Tajik* are identical or otherwise. I intend to examine these terms in a separate paper with a view to clarifying the above confusion and hence cannot deal with them in this paper without detailed evidence.

For the present we may conclude that Nakula's *Aśvacikitsita* is earlier than *c. A. D.* 1000 as king Bhoja has borrowed from it largely in the *Aśvayukti* section of his *Yuktikalpataru*, mentioning in one place the name of *Nakula* along with the extract borrowed.

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22. Date of Śrīdharasvāmin, Author of the Commentaries on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Other Works — Between c. A.D. 1350 and 1450 *

During the course of my studies in Indian literary history my attention was directed to the date of Srīdharasvāmin, the author of the popular Sanskrit commentary on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and other works. In this connection I consulted a Marathi book called the *Bhāgavatādarśa* by Mr. Kolhatkar, who states on p. 494 of his book that the *date of Śrīdharasvāmi is not certain.* In view of this statement I began to collect some data on the problem of Śrīdharasvāmi's date for the purpose of clarifying the present doubts and uncertainties about this date. The notes gathered by me so far are recorded in this paper with my tentative conclusion about this date within the limits of the data discovered by me.

(1) J. N. Farquhar in his *Outline of Religious Literature of India* (Oxford, 1920) refers to Śrīdhara's date as follows :—

Page 231 — " Śrīdhara Svāmi, the author of the most famous commentary on it (*Bhāgavata*), *who probably lived about A. D. 1400.*"

Page 239 — *Bhāgavatabhāṣya* of Viṣṇusvāmī is referred to by Śrīdharasvāmin in his comment on *Bhāgavata* P.- I. 7.

Page 269 — *Devī Bhāgavata* is prior to " *Śrīdhara who lived about A. D. 1400.*"

Page 297 — Probably *about A. D. 1400*, Śrīdharasvāmī, Mahant of the Saṁkarite monastery, Govardhana in Purī, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata P.* He begins his commentary with the *distinct statement that the great Purāṇa* was not written by VOPADEVA ... Śrīdhara wrote at a time *considerably later than A. D. 1300*, when Vopadeva flourished. Śrīdhara's commentary was well-known by the end of the 15th century.

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXX, pp. 277-283.

Page 308 — *Caitanya* read *Bhāgavata* with *Śrīdhara's commentary*.

Page 359 — Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of *Tilaka* commentary on the *Devī Bhāgavata* calls himself a disciple of *Śrīdhara*. As *Śrīdhara* flourished *about A. D. 1400* Nīlakaṇṭha may belong to the 15th or the 16th century.

(2) Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries about *Śrīdharasvāmin* and his works :—

C C I, p. 669 — " श्रीधरस्वामिन् pupil of Paramānanda :

(1) — भगवद्गीताटीका सुबोधिनी.[1]

(2) — भगवद्गीतासार टीका.[2]

(3) — भागवतपुराण-टीका भावार्थ-दीपिका.[3]

(4) — विष्णुपुराण टीका आत्मप्रकाश.[4] He used the commentary of चित्सुख.

(5) — वेदस्तुति टीका from his comm. on the भागवतपुराण.

(6) — व्रजविहार [Printed in Haberlin, p. 519).

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1. *CC I, 392-393* — सुबोधिनी by श्रीधरस्वामिन् — IO. 184, 286 W. p. 105, 108. Oxf. 2a. Paris (D 6). Khn. 24. K. 34. B. 2. 58. Report XXVII, (सुबोधिनी). Ben. 72. 78. Tub. 16. 20 Radh. 5. Oudh-XV. 16. Burnell 186a. Bhk. 30. Bhr. 254. 255. Bonn. 123. Oppert. 2308, 7516. II, 3138. 5447. 6658. 7543. 8291.

CC II, 89 — BL. 181. Fl. 423. Gov. Or. Lib. Madras. 23. Hz. 81 407. 457. 494. 575. IO. 286. 549. 846. 1577 A. 1910. 2070. 2147. 2387. 2764. 2803. Oudh. XX, 22. 24. XXII, 56. Stein 194.

CC III, 85 — AK 163. As. p. 127. Cr. Cs. 4. 92. 93. 95. 96. 100. IO. 286. 549. 346 (till 3, 18). 1577 A (till 4, 25). 2070. 2147. 2387. 2764. 2803. Lz. 145. 146. 148. 149. 150. 151. (these both in a further recension). Whish 40.

2. *CC I, 393* —भगवद्गीतासारटीका by श्रीधराचार्य BP. 271.

3. *CC I, 402* — भावार्थदीपिका by श्रीधरस्वामिन् (numerous MSS — commentary on भा. दीपिका by केशवदास called भा. दी. स्नेहपूरिणी quoted by him in अहल्याकामधेनु which is a modern law book called after अहल्या, wife of Khaṇḍerao (Holkar).

4. *CC I, 591* — आत्मप्रकाश or स्वप्रकाश by श्रीधरस्वामिन् (References: — ***India Office, Weber, Oxford, Bikaner, Burnell, Oppert***).

(7) — Some verses of his are given in पद्यावली (of रूप-गोस्वामिन्).

(8) — पदार्थप्रकाशिका-पुराण-टीका (?) Oppert II 4714.

C C II, 160 — (*9*) सनत्सुजातीयव्याख्या बालबोधिनी (BL. 201), See C C II, 165.

(3) If Śrīdhara used the commentary on *Viṣṇupurāṇa* by Citsukha as stated in the above entries he must be later than Citsukha.[1] Śrīdhara must be earlier than Rūpagosvāmin, who quotes some verses of Śrīdhara in his *Padyāvali*. Citsukha is said to have flourished between A. D. 1220 and 1284.[2] If this date for Citsukha is correct we are warranted in fixing c. A. D. 1200 as the earlier terminus to the date of Śrīdhara. In this connection Dr. S. K. De[3] observes :—" As Śrīdhara refers to Vopadeva, he could not have been earlier than 1300 A. D ." This view of Dr. De is in harmony with the statement of Amarnath Ray[4] who states in one of his articles that Śrīdhara is a " *late 14th or early 15th century teacher* ? "

(4) The later limit to the date of Śrīdhara can be fixed definitely on the strength of some dated MSS of Śrīdhara's works noted below :—

(i) The *Catalogue of Anup Sanskrit Library*, (Bikaner, 1944) records the following MSS of Śrīdhara's commentaries dated *A. D. 1516* and *1582* :—

Page 96 — General No. 94 — विष्णुपुराणटीका (स्वप्रकाश) by श्रीधरस्वामिन्, folios 43, dated *Saṁvat 1573* (*A. D. 1516*) owner दीक्षित मणिराम.

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1. Vaṁśīdhara, author of *Bhāvārthadīpikā* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press informs us that the commentary on the *Bhāgavata* by Śrīdhara was preceded by that of Citsukha (Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 65 — Review of *Śrutikalpalatā* by Dr. H. Sharma). If Vaṁśīdhara's statement is correct it supports Aufrecht's entry about the ***posteriority of Śrīdhara to Citsukha***. According to Vaṁśīdhara two other commentaries on the *Bhāgavata* by Śaṁkara and Hanūmat respectively preceded Śrīdhara's commentary.

2. See p. 278 of *Journal of Mythic Society*, January 1934.

3. See p. 13 of ***Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*** by S. K. De.

4. See p. 168 of Vol. XIV of *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) — article of Amarnath Ray on " Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle. "

Page 91 — General No. 29 — भागवत-महापुराण-टीका (भावार्थदीपिका by श्रीधरस्वामिन् dated *Saṁvat 1639* (*A.D. 1582*) folios 117— owner Anūpasiṁha.

(ii) *Catalogue of Nepal Manuscripts* by A. P. Śāstri and Cecil Bendall (Calcutta, 1905) records MSS of Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* dated *A. D. 1511* and *1590* as will be seen from the following extract :—

Preface p. li — " भागवतटीका, p. 28 No. 934 ; and p. 91, No. 14 ख of the new collection. The first is Srīdhara's commentary copied in Maithila character in *La. Saṁ. 472* (= A. D. *1590*) by Nārāyaṇa at Koreṇi in Mithilā. The second also was copied in the same character by Raghupati at the village Poarī in *La. Saṁ. 393* (= A.D. 1511). It contains the commentary on the eleventh and twelfth Skandhas only."

It is clear from the above evidence that there are MSS of Śrīdhara's commentaries dated A.D. 1511, 1516, 1582 and 1590. This evidence enables us to fix A. D. 1500 *as the later limit to Śrīdhara's date.* This limit can be pushed back still further on the basis of further evidence to follow.

(5) Viṣṇupurī of Tirhut was one of the early inspirers of the Bhakti movement in Bengal. He followed the tradition of Śrīdhara which he directly acknowledges in the closing verse of his work called-भागवत-भक्तिरत्नावली.[1] This verse[2] reads as follows:—

" अत्र श्रीधरसत्तमौक्तिलिखने न्यूनाधिकं यद्भवे-
त्तत्क्षन्तुं सुधियोऽर्हत स्वरचनालुब्धस्य मे चापलम् ॥ "

Caitanya himself possessed the highest veneration for Śrīdhara and on one occasion he is said to have repudiated a commentary on the *Gītā* on the ground that it departed from Śrīdhara's interpretation.[3] Kavi Karṇapūra, who flourished much earlier than the period of Caitanya mentions Viṣṇupurī as a predecessor according to Dr. S. K. De.[4] We thus get the following series of authors from Śrīdhara onwards :—

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1. Vide p. ix of Intro. to ***Padyāvalī*** ed. by S. K. De. Dacca, 1934; vide also p. 231 (Notes on authors).

2. I am thankful to my friend Dr. S. K. De for sending me this verse from a Dacca University MS in his letter of 29th March 1935.

3. Vide p. xi of Intro. to ***Padyāvalī***.

4. Vide p. 231 of ***Padyāvalī***.

श्रीधर —— विष्णुपुरी[1]—— कविकर्णपूर--- चैतन्य[2]
(later than A. D. 1300) (A. D. 1350–1400) (A. D. 1485–1527)

(6) Rūpagosvāmin, disciple of Caitanya, who flourished *between* A, D. 1495 *and* 1550 (p. liii of Intro. to *Padyāvali* ed. by S. K. De) quotes some verses of Śrīdharasvāmin in his *Padyāvali* (p, 669 of. Part I of *Cata. Catalogorum* by Aufrecht). This evidence would justify us in pushing back the later limit to the date of Śrīdharasvāmin to about A. D. 1450. We have already referred to the priority of Srīdhara to Caitanya, who was born in A. D. 1485.

(7) Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Naiṣadha* refers to Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* as follows :—

Folio 9 A of MS No. 714 of 1886-92—

" भागवते श्रीधरव्याख्यानात् ॥ "

Lakṣmaṇabhatta flourished between A. D. 1431 and 1730 as I have shown in my paper[3] on this author.

(8) Vaidya Mahādeva in his commentary on *Suśruta* (Baroda Oriental Institute MS No. 6041) quotes *Bhāgavata* and refers to Śrīdhara :—

" दशमो हरिः इति श्रीधरोक्तेः[4] ॥ "

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1. Vide Farquhar's *Outline* etc, *Page 302* — " Viṣṇupurī who belonged to Tirhut probably lived in the *2nd half of the 14th century*"— *Page 375* — *Bhaktiratnāvali* of Viṣṇupurī, *about A. D. 1400*. Vide also Glassenapp's *Madhva Philosophie des Viṣṇu* Glaubens [Bonn and Leipzig, 1923, p. 61 — He is wrongly called a Madhva ascetic in these works.]. (I owe this reference to Dr. S. K. De).

2. According to Duff's *Chronology* (p. 264) Caitanya was born in A. D. 1485. According to Burgess' *Chronology of Modern India* (p. 21) Caitanya died in A. D. 1527. According to Farquhar (*Outline*, etc. p. 308) Caitanya " passed away in 1533. " According to Dr. De (p. xvii of *Padyāvalī* Intro.). Caitanya was born in *February 1485 A. D.* and died in June–July 1533 (p. xxx).

3. Vide pp. 312–314 of *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II (1935).

4. When I took down this quotation fifteen years ago from the Baroda MS I forgot to note the exact number of the folio on which this quotation is found.

(9) Rāmarṣi in his commentary on the *Nalodaya Kāvya* called the *Yamakabodhinī* composed in A. D. 1608 refers to Śrīdhara and his commentary on the *Bhāgavata* as follows in verse 5 at the end of MS No. 411 of 1887-91 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute (p. 374 of Catalogue of Kāvya MSS, Vol. XIII, Part I, 1940) :—

Rāmarṣi compares his father Vṛddhavyāsa to Śrīdhara in the exposition of the *Bhāgavata* in verse 5 which reads as follows :—

" श्रीभागवतभावार्थव्याख्याने श्रीधरोपमवृद्धव्यासो-

भवत् ॥ ५ ॥ " etc.

(10) An illustrated MS of the *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhara's commentary (*No. 61 of 1907-1915* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) is dated *Saṁvat* 1705 (A. D. 1648, Thursday, 10th August).[1]

(11) Another MS of the *Bhāgavata* with Śrīdhara's commentary (No. 435 F of Viś I in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute) is dated *Saṁvat* 1612 (= A. D. 1556). This date is in harmony with the dates A. D. 1511 (Nepal MS) and 1516 (Bikaner MS) already recorded by me while dealing with the dated MSS of Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* copied in the 16th century.

(12) Dr. P. V. Kane[2] refers to one " श्रीधरस्वामिन् mentioned by रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (Vol. II. p. 25), in मलमासतत्त्व (Vol. I, p. 820, as the author of a समुच्चय "). According to Dr. Kane Raghunandana, the author of एकादशीतत्त्व flourished *between* A. D. 1490 *and* 1570 (see p. 419 of Vol. I of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, 1930). If this Śrīdharasvāmin is identical with his name-sake, the commentator of the *Bhāgavata* etc. we get A. D. 1490 as the later terminus to the date of Śrīdharasvāmin, which harmonises with his priority to Caitanya (born A. D. 1485) as noted by me already in this paper.

(13) There are in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, the following dated MSS of Śrīdharasvāmin's commentary called the *Subodhinī* on the *Bhagavadgīta* :—

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1. Vide my paper on this MS in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I (1938) July, pp. 249–253.

2. Vide p. 752 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1930.

(i) *No. 164 of 1891-95* — dated *Saṁvat 1762* (= *A.D. 1706*)

(ii) *No. 255 of 1882-83* — dated *Saṁvat 1745* (= *A.D. 1689*)

(iii) *No. 60 of 1902-07* — dated *Śaka 1696* (= *A.D. 1774*)

(iv) *No. 163 of 1891-95* — dated *Saṁvat 1853* (= *A.D. 1797*)

(v) *No. 425 of 1875-76* — Paper MS, fragmentary and worn out, in Śāradā characters.

This MS contains the following stanza giving the date of the copying of the MS at the end :—

" रागाविष्टे विक्रमादित्यशाके ।
माघे श्लिष्टे सोमवारेण दर्शे ॥
सिद्धे योगे विष्णुनक्षत्रकृष्टे ।
सिद्धक्षेत्रे माधवाख्या विशिष्टे ॥ "

The chronogram in this verse needs to be interpreted. Pandit Viśvanātha Śāstri of the Mahābhārata Department of the B. O. R. Institute interprets " रागाविष्टे " as meaning the year " 1432 " according to the " कटपयादि " system of calculation. The consonants in the expression " रागाविष्टे " are shown below with their numerical values :—

र (= 2)   ग (= 3)   व (= 4)   ट (= 1)

Reversing the numbers 2, 3, 4, 1 we get 1432 as the year indicated by the expression " रागाविष्टे." If this calculation is correct the date of the MS would be *Vikramāditya Śaka* 1432 = A. D. 1376. I hope that experts in Indian chronology would verify this calculation in the light of other details mentioned in the last three lines of the stanza and see if it is correct.

On the strength of the data recorded above I am inclined to fix up the date of Śrīdharasvāmin *between C. A. D. 1350* and *1450.*

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23. The History and Chronology of a Nāgara Brahmin Family of Physicians in Gujarāt — A. D. 1275–1475 *

In a recent issue[1] of the *Journal* of the *Gujarāt Research Society*, Durga Shankar K. Shastri has published an interesting article on 'Medical Science in Ancient Gujarāt.' In this article he makes the following remarks[2] on Nārāyaṇa, who completed the commentary, *vyākhyā-Kusumāvalī* of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the *Vṛnda-mādhava* or *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛnda : —

" Nārāyaṇa (15th century) — The manuscript evidence of the *Kusumāvalī*, a gloss by Śrīkaṇṭha on the *Vṛnda-mādhava* indicates that a Vaidya named Nārāyaṇa, the son of Bhāmalla and a *nāgir* by caste is said to have completed the above gloss, which was left unfinished by its author through fear of its becoming too bulky.[3] Nothing certain is known about his date and domicile. He is obviously later than Śrīkaṇṭha, who lived in Bengal in the 13th century. He is, moreover, earlier than the 17th century for a MS of the completed *Kusumāvalī* written in 1630 A. D. is available. It is highly probable that it took a long time for Śrīkaṇṭha's commentary to reach Gujarāt and on the other hand, it might have been not too long an interval to blend the two works. It is, therefore, likely that Nārāyaṇa lived in the 15th century. As remarked above Vāgbhaṭa's commentary written in Bengal in the 13th century was studied in Gujarāt in the 15th. Similarly, the comments on the

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* *Dr. Siddeshwar Varma Volume*, (1950) Part II, pp. 251–256.

1. Vol. VII, Nos. 2 and 3, April and July 1945, pp. 75–88.

2. *Ibid.* p. 83.

3. The Ānandāśrama ed. of *Vṛnda-mādhava* contains the following verses at the end of the text :—

" श्रीकण्ठदत्ताभिषजा ग्रन्थविस्तारभीरूणा ।
टीकायां कुसुमावल्यां व्याख्या मुक्ता क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥
रत्ननागरवंशस्य भिषग् भामल्लनन्दन: ।
नारायणो द्विजवरो भिषजां हितकाम्यया ॥
टीकापूर्तिं व्यधात् सम्यक् तेन नन्दन्तु साधवः ॥ "

Vṛnda-madhava were perhaps studied in the same period and some one tried to fill in the lacuna. Nārāyaṇa is associated with Gujarāt merely because he was a *Nāgir*. From amongst the numerous commentaries on the Sanskrit works on ancient medicine, not one can be credited to Gujarāt. Hence the importance of Nārāyaṇa."

These remarks of D. K. Shastri are quite reasonable in the light of evidence adduced by him. I propose, however, to record in this paper some reliable evidence which throws a flood of light on the family of Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj and its history for about 200 years, say between A.D. 1300 and 1500. This evidence will also, clarify the date of Nārāyaṇa who is assigned by Mr. Shastri to 15th century. It will also be seen from my evidence that the interest of the several members of this family of Nāgar Brahmins in the theory and practice of medicine remained unbroken for about two centuries.

Aufrecht records (CC I, p. 289) the following works of Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj[1] :—(1) कर्मप्रकाश khn 88, (2) वातज्वरादिनिर्णय K 218, (3) वैद्यवृन्द B. 4. 242 and (4) वैद्यामृत B. 4 244. The MSS of these works on medicine are not available to me for examination. I am, therefore, unable to say if Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj, who completed व्याख्या-कुसुमावली of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, is identical with his namesake, the author of these works. The catalogues, in which these Sanskrit works are mentioned, do not describe the MSS recorded and consequently it is difficult to say if these works were composed by the Nāgara Brahmin Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj who completed Śrikaṇṭhadatta's commentary on the *Vṛndamādhava* or *Siddh-ayoga*. The only MS of व्याख्या-कुसुमावली recorded by Aufrecht (CC I, p. 618) is No. 375 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This work has been published.[2]

In his History of Āyurveda (आयुर्वेदनो इतिहास), written in Gujarātī (Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, 1942, p. 180). D. K. Shastri makes the following remarks about नारायण भिषज् :—

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1. This नारायण भिषज् should not be confounded with नारायण, who composed a commentary on त्रिशती of शार्ङ्गधर called सिद्धान्त-सञ्चय. This author was the son of कृष्णभट्ट and younger brother of नागनाथ (See MSS Nos. 622 of 1895–1902 and 947 of 1884-87 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, described by Dr. H. D. Sharma on pp. 113–115 of his *Des. Cata. of Vaidyaka MSS* [B. O. R. Institute] Vol. XVI, Part I, 1939.

2. Ed. by Hanumanta Sastri Padhye, Poona, 1894.

" श्रीकण्ठदत्त composed a commentary called the व्याख्या-कुसुमावली on the सिद्धयोग of वृन्द. This श्रीकण्ठ also composed a commentary on the माधव-निदान. He lived in the 14th century. His commentary, incomplete in parts, was completed by नारायण son of भाभल्ल of नागर-ज्ञाति, as stated at the end of the Ānandāśrama ed. of the व्याख्या-कुसुमावली."

I propose now to connect our Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj of नागरवंश with the family of another Nāgara Brahmin अनन्त, who composed a work called the कामसमूह in A D. 1457 and on whom I published a paper in 1940 in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras (Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 74-81). Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji published a Gujarātī rendering of this paper in a Gujarātī journal. Evidently, D. K. Shastri has not seen my paper or this Gujarātī rendering. In my paper under reference I have recorded the following facts :—

(1) अनन्त composed his कामसमूह in A. D. 1457.

(2) He belonged to भाभल्लवंश and was the son of मन्त्रिमण्डन, as stated by him in the following verse :—

" भाभल्लवंशजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डनसूनुना ।
अनन्तेन महाकाव्यप्रबन्धः क्रियते मया ॥ ६ ॥ "

(3) His father मण्डन was the son of नारायण, as stated by अनन्त in the following verses :—

" विद्वज्जनसभानन्दो मन्त्री नारायणात्मजः ।
मण्डनस्तस्य पुत्रेण वर्ण्यन्ते स्मर्तवोऽधुना ॥ ६९ ॥
नारायणात्मजः श्रीमान् मन्त्री श्रीमण्डनो द्विजः ।
तत्सुतेन प्रियावस्था प्रयाणे वर्णिता मुदा ॥ "

(4) अनन्त belonged to नागर ज्ञाति, as stated by him in the following verse :—

" नागरज्ञातिजातेन मन्त्रिमण्डनसूनुना ।
अनन्तेन महाकाव्या (? व्यं) सतीवृत्तं प्रकाशितम् ॥ "

(5) अनन्त states that he was a resident of a town (नगर) founded by अहिम्मद :—

" अहिम्मदनिर्मितनगरे विहितावसतिश्च वृद्धनागरिकः ।
मण्डनसूनुरनन्तो रचयति सेवाविधिं नार्याः ॥ "

' अहिम्मदनगर ' mentioned in the above verse cannot be Ahmadnagar founded by Ahmad Nizam Shah in A. D. 1494). It may be identi-

cal with Ahmedabad (founded in A. D. 1513) or Ahmadnagar (now Himmatnagar, the capital of Idar State [founded in A. D. 1427). Both these towns were founded by Amad I of Gujarāt before A. D. 1457, the date of the कामसमूह of अनन्त.

(6) One आनन्दपूर्ण was the Guru of अनन्त, as stated in the following verse :—

" आनन्दपूर्णगुरुपादयुगं प्रणम्य ।
व्याख्यां विधाय सुरभेः रचयत्यनन्तः ॥ २७ ॥ "

One आनन्दपूर्ण *alias* विद्यासागर, the commentator of the महाभारत, was a contemporary of Kāmadeva, the Kadamba ruler of Goa, one of whose inscriptions is dated A. D. 1393.

(7) अनन्त describes his father मण्डन as मन्त्रिन् ' minister ', and, also, as भूपतीनां भिषग्वरः 'physician to kings' and गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता वै धन्वन्तरिरिवापरः ' proficient in the veterinary science dealing with elephants as धन्वन्तरि himself.'

(8) अनन्त calls himself a वृद्धनागरिक of अहिम्मदनगर. He also calls himself अनन्तशास्त्रज्ञः ' proficient in many sciences.' He also styles himself as भिषग्विद्याविद् ' expert in medical science ' (like his father मण्डन expert in veterinary and general medicine).

The identity of Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj (who completed the व्याख्याकुसुमावली of श्रीकण्ठदत्त) with नारायण the grandfather of अनन्त of A. D. 1457 will be clear from the following tabulated statement :—

नारायण भिषज्	नारायण, grandfather of अनन्त
(1) He calls himself भाभल्लनंदन i.e. son of भाभल्ल (or भाभल्ल).	(1) अनन्त tells us that his grandfather was नारायण and that he belonged to भाभल्लवंश (भाभल्ल family).
(2) He calls himself as descended from नागर वंश (Nāgar family).	(2) अनन्त also states his own caste as 'नागर ज्ञाति'.
(3) He calls himself नारायण भिषज्.	(3) अनन्त calls his gandfather as नारायण and his father मण्डन, son of नारायण as भिषग्वर and गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता.

The identity of the names भाम(भ)ल्ल, नारायण and नागर ज्ञाति (or नागर वंश) as revealed by the statements of अनन्त and नारायणभिषज् is not accidental but real. I have, therefore, no doubt that Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj who completed the व्याख्या-कुसुमावली is identical with नारायण, the grandfather of अनन्त of A. D. 1457. If this identity is accepted, we can easily see how the study of medicine was continued in this Nāgara family from the grandfather to the grandson, as represented in the following genealogy and its chronology :—

Genealogy	भाभ(म)ल्ल	→नारायणभिषज्	→मान्त्रिमण्डन (भिषग्वर and गजायुर्वेदवेत्ता	→अनन्त (भिषग्विद्यावित्) वृद्धनागरिक in A.D. 1457
Chronology	c. A.D. 1275–1350	c. A.D. 1325–1400	c. A. D. 1375–1450	c. A.D. 1400–1475

As regards the chronology given in the above table, I have to observe as follows :—

(1) श्रीकण्ठदत्त was the pupil of विजयरक्षित whose date is about 1240 A. D. (*vide* Hoernle : *Osteology*, p. 17).

(2) The date of श्रीकण्ठदत्त, the author of व्याख्या-कुसुमावली, would be c. A. D. 1225-1300.

(3) नारायण भिषज् who completed व्याख्या-कुसुमावली, is, therefore, later than A D. 1300. In the above table, I have assigned him to the period A. D. 1325-1400.

(4) मण्डन the son of नारायण भिषज् may be safely assigned to the period A. D. 1375-1450.

(5) अनन्त, son of मण्डन, composed his कामसमूह in A. D. 1457, when he was a वृद्धनागरिक. He, therefore, may be assigned to the period A. D. 1400-1475.

(6) भाभल्ल, the great grandfather of अनन्त, has been assigned by me to the period A. D. 1275-1350. He appears to have been contemporaneous with श्रीकण्ठदत्त.

I believe that the above chronology is quite reasonable within the limits available to me, viz. c. A. D. 1240, the date of विजयरक्षित and A D. 1457, the date of अनन्त. In this manner, by linking up the evidence given by नारायण भिषज् and that given by अनन्त, we

have been able to give the history and chronology of this Nāgara family of physicians for 200 years (A. D. 1275-1475).

It would apppear from my evidence that नारायण भिषज् belongs to the 14th century and not the 15th century to which D. K. Shastri has assigned him in his article. अनन्त calls himself as भाभल्ल-वंशजात, i. e. born in the भाभल्ल family. This vague statement of अनन्त about his great grandfather is clarified by his grandfather नारायण भिषज्, who expressly calls himself भाभल्ल-नन्दन. The great grandson had a vague memory of his great grandfather, but the grandfather had no such vagueness in calling himself भाभल्लनन्दन 'the son of भाभल्ल.' It is, therefore, clear that the genealogy established by me in this paper, viz. भाभल्ल-नारायण-मण्डन-अनन्त (A. D. 1457) is accurate and reliable.

अनन्त frequently calls his father as मन्त्रिन् 'minister' and भूपतीनां भिषग्वर: 'Royal Physician.' We must investigate the name of the king at whose court he flourished and served as minister. It is possible to suppose that मण्डन (c. 1375-1450 A. D.) was patronised by Ahmad I of Gujarāt (A. D. 1411-1442). In this connection I may point out that Mahamud Begdā, the grandson of Ahmad I, had a court Pandit, Udayarāja[1], who composed a poem called the राजविनोद between A. D. 1458 and 1469.

Ahmad I of Gujarāt (A. D. 1411-1442) twice attacked Malwa (in A. D. 1419 and 1422), without being able to capture Hoshang Ghori, who was ruling at Mandu fort between A. D. 1405 and 1432. I have proved, elsewhere,[2] that Hoshang Ghori had a Jain Prime Minister of the name मण्डन, son of बाहड and grandson of झंझण of श्रीमालवंश. This महाप्रधान मण्डन was a Jain संघपति and composed several Sanskrit works like काव्य-मण्डन, शृङ्गार-मण्डन, सारस्वत-मण्डन and संगीत-मण्डन. He flourished between A. D. 1405 and 1432, the period of Hoshang Ghori's rule at Malwa. This महाप्रधानमण्डन of Malwa should not be confounded with मन्त्रिमण्डन of Gujarāt (A.D 1375-1450) who was his contemporary with a different genealogy.

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1. Vide my paper : Date *Rājavinoda* of Udayarāja, a Hindu Court Poet of Mahamud Begdā, in the *Journal of the Bombay University*, 1940 pp. 102–115. उदयराज refers to the following Sultans of Gujarāt :—

मुदफ्फर (A. D. 1392–1410); महम्मद son of मुदफ्फर; अहम्मद (A. D. 1411–1442); महम्मद son of अहम्मद, (A. D. 1442–1451); महमूद (Begdā) son of महम्मद (A. D. 1458–1511).

2. Vide my article : *The Genealogy of Maṇḍana*, the Jain Prime Minister of Malwa, between A.D. 1405 and 1432 in *Jaina Antiquary*, 1944.

24. Date of Vāsudeva's Commentary on the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu — Between A. D. 1500 and 1700*

In 1940 I published a paper[1] on the *Dates of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and Other Commentators of the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu.* In this paper I have montioned about 20 commentaries on the *Vāsavadattā* and tried to fix their probable chronology on the strength of data then available to me. In 1948 my friend Rao Saheb G. V. Panse, B. E. of Poona showed to me an incomplete MS[2] of a commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* containing about 270 folios (11. 7 by 4. 4 inches in size). This MS excited my curiosity as I had not examined this commentary in my previous paper referred to above. I, therefore, asked Rao Saheb Panse to prepare a critical analysis of this MS and submit it to the session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Rao Saheb Panse accordingly prepared such an analysis for the Darbhanga Session held in October 1948 and gave me a copy of it with a request that I should try to fix up the chronology of this commentary by Vāsudeva represented by the Baroda MS.

At the time when Rao Saheb Panse requested me to fix up the chronology of Vāsudeva's commentary under reference I was engaged in writing a paper on the date of *Rasakāmadhenu* by Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra. This work on alchemy appears to have been composed later than A. D. 1500 according to the evidence recorded by me in my paper. A comparative study of the historical and biographical data available in the *Rasakāmādhenu* and Vāsudeva's commentary on the Vāsavadattā called *Bhuvana-Candrikā* or *Bhuvanārtha Candrikā* disclosed quite accidentally that *Devanātha*, the father of Vāsudeva was possibly identical with *Devanātha-Miśra*, the guru of Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra. If this identity could be proved we can definitely say that Vāsudeva and Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra were contem-

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* *Journal of Oriental Studies* (1950), Vol. II, No. 2, p. 1-7.

1. Vide *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XXI, pp. 128-144.

2. This MS belongs to the Manuscripts Library of the Central Institute, Baroda, as I am informed by Rao Saheb Panse.

poraries. But before I proceed to prove this identity it is necessary to record the extracts from Vāsudeva's commentary on the strength of which we are in a position to fix up the suggested identity.

The MS begins as follows :—

Folio 1 — " श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीवासुदेवाय नमः ॥

गलगरलमिलितभाभिर्जयति हरः कृष्णमनुकुर्वन् ।
फणिपुंगवफूत्कृतभृतशुखिरकपालालिवेणुरवः ॥ १ ॥

शाकद्वीपिद्विजकुलकमलवनविकाशनैकदिननाथः ।
अवणगुणरत्नपाथो नाथोऽभूत्माधवो विबुधः ॥ २ ॥

तस्मात्समस्तपण्डितमस्तकमणिरात्मजो जातः
जितभानुरतुलधाम्ना श्रीनारायणो धीमान् ॥ ३ ॥

परपक्षगिरिविदारणकुलिशाङ्कः सर्वशास्त्रज्ञः ।
अजनि जनार्दननामा श्रीमन्नारायणेन सुतः ॥ ४ ॥

चतुरधिकषष्ठिसम्मितकलाकलापस्य वासगृहम् ।
मर्त्यार्तिव्रततीनां धारेव सिता कुठारस्य ॥ ५ ॥

धीरान्महोदधेरिव शीतद्युतिरपर इव तनयः ।
तस्माज्जातो देवप्रख्यः श्रीदेवनाथाख्यः ॥ ६ ॥

निरवद्यगद्यपद्यावलिरचनाचतुरमौलिमणिः ।
स्मृतितत्वदत्तदृष्टिर्निखिलोपनिषन्निषन्नमनाः ॥ ७ ॥

लक्षणविषये दक्षिणभावः शास्त्रे परिश्रमः श्रुत्या ।
साहित्यसंहतमतस्तर्ककार्कश्यमपि यस्य ॥ ८ ॥

आयुर्वेदविबोधविशुद्धधीभिर्निरूपित इतीह ।
धन्वंतरिरयमपरो न परो यस्माद्भिषक्कोपि ॥ ९ ॥

तस्मात्संभवो भूविख्यातो वासुदेवाख्यः ।
दुर्गातनयस्तनुते व्याख्यामाख्यायिकायास्तु ॥ १० ॥

संतः संति महत्यो वश्योबह्वर्थसार्थकाः टीकाः ।
किं तु मदीया टीका पटीव जाड्यं पटीयसी हंतुम् ॥ ११ ॥

अर्थावर्तेऽस्यर्थभ्रांतिर्भ्रमतोऽव धारणीया मे ।
गूढाशयमूढमतेः पारे काव्यार्णवं यातुः ॥ १२ ॥

विख्याताख्यायिकाव्याख्यामाख्यातुर्मम को गुणः ।
नाधिकार्थप्रवेशश्चेन्नासदर्थस्य च क्षयः ॥ १३ ॥ "

Further portion is not legible in the manuscript due to the folio being damaged by rain, etc.

The colophon of Ucchavāsa I reads:—

" शाकद्वीपिकुलप्रदीपधरणी गीर्वाणवर्गाग्रणी– ।
नानापंडितमौलिमंडनमणिः श्रीदेवनाथः कृती ॥
यं दुर्गा च सती सुतं प्रसुषुवे श्रीवासुदेवाह्वयम् ।
तद्व्याख्यामृतसिक्तआदिम इहोछ्वासोगतः पूर्णताम् ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीदेवनाथात्मजश्रीवासुदेवविरचितायां
भुवनचंद्रिकायाम् प्रथमोछ्वासः । "

The colophon of Ucchvāsa II on folio 110 reads :—

" शाकद्वीपिकुलप्रदीपधरणी गीर्वाणवर्गाग्रणी– ।
नानापंडितमौलिमंडनमणिः श्रीदेवनाथः कृती ॥
यं दुर्गा च सती सुतं प्रसुषुवे श्रीवासुदेवाह्वयम् ।
तद्व्याख्याविषयीकृतोन्तमधुनोछ्वासो द्वितीयो गतः "

The genealogy of Vāssudeva as given in the foregoing extracts is as follows :—

माधव (of a शाकद्वीपि द्विज family)
|
Son
नारायण
|
Son
जनार्दन
|
Son
देवनाथ (an eminent physician) (married दुर्गा)
|
Son
वासुदेव (author of भुवनचांद्रिका commentary on the वासवदत्ता)

The commentary of Vāsudeva is very rich in citations from previous works and authors. Rao Saheb Panse has noted some of them as follows :—

अग्निपुराण, अभिधानचिन्तामणि, उत्तरतंत्र, कात्यायन, कुक्कोकः, छन्दोमञ्जरी, तारपाल, दामोदर, धातुपारायण, नामनिधान, पिंगल, भुजबलभीमनिबंध, माघ, याज्ञवल्क्य, रंतिदेव, रावणस्तव, वाचस्पतिः, विष्णुनामस्तव, वृक्षायुर्वेद, व्याडिः, शेषाख्यमाला, सरस्वतीस्तव, स्मृति, हेममाला, अंगराज, अमरकोष, उत्पलिनी, काव्य-

प्रकाश, गदसिंह, जयदेव, त्रिकांडशेष, देशीकोष, धनिक, निघंटु, (धन्वंतरीय), भगवद्गीता, मल्लनाग, मालतीमाधव, रघुवंश, रभसः, रुचक, वामन, विष्णुपुराण, वृत्त-रत्नाकर, शब्दार्णव, शृंगारतिलक, साहित्यदर्पण, हरिहरस्तोत्र, अजय, अमरमाला, कविकल्पलता, काव्यालंकार, गंधशास्त्र, जयंत, दशरूपक, द्विरूपकोष, नलचंपू, नैषध, भरत, महानिघंटु, मुद्राराक्षस, रत्नकोष, रामायण, रुद्र, वायुपुराण, विश्वप्रकाश, वोपालित, शब्दभेद, संसारावर्त, सुश्रुत, हलायुध, अनेकार्थ, अमरसिंह, कामंदकीय, काशीखण्ड, गोवर्धन, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, दंडी, धरणिः, नलोपाख्यान, न्यायवार्तिक, भागुरिः, महाभारत, मेदिनी, रत्नावली, रायमुकुटव्याख्यान, लोहशास्त्र, विंध्यवासिनी, वीरचरित, व्यक्तिविवेक, शाश्वत, सरस्वतीकंठाभरण, सुवर्णलोक, हारावली.

From the above list the reference to रायमुकुटव्याख्यान, evidently on the *Āmarakośa*, gives us one terminus to the date of Vāsudeva. Rāyamukuṭa composed this commentary in *A. D. 1431*. We can, therefore, safely conclude that Vāsudeva, the author of the *Bhuvana-Candrikā* commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* is later than A. D. 1450. Other datable references in the above list, are मेदिनी (c. A. D. 1200-1275) and साहित्यदर्पण of Viśvanātha) composed between A. D. 1300 and 1350.[1] These dates are in harmony with the date cf Rāyamukuṭa's commentary viz. *A. D. 1431*.

On folio 211 of the Baroda MS of Vāsudeva's commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu Vāsudeva comments on the following line in the *Vāsavadattā* :—

"कम्बुरिव गगनमहार्णवस्य, पारदपिण्ड इव कालधातुवादिनः"

Vāsudeva comments :—

"कंबुः शंखः...मुक्तिं दत्वा पारं संसारं ददातीति पारदः हरजो रसो मुकुंदः पारदसुतौ रसेंद्रनामानीत्यस्मत्पितृचरणविरचितरसमुक्तावल्याम्"

It is clear from this reference that Devanātha, the father of Vāsudeva, composed a work called the *Rasamuktāvali*[2] on alchemy.

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1. Vide p. 236 of *Sanskrit Poetics* by S. K. De, Vol. I.

2. The only Mss of *Rasamuktāvalī* recorded by Aufrecht In his *Cata. Catalogorum* are as follows :—

C C I, 495 — "रसमुक्तावली med. B. 4. 236"
(Dated Saṁvat 1728 = A. D. 1672.)

C C II, 116 — "रसमुक्तावली med. I O 1875"
(dated Śaka 1731 = A. D. 1809).

C C III, 106 — "रसमुक्तावली med. Ashburn 14"

(*Continued on the next page*)

This statement is in harmony with Vāsudeva's description of his father's proficiency in Āyurveda as recorded in the following verse 9 at the beginning of the commentary :—

" आयुर्वेदविबोधविशुद्धधीभिर्निरूपित इतीह धन्वन्तरिरयमपरो न परो यस्माद्भिषक् कोऽपि ॥ ९ ॥ "

Verily Devanātha was as it were Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods. There was no other physician superior to him.

We have now to identify the following line in Devanātha's *Rasamuktāvali* quoted by Vāsudeva :—

" हरजो रसो मुकुंदः पारदसूतौ रसेन्द्रनामानि "

This line is not found in the Ānandāśrama MS of the *Rasamuktāvali*, which is anonymous. The three MSS of the *Rasamuktāvali* mentioned by Aufrecht are not accessible to me and consequently I cannot say if the above line can be traced in any of these three MSS. In this connection I have to point out that Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra in his work on alchemy called the *Rasakāmadhenu* (ed. by Jadavaji Trikamji Acharya, Bombay, 1925) quotes from a work on alchemy by his guru *Devanātha Miśra* some verses as follows :—

Page 379 — " तथा च मद्गुरुश्रीदेवनाथमिश्रा :—

नूतनघटात्कपालं दुग्धयूक्तकं विभाव्य विज्ञानी ।
वैद्यो मुखेऽस्य वस्त्रं शुद्धं बध्द्वा भृशं रज्ज्वा ॥ ३१ ॥ "

(verses 32, 33 and 34 which follow as part of the extract are in the same metre-*āryā*

Page 327 — " प्राहुर्मद्गुरुश्रीदेवनाथमिश्राः—

सूतं पलशतमथवा तदर्धमथवा तदर्धमथ तुल्यम् ।
अथवा दशपलमथवा तदर्धमथवैकमादाय ॥ ३८ ॥ "

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Rao Saheb Panse showed me a copy of MS No. 2540 in the Ānandāśrma, Poona. This is a MS of रसमुक्तावली.

It begins : — " श्रीगणेशायनमः ।

गिरिजातनुजं प्रणम्य पूर्वं गिरिजेशं किल वेधसं च भक्त्या ।
कम...शमह करोमि रम्यां रसमुक्तावलीकां परोपकृत्यै ॥ १ ॥ "

The MS ends — " इति रसमुक्तावली समाप्तः "

The line from *Dvvananātha's Rasamuktāvali* quoted by Vāsudeva very probably belongs to the treatise on *rasavidyā* composed by *Devanāthamiśra,* the guru of Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra. If this surmise is correct we can easily deduce the following conclusions :—

(1) *Devanātha,* the father of Vāsudeva is identical with *Devanāthamiśra,* the guru of Cūḍāmaṇimiśra.

(2) Devanātha, Vāsudeva and Cūḍāmaṇimiśra were all contemporaries and consequently the relative chronology of their works would be as follows :—

(i) रसमुक्तावली is earlier than the भुवनचन्द्रिका of वासुदेव.

(ii) रसमुक्तावली is also earlier than the रसकामधेनु of चूडामणिमिश्र.

(iii) As the रसकामधेनु of चूडामणिमिश्र is later than A. D. 1500 the dates of the रसमुक्तावली and the भुवनचन्द्रिका also get shifted to a period, which is later than A. D. 1500.

The MS of *Rasamuktāvali* mentioned by Aufrecht as "B. 4. 236" is dated *Saṁvat 1728 = A. D. 1672.* If this *Rasamuktāvali* is identical with the *Rasamuktāvali* of *Devanātha* we can infer that these three authors viz (1) *Devanātha,* (2) his pupil *Cūḍāmaṇimiśra* and (3) *Vāsudeva* (Devanātha's son) flourished *between A. D. 1500 and 1672.*

We have seen above that Vāsudeva belonged to a *Śākadvīpi* Brahmin family. His father's pupil Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra also belonged to a *Śākadvīpi* Brahmin family as stated by him in the following verses found in the *Rasakāmadhenu* :—

Page 128 (at the end of Pāda I) —

" शाकद्वीपजविप्रमुख्यसुभिषक् संख्यावदाख्यातिमन्मिश्रश्रीबलभद्रसूनुहरिरामस्यात्मसंभूतिना ।

श्रीचूडामणिना कृते सुकृतिना सूतोपचर्याख्यको ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् रसकामधेनुकथिते पादोऽयमाद्यो मतः ॥ ३२९ ॥ "

Page 548 (at the end of Pāda III) —

" शाकद्वीपजविप्रमुख्यसुभिषक् संख्यावदाख्यातिमन्मिश्रश्रीबलभद्रसूनुहरिरामस्यात्मसंभूतिना ।

श्रीचूडामणिना कृते सुकृतिना सूतक्रियासंज्ञितो ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् रसकामधेनुकथिते पादस्तृतीयो मया ॥ ३२९ ॥ "

In my paper on the *Rasakāmadhenu* I have pointed out some Mantras in *Hindi* quoted by its author on pp. 48, 409 etc. This fact would warrant an inference that Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra and his *Śākadvīpi Brahmin* family belonged to Northern India. The commentator Vāsudeva and his *Śākadvīpi Brahmin* family may also be taken to be a North Indian family, very probably belonging to the United Provinces.

A work called the *Rasaratnapradīpa* is mentioned in the *Rasakāmadhenu* (pp. 177, 370 etc.) If this *Rāsaratnapradīpa* (on alchemy) is identical with the *Rasaratnapradīpa*[1] of Rāmarāja (c. A. D. 1475) we get additional corroboration for our earlier limit for the date of the *Rasakāmadhenu*[2] viz. A. D. 1500.

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1. Vide *New Iudian Antiquary* Vol. VII, pp. 176–180 — My paper on "Some new Evidence from Rasaratnapradīpa of Rāmarāja on the Genealogy of the Ṭākā Kings of Kāṣṭhā."

2. Vide *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XXXII, pp. 61–68.

25. Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa's Work on Anatomy called the Śārīra-Padminī and its Wrong Dating by Dr. Hoernle *

Hoernle in his *Osteology*[1] makes the following references to a medical author Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa and his work on Anatomy called *Śārīrapadminī* :—

Page 17 — " 12. *Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa and Bhāva Miśra* — To a slightly earlier date than that of Cakrapāṇidatta belongs a medical author Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa. *He appears to have lived about 1000* A. C.[2] He wrote a tract on Anatomy called *Śārīra Padminī* (i. e. Lotus among works on Anatomy). The statements on the skeleton, contained in this treatise, reproduce the doctrine of *Suśruta* as modified by Vāgbhaṭa (See § 36).

Page 70 — " 6. As to older medical works which explicitly adopt Suśruta's system of the skeleton we have the following two (§ 2) :

(1) The *Śārīra Padminī* by Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa (*c. A. C. 1000*) a manuscript of which is in the possession of Dr. P. Çordier (*Récentes Decouvertes*, p. 30) dated *Saṁvat 1735* = A. C. 1678 and from which a copy of the statement on the skeleton was very kindly supplied to me by the owner.

(2) The *Bhāva Prakāśa* by Bhāva Miśra in the *Sixteenth Century*, edited by Jīvānanda and others.

Page 74 — " The two medical works *Śārīra Padminī* and *Bhāva Prakāśa* which adopt the statement of Suśruta etc."

Page 90 — " 1. It has been mentioned in § 26 that the Tradi-

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* *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VII, (1946), pp. 33–34.

1. Oxford, 1907.

2. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 340. The *Śārīra Padminī* was brought to notice by Dr. P. Cordier in his *Récentes Découvertes*, p. 30.

tional Recension of the statement of Suśruta is found in the two medical works *Śārīra Padminī* and *Bhāva Prakāśa*.

2. In the *Śārīra Padminī* (verses 70 and 71) it runs as follows:—

"In the sequel...five classes (Original Text in § 91)."

Page 221 — "§ 91. *The System of Suśruta in the Śārīra Padminī.*"

1. The statement of the system of Suśruta in the *Śārīra Padminī* and its *commentary* edited from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. P. Cordier runs as follows:—

"कीकसं त्रिशत .... उदर ओरसि पृष्ठे ॥ ७० ॥" "सप्त-युक्त-दश-शत ...... पुनरेतत् ॥ ७१ ॥" For the translation see § 36.

2. The commentary of Vaidyanātha, called *Padminī Prabodha* on the above given statement runs as follows: — "शारीरे स्थानं...... etc."

Translation:—"Because of the conciseness of the statement of the bones etc."

From the foregoing references we get the following information:

(1) *Name of the work*:— शारीरपद्मिनी. (2) *Author*:— भास्कर भट्ट.

(3) *Date of the MS of the work with Dr. P. Cordier*:— Saṁvat 1735 = A. C. 1678.

(4) *Name of the Commentary on the work*:— पद्मिनीप्रबोध by वैद्यनाथ.

(5) *Date of Composition of* शारीरपद्मिनी About 1000 A. C. according to Hoernle.

I am not aware of the grounds on which Hoernle assigns the शारीरपद्मिनी to "*about* A. D. 1000." It appears, however, that Hoernle had not personally examined the MS of the work in the possession of Dr. P. Cordier. The date "about A. D. 1000" for this work given by Hoernle is absolutely wrong and misleading as will be seen from the following evidence:—

(1) Aufrecht makes no mention of any work of the name शारीर-पद्मिनी in this *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

(2) In 1944 Rajavaidya S. A. Jagatap of Kolhapur sent to me a MS of the शारीरपद्मिनी by Bhāskara Āpāji Agnihotri. I have sent for publication a paper on this work.

(3) The *Śārīra-Padminī* of Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa referred to by Hoernle in his remarks quoted in extenso above is identical with the work represented by the Jagatap MS of the *Śārīrapadminī* of Bhāskar Āpāji Agnihotrī. Verses 70 (कीकसं etc.) and 71 (सप्त-युक्त दश-शतं etc.) quoted by Hoernle from the Cordier MS of the शारीर-पद्मिनी are exactly identical with those numbered 70 and 71 in the Jagatap MS. The Jagtap MS contains 110 verses in all.

(4) The Jagatap MS of the *Śārīrapadminī* was copied in A. D. *1791* (Śaka 1713, *Viroddhakṛt Saṁvatsara Vaiśākha śuddha Pratipad.*)

(5) The Jagatap MS of the शारीरपद्मिनी records in the following verse the date of composition of the work as follows :—

" शरवह्निहयेन्दुहायने विभवे भास्वत उत्तरायणे ।
इयमत्र समापिता सिते ग्रहतिथ्यां शुभमाधवासिते ।। ११० ।। "

The chronogram " शर, वह्नि, हय, इन्दु " gives us *Saṁvat 1735* as the date of composition of the work. Dr. Hoernle states on p. 70 of *Osteology* that the Cordier MS of the शारीरपद्मिनी is also *dated 1735* (*Saṁvat*). I am of opinion that either Hoernle or Cordier has taken the date of composition of the work as the date of the copy.

(6) The genealogy of Bhāskara as given in the verses 96, 97, 98 of the शारीरपद्मिनी tallies with that recorded by him in his other works like the स्मृतिप्रकाश, पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी and others recorded by Aufrecht. His ancestor पुरुषोत्तम भट्ट of the अग्निहोत्रि family belonged to त्र्यंबकेश्वरपुर. His son was हरिभट्ट. His son was आपाजिभट्ट resident of कासीक्षेत्र or Benares. आपाजि is described as the "resort of men in pounding down diseases" (" गददलनविधौ मानवानां शरण्यः "). His son was भास्कर the author of the शारीरपद्मिनी, which is evidently a tribute to his physician father. The colophon describes the अग्निहोत्रि family as "काश्यपान्वय" i.e. of the काश्यपगोत्र.

(7) Bhāskara's पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी was composed in A. D. 1676. The शारीरपद्मिनी was composed in A. D. 1679 as we have seen above. These dates harmonize with each other.

(8) The स्मृतिप्रकाश of Bhāskara is represented by MS *No. 161 of Viśrāma I* in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. On folios 186-187 of this MS Bhāskara mentions and quotes from his own शारीरपद्मिनी as follows :—

" तत्र तावत्स्वप्नावस्थोक्ता मत्कृतशारीरपद्मिन्याम् ।
संकोचं गतवति तत्र हृत्पयोजेति निद्रास्याद्विषयत इन्द्रियोपरामात् ।
चित्रैकानुपरजितो भवेज्जनानाम् स्वप्नं तद्विकसति सत्वतोवबोध इति ।। "

The above stanza संकोचं......बोधः is identical with verse 30 of the Jagatap MS of the शारीरपद्मिनी. The MS of the स्मृतिप्रकाश is dated Saṁvat 1808 = A. D. 1752.

I have not traced any MS of the commentary *Padminī-prabodha* (on the *Śārīrapadminī*) by Vaidyanātha. Evidently this commentary is later than A. C. 1679. Bhāskara's *Smṛtiprakāśa* which mentions the शारीरपद्मिनी, is also later than A. C. 1679. In my paper on Bhāskara referred to by me already in this paper I have recorded the known chronology of the works of this author including the date of the *Śārīrapadminī* and I have to invite the attention of readers to this paper containing the evidence on which this chronology is based.

The evidence recorded above is sufficient to disprove the wrong date of Bhāskara viz. A. D. 1000 given by Hoernle. Bhāskara Āpāji Agnihotri was a Deccani Brahmin of the *Kāśyapa* gotra. He was a Deśastha Ṛgvedi Brahmin. We have in the Mahārāṣṭra some members of the Agnihotri family even today but I have no evidence to connect these members with Bhāskara's line, which migrated from Tryambakeśvara to Benares c. A. D. 1650 and settled there. We can have a clear idea of the contribution to Sanskrit learning by Mahārāṣṭra Pandits only when we have studied and published the history of each family through several generations with special reference to its literary contribution as revealed by published and unpublished sources.

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26. Viśvanātha Vaidya, the Author of the Kośakalpataru, the Protégé of Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar, Jagatsiṁha of Udaipur and Harisiṁha of Pratapgad — Between c. A. D. 1580 and 1660*

The only MS of a lexicon of the name *Kośakalapataru* recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* is represented by the following entry :—

C C I, p. 130 "कोशकल्पतरु lexicon, by Viśvanātha, Peters 2. 189"

The MS "Peters 2. 189" is identical with *MS No. 99 of A 1883-84* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute Poona. The present edition[1] of the *Kośakalpataru* is based on this unique MS acquired by Peterson for the Government of Bombay in 1883-1884. It is mentioned by him in his *Second Report* (Extra number of the Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society for 1884, page 5 of the list at the end of the Report). Extracts from the beginning and end of this MS are recorded by Peterson on pages 123-124 of his *Report*.

About Viśvanātha, the author of the *Kośakalpataru*, Aufrecht makes the following entry :—

C C I, p. 584 — "विश्वनाथ Son of Nārāyaṇa :
—*Kośakalpataru* lex. He mentions the Medinīkośa as one of his sources
—*Jagatprakāśakāvya*
—*Śatruśalyacaritakāvya*"

About the *Jagatprakāśakāvya* Aufrecht makes the following entry :—

C C I, p. 194 — "जगत्प्रकाश a poem in praise of Jagatsiṁhadeva, Son of Karṇadeva, by Viśvanātha Vaidya, son of Nārāyaṇa, Peters, 3.354"

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* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 19-29.

1. This edition will be published by Dr. S. M. Katre.

In Appendix II of his *Third Report* (Extra Number of *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Bombay, 1887) Peterson has given extracts from MSS preserved in different libraries (pp. 191–379). Among these extracts he has given on pp. 354–355 an extract[1] from a MS of *Jagatprakāśakāvya* dated *A. D. 1644* in Kotah library.

It is clear from the date *A. D. 1644* of this MS that Viśvanātha Vaidya is earlier than *A. D. 1644* and later than the *Medini* lexicon to which he refers in his *Kośakalpataru* as pointed out by Aufrecht. I have proved elsewhere[2] that the date of the *Medini* lexicon lies between *c. A. D. 1200 and 1275.* In view of this date we may safely fix up the date of Viśvanātha Vaidya between say about A. D. 1350 and 1650. These limits will be narrowed down on the strength of evidence to be recorded in this paper.

About the third work of Viśvanātha Aufrecht makes the following entry :—

C C I, p. 632 — " शत्रुशल्यचरित — Kāvya by Viśvanātha Son of Nārāyaṇa. Peters 3·342 "

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1. This extract reads as follows :—

Jagatprakāśakāvya by Viśvanātha Vaidya, fol. 1-109, Dated *saṁ. 1700 = A. D. 1644.*

Begins :—

" श्रीमन्मंगलमूर्तिर्जयति ॥ श्रीमन्नारायणाय नमः ॥
शंभुः शं भुवि भूरि भावयतु वः संभुज्यमानं जनै-
र्योद्धांगे निदधाति कामधुगपि प्रेम्णा प्रकामं प्रियां ।
चित्रं यश्च सतीमतीव कुरुते *पंर्ना चुंबना-
दप्येनां स चराचरेत्र भुवने लोकालिशोकापहाम् ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends :— " श्रीमद्राणकवंशमौक्तिकमणिश्रीकर्णदेवात्मज-
क्षोणीमंडलमंडनाभिधजगत्सिंहप्रशंसोज्ज्वले ।
सत्काव्येत्र जगतत्प्रकाश उदिते श्रीविश्वनाथाभिध-
ज्ञेनापूरि चतुर्दशोतिविशदः सर्गो बुधानां प्रियः ॥ ७२ ॥

इति श्रीमन्महीमंडलाखंडलश्रीचित्रकूटसार्वभौम श्रौतस्मार्त्तधर्मकर्माचारचातुरीनिवारित कलिकालश्रीमद्राणखुमानकुलमौलिमंडनश्रीमत्कर्णदेवात्मज श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज धर्मावतार सप्त लोकैकदानवीरधीरोदात्तगुणशोभित श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहदेवप्रशंसोज्ज्वले श्रीमद्विद्वद्वृंदवंदनीय पादारविंद श्रीमन्नारायणात्मज श्रीमत्कविनाथविश्वनाथवैद्यकृते श्रीजगत्प्रकाशमहाकाव्ये बंदिस्तुतिर्नाम चतुर्दशः सर्गः ॥

समाप्तं चेदं काव्यं ॥ "

* " पंचाननी० " ?

2. See pages 171–175 of *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII (1945).

Peterson records an extract[1] from the MS of this Kāvya, preserved in the Boondi library on p. 342 of this *Third Report* referred to above. This extract discloses the name of Viśvanātha's mother viz. "*Rukmiṇi*" which is not found in the extracts from his two other works recorded by Peterson.

I note below some information about Viśvanātha as gathered from the extracts quoted by Peterson from (1) The *Kośakalpataru* (*B. O. R. I.* MS), (2) *Jagatprakāśakāvya* (*Kotah* MS) and (3) *Śatruśalyacarita* (*Boondi* MS):—

(I) *Kośakalpataru.*

(1) In line 3 at the commencement the author bows to his father *Nārāyaṇa* as follows:—

" श्रीनारायणनामानमानम्य पितरं चिरम् ।
कोषकल्पतरुं कुर्मः शर्मणे कविसंसदः ॥ "

(2) Verse 67 at the end of the MS mentions his father as "नारायणः बुधः" of देवालय पत्तन" the capital town of Devālaya[2] in the Vidarbha Country (विदर्भदेशतिलके देवालये पत्तने) noted for its learning (विद्यागर्भ). This Nārāyaṇa is also mentioned as hailing from a family of physicians (वैद्यकुलजः).

(3) Verse 68 refers to Nārāyaṇa as having possessed matchless proficiency in Āyurveda.

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1. This extract reads as follows :—

Begins :—" ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीष्टदेवतायै नमः ॥
श्रीराधाकुचकलशद्वयेतिगौरे
संसर्गी नवजलदोद्धुरो मुरारिः ।
आश्लेषे जयति वपुः प्रभासमूहः
कस्तूरीललितघनांगरागमाळी ॥ १ ॥"

Ends :— " योंतर्वाणिशिरोमणेर्वरभिषग्वंशैकमुक्तामणेः
साहित्यांबुरुहाकरैकतरणेः श्रीवैद्यनारायणात् ।
रुक्मिण्यामुदभूदमुष्य सुकवेः श्रीविश्वनाथस्य स-
त्काव्ये श्रीनृपशत्रुशल्यचरिते देवाचलत्रोटनं ॥ ५० ॥

इति श्रीमद्वैद्यवंद्यपदश्रीनारायणात्मजश्रीविश्वनाथचरिते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीशत्रुशल्यचरिते देवगिरिग्रहणनामा द्वाविंशः सर्गः ॥ २२ ॥"

2. I am inclined to identify this *Devālaya* with *Deolia* the old capital of the Pratapgadh State.

(4) From such an eminent father was born Vaidya Viśvanātha (verse 69).

(5) Verses 70 and 71 mention the lexicons used by Viśvanātha in the composition of his own *Kośakalpataru* viz. (1) the संसारावर्त, (2) अजय, (3) भागुरि, (4) शाश्वत, (5) व्याडि, (6) गौड (?), (7) महेश (?), (8) रभसं (9) अरूण (?), (10) मेदिनी, (11) नंदिन्, (12) दुर्ग, (13) चंद्र, (14) माला, (15) (मति-जलधिकृत) हारावली, (16) शब्दार्णव, (17) उत्पलिनी, (18) सुभूति, (19) हलायुध, (20) विक्रमभूपति.

(II) *Jagatprakāśakāvya* (MS of A. D. **1644**).

(1) The expression " श्रीमन्नारायणाय नमः " at the beginning of the MS has possibly a reference to *Nārāyaṇa*, the father of Viśvanātha, as also to god Nārāyaṇa.

(2) Verse 72 at the end informs us that the *Jagatprakāśakāvya* in 14 Sargas was composed by Viśvanātha in praise of king *Jagatsiṁha*,[1] Son of *Karṇadeva*[2] of the *Rāṇakavaṁśa*.

(3) The prose colophon states that the *Jagatprakāśa — Mahākāvya* was composed by Kavinātha *Viśvanātha Vaidya*, son of *Nārāyaṇa* in praise of *Mahārājādhirāja Jagatsiṁhadeva*,[3] son of King *Karṇadeva* the ornament of *Rāṇa Khumāna* line of kings and sovereign of *Chitrakūṭa*.

(III) *Śatruśalya Carita*.

(1) Verse 50 at the end informs us that Viśvanātha was

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1. Vide p. 249 of *History of Rajputana* (in Hindi) by J. Gahlot, Jodhpur, **1937** — Mahārāṇa *Jagatsiṁha* I of Mewad was born on *14th August 1607*. He came to the throne in *March 1628*. He died at Udaipur in *Saṁvat 1709* (= A. D. **1652**).

2. Ibid p. 248 — *Karṇasiṁha*, the father of Jagatsiṁha was *born* on *7th January 1584* and *died* in *March 1628*.

3. Vide p. 109 of the *Gazetteer of the Mewar Residency*, Vol. II - A by Major K. D. Erskine, Ajmere, 1908 — The dates of *Jagatsiṁha I* of Udaipur as given here are " *A. D. 1628-52* ". Jagatsiṁha I built the celebrated *Jagmandir* palace in the centre of Pichola lake. On p 22 we are informed that Karṇasiṁha or *Karansingh* built part of the *Jagmandir* palace and it was completed by Jagatsingh, after whom it is called Jagmandir.

born of *Rukmiṇi*, and *Vaidya Nārāyaṇa* an ornament to a family of physicians. This Viśvanātha composed the *Śatruśalyacarita.*

(2) The colophon states that the *Śatruśalyacarita* was composed by *Viśvanātha*, son of *Vaidya Nārāyaṇa* in *22 Sargas*. King *Śatruśalya*[1] is called "Mahārājādhirāja" in this colophon.

On the strength of the above data we can represent the genealogy of *Viśvanātha*, the author of the *Kośakalpataru* as follows :—

(Vaidya) *Nārāyaṇa* (of *Devālaya*, capital of *Vidarbha* country) (married *Rukmiṇi*)

|

(Vaidya) *Viśvanātha* wrote three works :—

(1) *Kośakalpataru*

(2) *Jagatprakāśakāvya* (MS of A.D. **1644**)

(3) *Śatruśalyacarita*

The *Jagatprakāśakāvya* was composed by Vaidya Viśvanātha in praise of Mahārāṇā *Jagatsiṁha* who ruled the *Udaipur* (or

1. This king *Śatruśalya* is identical with *Jam Sattarsāl* of Navanagar in Kathiawar. He ruled from *A. D. 1569–1608* (See *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. VIII, pp. 566-567 and 569). He was a patron of learned men. He patronized a poet named श्रीकण्ठकवि, the author of a work called रसकौमुदी (See my article on this work in the *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XII, pp. 202–204, 1931). The B. O. R. I. MS of this work is dated *saṁvat 1652* (= A. D. **1596**) श्रीकण्ठ pays his tribute to his patron शत्रुशल्य in verses 36 and 37 at the end of this work as follows :—

" सम्यक्शास्त्रपरंपराप्रतिपदन्यासक्रियाप्रोल्लस-
द्विद्यापात्रविनोदरंगरसिकः श्रीशत्रुशल्यो नृपः ।
तत्तत्कामकलाकलापकुशलः संगीतसाहित्ययोः
दक्षस्तांडवडंबरप्रमुदितो जामश्चिरं जीवतु ॥ ३६ ॥
अस्तीयं रसकौमुदी रसविदां संतोषसंपादिनी
रे धीरा धरणीतलेति विपुले यत्रापि कुत्रापि च ।
आस्ते क्षोणिपतिः सुरद्रुमसमो दाता रसग्राहक-
स्तत्रैनां पठतो जनस्य सुलभा गांगेयसिद्धिः करे ॥ ३७ ॥ "

This is a fine tribute to king *Śatruśalya* of Navanagar, the common patron of श्रीकण्ठकवि and विश्वनाथवैद्य.

Mewar) State from *A. D. 1628 to 1653*. As the *Kotah* MS of this Kāvya is dated *1644* the date of composition of this poem lies *between A. D. 1628 and 1644*. This poem appears to have been composed after A. D. 1628 as it describes Jagatsimha as a ruling King (cf. क्षोणीमंडलमंडन in the last verse 72 and " चित्रकूटसार्वभौम " in the colophon). Evidently the Kotah MS of *A. D. 1644* is a contemporary copy of this poem and hence very important. We must also see what light it throws on the history of Udaipur as the poem is *possibly* complete in 14 sargas.

Pandit Chitrav Shasari makes the following remarks about *Jagatsiṁha Guhilot* on p. 387 of his *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937 :—

> " जगत्सिंह गुहिलोत — (Born *A. D. 1607* — Died *A. D. 1652*) —Mahārāṇa of Udaipur, Son of *Karṇasiṁha*. His coronation took place in *March 1628*. He defended his kingdom bravely when Jehangir invaded it. He pleased Emperor Shah Jahan by sending him a *Nazrāṇā*. He effected repairs to the Chitoḍ fort and built two palaces. Many inscriptions of this king are available. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya composed a poem called the " *Jagadābharaṇa* " in 50 Ślokas in praise of Jagatsiṁha[1] and presented it to him about *A. D. 1627*. Jagatsiṁha was a lover of horses of costly breeds, besides being celebrated for his liberality and prudence. He died on *10th October 1652*."

I am unable to verify the above remarks of Chitrav Shastri as he has not referred to the sources on which they are based. The work जगत्प्रकाश is difinitely in praise of Jagat Siṁha of Udaipur but the connection of जगदाभरण with this Jagatsiṁha has not been prov-

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1. Cf. the following remarks of Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in his " *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* " (Annamalai University Series, 1942) :—

P. 14. — (Foot note 3) "S. M. Paranjpe conjectures (in his introduction to his edition of the *Bhāminīvilāsa*) that the poem (जगदाभरण) is an encomium of Jagatsiṁha, the Rajput prince, who came to power in 1628. But *this view does not find any support among scholars.* "

P. 54 — " S. M. Paranjpe, however, conjectures on the support of a manuscript reading of some verses and a colophon of the work that it is a panegyric of the Rajput prince Jagatsiṁha, son of Kṛṣṇa (*Karṇa ?*) siṁha of Udaipur etc. But what led Jagannātha to eulogise Jagatsiṁha in a poem is not known. "

ed on contemporary documentary evidence. Is there any evidence of the contact of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya with Jagatsiṁha I of Udaipur? There is no chronological difficulty in this matter as Jagatsiṁha lived between *A. D. 1607 and 1652* while the date of Jagnnātha Paṇḍita is "*c. A. D. 1590—1665*" [Vide p. 25 of Ramaswami Sastri's "*Jagannātha Paṇḍita*" (1942)].

The chronology of Viśvanātha Vaidya, his works and patrons discussed by me so far may be represented as follows:—

Chronology A. D.	Particulars
1569-1608	Jām Sattarsāl (शत्रुशल्य) reigned at Navanagar. He patronized श्रीकण्ठकवि, the author of रसकौमुदी and विश्वनाथ वैद्य the author of शत्रुशल्यचरित (in 22 Sargas).
1596	— Date of B. O. R. Institute MS of रसकौमुदी
1607	— Birth of जगत्सिंह, son of कर्णसिंह of Udaipur (Mewar).
1628-1652	— जगत्सिंह, the patron of विश्वनाथ वैद्य ruled at Udaipur — Possibly the जगत्प्रकाशकाव्य was composed between 1628 and 1644 by विश्वनाथ वैद्य.
1644	— Date of the *Kotah* MS of जगत्प्रकाशकाव्य in praise of जगत्सिंह described by Peterson (2nd Report).

It is evident from the above table that our author Viśvanātha Vaidya was first patronized by Jām Sattarsāl of Navanagar. Perhaps after the death of this patron in A. D. 1608 Viśvanātha may have sought other patrons or may have remained without a patron for a period of more than 20 years. After A. D. 1628 he found a patron in King Jagatsiṁha, Son of Karṇasiṁha, of Udaipur (Mewar) and wrote a *kāvya* in his honour between A. D. 1628 and 1644 as we have proved above.

In the light of the above evidence we can safely fix up the chronology of Viśvanātha Vaidya, say between *A.D. 1570 and 1655*. Let us now see what further light can be thrown on the life history of this author from contemporary sources. In this connection I have to record the following evidence:—

In 1937 Pandit Jagannātha Kṛṣṇalāl Śāstri of Pratapgad (Rajputana) sent me a copy of a *Kāvya* edited by him. The name of this *Kāvya* is *Haribhūṣaṇam* and its author's name is *Mahākavi Gāṅgārāma*. This printed edition of 97 pages contains

9 Sargas, of which the 9th Sarga extends upto the 6th stanza only. Evidently the edition is based on an incomplete MS of the work. This poem is in praise of Maharaja *Harisiṁha* of the Pratapgad State who ruled from *A. D. 1629 to 1676* (*V. S. 1685 to 1732* according to the Editor). The date of composition of the poem is discussed by the editor on pp. 2-3 of his Hindi Introduction. According to him the poem was composed *between A. D. 1635 and 1649* in which year Maharaja *Harisiṁha* of Pratapgad founded the temple of Govardhananātha at *Devalia* the old capital of the Pratapgad State at the desire of his mother Śrī Campā *Kuṁvar*. This temple was founded at the hands of Paṇḍita *Viśvanātha*[1], who is praised in this poem in Sarga VIII (Stanza 37–39) as follows :—

Pages 91–92 —

" विद्वाँस्तिष्ठति यस्य सुन्दरतनुः सर्वज्ञ चूडा(म)णि-
र्लोकानां गुणशंसकोऽतिचतुरो विद्यापगावारिधिः ।
वादी चञ्चललेहिलोग्रभुजगप्रोद्यद्रस्त्मन्मणि-
र्धीरः सर्वकलाकलापकुशलः श्रीविश्वनाथाभिधः ॥ ३७ ॥

शेषाशेषविचारसागरगता गङ्गेव यस्यास्ति धी-
र्न्याये न्यायविदग्रणीर्बहुविधं वैशेषिकं वेत्ति यः ।
मीमांसानलिनीदिवस्पतिरसौ वेदान्तविद्यागुरुः
साहित्याम्बुजषट्पदो विजयते श्रीविश्वनाथो बुधः ॥ ३८ ॥

तर्कव्याकरणादि कर्कशमतिः साहित्यसौरभ्यवा-
न्मीमांसार्णव पारगः सुकविता सीमन्तिनीवल्लभः ।
नानानाटकभव्यकाव्यरचना तत्तत्कलाकोविदो
दृष्टोऽद्यैव मया विशिष्टविभवः 'श्रीविश्वनाथो' बुधः ॥ ३९ ॥"

The above verses contain a fine tribute to the learning and abilities of *Viśvanātha*, who is described as proficient in all arts

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1. The contemporaries of Viśvanātha at the court of Harisiṁha (A. D. 1629–1676) mentioned by Gaṅgārāma in the *Haribhūṣaṇa Kāvya* (Sarga VIII) are :—

(i) कल्याणदास (v. 35) — पुरोहित.

(ii) गोदाभट्ट (v. 36) — पुराणिक.

(iii) केशू (v. 40) — धनाधिप (Treasurer).

(iii) वर्षा साह (v. 41) — मन्त्री.

(iv) गङ्गाराम (v. 43) महाकवि the author of हरिभूषण, son of माधवभट्ट-सूरि.

and sciences like न्याय, मीमांसा, वेदान्त, साहित्य, तर्क, व्याकरण, नाटक, काव्यरचना etc. As the date of the poem is fixed by the editor *between A.D. 1635* and *1649* we can infer that *Viśvanātha* was at this time a man of established literary repute. As he was present in *A. D. 1649* at the foundation of the temple of Govardhananātha at his hands we can easily presume that he was a man advanced in years and was then respected both for his age and learning. Let us now see if we can identify this *Viśvanātha* with *Viśvanātha Vaidya*, the author of the *Kośakalpataru.* My grounds in favour of such an identification are as follows :—

(1) Verse 67 at the end of the MS of Viśvanātha Vaidya's *Kośākalpataru* mentions that Nārāyaṇa, the father of Viśvanātha Vaidya belonged to "देवालय पत्तन" (town of *Devālaya*) the chief town of the Vidarbha country ("विदर्भदेशतिलके देवालये पत्तने"). I have already suggested that this देवालय पत्तन is identical with *Deolia* the old capital of the Pratapgad State.

(2) In the *Haribhuṣaṇa-Kāvya*, *Deolia* is called "देवल पत्तन" (I, 5, 8, etc.) and kings of Pratapgad are called "देवलेन्द्र" (I, 11, 12, VIII, 3); See also "देवलपुर" (VIII, 5,). Harisiṁha is called "देवलेन्द्र" (VIII, 14,) and "देवलपुराधीश" (VIII, 16, 19), "देवलेश" (VIII, 42; IX, 1, 3).

(3) Phonetically "*Deolia*" is more akin to "*Devālaya*" than "*Devala*" and I have no doubt that *Deolia* is identical with "देवालय पत्तन" mentioned by Viśvanātha Vaidya and with "देवल पत्तन" mentioned by Gaṅgārāma in his *Haribhūṣaṇakāvya.*

(4) Viśvanātha Vaidya's father Nārāyaṇa hailed from *Deolia* in the Pratapgad state; it is but natural that he should be invited to found the temple of Śrī Govardhananātha of *Deolia* (in *A. D. 1649*) his native place.

If the above grounds are accepted we can represent the chronology of Viśvanātha Vaidya's contact with different royal patrons as follows :—

c. A. D. 1590 — 1608 — Contact of V (= Viśvanātha Vaidya) with *Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar* as proved by V's authorship of the *Śatruśalya Carita.* Evidently V was a budding poet at this time, say about 25-30 years old.

A. D. 1628 — 1644 — Contact of V with King *Jagatsiṁha of*

Udaipur as proved by V's *Jagatprakāśa-Kāvya* (Kotah MS of *A. D. 1644*).

A. D. 1649 — Foundation of the temple of Govardhananātha at *Deolia* at the hands of V during the reign of King *Harisiṁha* of *Deolia*.

A. D. 1635 — 1649 — V praised in three verses in the *Hari-bhūṣaṇa-Kāvya* as a very learned man well versed in different sciences and arts.

Presuming that V was born about A. D 1580, he must have been about 69 years old in A. D. 1649 when the Queen Mother *Campā* invited him to found the temple of Govardhananātha at Deolia, the native place of V's father Nārāyaṇa. V may have continued to live upto A.D. 1660 thus reaching his 80th year during the reign of King Harisiṁha of Deolia (A. D. 1629–1676). At any rate we shall be fairly correct in assigning the literary career of Viśvanātha Vaidya to the period, *A. D. 1600–1650*.

It is clear from the evidence recorded so far that Viśvanātha Vaidya, the author of the *Kośakalpataru* enjoyed the patronage of (1) *Navanagar* court in his youth, (2) of *Udaipur* court in his middle age and (3) of the *Pratapgad* (*Deolia*) court in his old age. In all the evidence gathered so far I have not been able to determine the limits for the date of the *Kośakalpataru* but I have reason to believe that the lexicon must have been composed prior to A. D. 1649, when he was invited to found a temple at Deolia and when he was known to be a man of great literary repute, well versed in *Vyākaraṇa* and other branches of Sanskrit learning specified by Gaṅgārāma in his *Haribhūṣaṇa-Kāvya* composed between A. D. 1635 and 1649 according to its editor Pandit Jagannātha Śāstri of Pratapgad.

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27. The Date of the Advaitabrahmasiddhi of Sadānanda Kāśmīraka — Between A. D. 1600 and 1700 *

While engaged in the work of preparing a Bibliography of Indian Philosophy, I had occasion to note the following contradictory statements of Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta regarding the date of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* and its author Sadānanda Kāśmīraka :—

" Another important syncretistic Vedānta writer is Sadānanda Kāśmīraka, author of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*, who lived in the *early part of the eighteenth century*. The *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* is an excellent summary of all the most important Vedānta doctrines in the different schools of Advaita teachers " (p. 57 of *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1932).

" Mr. Tripathi collects the names of some of these writers as Prajñānānanda, Śeṣa Śārṅgadhara Vādivāgīśvara, Vādīndra, Rāmānanda Sarasvati, *Sadānanda Kāśmīraka* (*A. D. 1547*), Kṛṣṇānanda (A. D. 1650), Maheśvara Tīrtha (A. D. 1650) and others " (Ibid, p. 196).

M. M. Prof. Kuppusvami Sastri in his Introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi* (Madras, 1937, p. xxii) refers to the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* as follows :—

" The *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* by Sadānanda and the *Svārājyasiddhi* by Gaṅgādharendra-Sarasvatī are *comparatively later* and less important ; and the former of these two works is similar to the *Advaitasiddhi* and controverts in general the dualistic, pluralistic and non-Vedic doctrines opposed to Advaitism etc ".

The foregoing remarks of two great scholars could not satisfy my curiosity about the date of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*. This work was edited by Vāmana Śāstri Islampurkar in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta) in 1890. In the Sanskrit introduction to this edition (p. 5) the Editor concludes that the author lived in the

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXX, pp. 23-30.

latter half of the 18th century of the Vikrama Era ("वैक्रमीय-अष्टादश-शतक-उत्तरार्धे आसीत्") according to external evidence but internal evidence leads the Editor to conclude that he is *not later than the first half of the 16th century* ("षोडशशतकपूर्वार्धात् न अर्वाचीनः"). In spite of these statements the editor feels uncertain about the date of the author but observes that *there is no doubt that the author is eariler than Śrī Vallabhācārya,* the originator of the *Viśuddhādvaita doctrine, who was born in Vikrama Saṁvat 1535* (*= A.D.1479*) ("विक्रम संवत् १५३५ मिते वत्सरे प्रादुर्भूतात् ...... श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्यादयं ग्रन्थकृत् प्राचीनः इति अत्र न कोऽपि सन्देहः").

In view of these conflicting and varied conclusions about the date of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* and its author Sadānanda Kāśmīraka, I propose in this paper to record some evidence about this date of a more reliable type than that so far gathered by previous scholars. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries about Sadānanda Kāśmīraka and his works :—

CC I, p. 690 — "सदानन्द काश्मीर pupil of Brahmānanda and Nārāyaṇa :

—*Advaitabrahmasiddhi* [1]

—*Svarūpanirṇaya* [2]

—*Svarūpaprakāśa* [3]. Probably identical with the last."

CC II, p. 232—"सदानन्द काश्मीर

—Jīvanmuktiprakriyā".[4]

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1. *CC I, p. 9* — "अद्वैतब्रह्मसिद्धि by Sadānanda Kāśmīra — K. 114." (This MS is dated Saṁvat 1888 = *A. D. 1832.*

CC III, p. 3 — "अद्वैतब्रह्मसिद्धि by Sadānanda. Peters 6. 265". (This MS is identical with MS *No. 265 of 1895–98* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute).

2. *CC I, p. 751* — "स्वरूपनिर्णय by Sadānanda. Hall. p. 129. See *Svarūpaprakāśa.*"

3. *CC I, p. 751* — "स्वरूपप्रकाश vedānta, by Sadānanda Kāśmīra. Kacin. 28. Rice 188. Sūcīpatra" 62.

4. *CC II, p. 201* — "जीवन्मुक्तिप्रक्रिया by Sadānanda Kāśmīra mentioned in his "*Advaitabrahmasiddhi*". Ulwar 480".

The Govt. MSS Library possesses the following MSS of the works of Sadānanda Kāśmīraka :—

(1) अद्वैतब्रह्मसिद्धि — No. 265 of 1895-98.

(2) स्वरूपनिर्णय — No. 643 of 1884-87 (some folios at the beginning are missing).

I have examined the MS of the *Svarūpanirṇaya* (No. 643 of 1884-87 — about 40 folios). Some references from this MS are noted below :—

(1) भाष्यकारेण- fol. 4, 8, 11, 38.
(2) खंडनकृद्भिः- fol. 4, 9.
(3) वार्त्तिके- fol. 4, (वार्त्तिककृद्भिः) 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32.
(4) पञ्चदश्याम्- fol. 4.
(5) सूत्रकारेण- fol. 6.
(6) प्रभाकरमतम्- fol. 6, 7, 13.
(7) वायुपुराण- fol. 8.
(8) गौतमसूत्र- fol. 8, 12.
(9) वासिष्ठे- fol. 10, 36.

Folio 11 — Colophon of 1st Pariccheda :—

"इति श्रीसदानन्दविरचिते स्वरूपनिर्णये सकलदर्शननिरूपणेन त्वंपदार्थनिरूपणं नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥"

(10) नारदादिकृतपञ्चरात्र- fol. 11.
(11) मनुना- fol. 12.
(12) छान्दोग्ये- fol. 13.
(13) वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः-fol.14, 18, 38.
(14) मोक्षधर्मे- fol. 14.
(15) याज्ञवल्क्येन- fol. 14.
(16) न्यायभाष्ये- fol. 17.
(17) कूर्मपुराण- fol. 17.

Folio 18 — Colophon of 2nd Pariccheda :—

"इति श्रीसदानंदविरचिते स्वरूपनिर्णये तत्पदार्थनिरूपणं नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ॥"

(18) दीपिकाव्याख्या- fol. 19.
(19) संक्षेपशारीरके- fol. 19, (संक्षेपशारीरकाचार्यैः) 21, 22.
(20) परिभाषाकारमते- fol. 20.
(21) नरसिंहाश्रमाणां मते-fol. 21.
(22) बृहदारण्यके- fol. 25.
(23) शास्त्रदर्पणे- fol. 28.
(24) भामती- fol. 33, 34.
(25) भगवत्पादैः- fol. 37.

Folio 37 — Colophon of 3rd Pariccheda :—

"इति श्रीसदानन्दविरचिते स्वरूपनिर्णये स्वपरिवारजीवेश्वरविभागनिर्णयपूर्वकजीवब्रह्मैक्यनिरूपणं नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥"

(26) कल्पतरुकृद्भिः- fol. 38.
(27) तैत्तिरीये- fol. 38.
(28) आर्यापंचाशिकायां भगवता पतंजलिना- fol. 40.

Folio 40 — Colophon of 4th Pariccheda :—

"इति श्रीसदानंदविरचिते स्वरूपनिर्णये दृश्यपदार्थनिरूपण-पूर्वकजीवन्मुक्तभूमिकानिरूपणं नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥"

In the above list of references the reference to *Pañcadaśī* (No. 4) is evidently to the work of this name by *Sāyaṇa*, who died in *A. D. 1387*. This reference would make Sadānanda posterior to c. A. D. 1400. Another reference of chronological value is that to *Narasiṁhāśrama* (No. 21) who appears to be identical with Nṛsiṁhāśrama, the guru of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.[1] Nṛsiṁhāśrama is the author of many works on Vedānta, one of which viz. the *Tattva-viveka* was composed in *A. D. 1547* at Puruṣottamapura according to Aufrecht.[2] This evidence would shift the eariler limit for Sadānanda's date from A. D. 1400 to A. D. 1600.

The references in the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* of Sadānanda Kāśmīraka as noted by Pandit Vāmanaśāstri in the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of this work already referred to by me are as follows :—

अद्वैतमकरन्द, अनन्तवीर्य, अभियुक्ताः, आचार्याः, आनन्दगिरिस्वामी, कपिलः, कैय्यटः, कल्पतरुः, क्षपणकाः, काशीखण्डम्, खण्डनखण्डखाद्यटीका, खण्डनखण्डखाद्यम्, गौतमः, गौतमसूत्राणि, चार्वाकः, जिनः, जैमिनिसूत्राणि, जरन्नैयायिकाः, तार्किकाः, तापनीयम्, त्रिदण्डिनः, दिगम्बराः, नरसिंहाश्रमः, नारदपाञ्चरात्र, नारदीयम्, नारायणाचार्यः, नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिः, न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः, न्यायभाष्यम्, पञ्चपादिका, पराशरोपपुराणम्, पाणिनिः, पातञ्जलभाष्यम्, प्राभाकराः, बृहदारण्यकभाष्यम्, ब्रह्मानन्दः, ब्रह्मसिद्धिकारः, बादरायणसूत्राणि, बादरायणसूत्रभाष्यटीका, बार्हस्पत्यसूत्राणि, बुद्धमुनिः, बौद्धव्याकरण, भर्तृहरिकारिका, भगवद्गीता, भट्टपादः, भट्टभास्करः, भट्टाः, भाष्यकारः, मनुः, माध्यमिकाः, मायामोहः, मीमांसकवार्त्तिकम्, मोक्षधर्मः (भारतान्तर्गतः), याज्ञवल्क्यः, योगवासिष्ठम्, योगाचाराः रागिगीता, रामानुजाः, वेदान्तमुक्तावलिः, वर्धमानोपाध्यायः, वसिष्ठः, वाचस्पतिमिश्रः, वार्तिकम्, वायुपुराणम्, विज्ञानभिक्षुः, विद्यारण्यस्वामी, विवरणम्, विष्णुपुराणम्, वेदान्तकौमुदी, वैभाषिकाः, वैशेशिकाः, शिरोमणिः, श्रीमद्भागवतम्, संक्षेपशारीरकम्, सर्वज्ञात्मगुरुः, स्वरूपप्रकाशः, साङ्ख्यभाष्यम्, सौत्रान्तिकाः, सौरपुराणम्, हारीतः.

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1. See my paper on the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Journal of the S. V. Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 117-127, (1940).
2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, p. 305.

Let us now see if any of the above references can enable us to fix up the earlier limit to the date of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*.

(1) The reference to *Śiromaṇi* is found as follows on p. 9 of the Edition :—

" पदार्थखण्डने शिरोमणिना.........वर्णितम् ॥ "

Evidently, this is a reference to the logician *Raghunātha Śiromaṇi* who flourished about *A. D. 1500* according to S. Vidyabhusana (p. 388 of *History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921).

(2) On p. 31 of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* Sadānanda mentions and quotes from the *Vedāntamuktāvalī* :—

" उक्तं च वेदान्तमुक्तावलीकृद्भिः ।
यथा सतो...........समर्पकम् ॥ "

Very possibly the *Vedāntamuktāvalī* referred to above is identical with the *Vedāntasiddhānta-muktāvalī* of Prakāśānanda, who " lived in the *latter half of the sixteenth ceutury* " (i. e. between A. D. 1550 and 1600) according to Dr. Das Gupta.[1]

(3) On p. 31 of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* Sadānanda refers to Vijñānabhikṣu as follows :—

" एतेन यच्चात्र सांख्यभाष्यकृता विज्ञानभिक्षुणा समाधानत्वेन प्रलपितं तदपि असंगतमेव । "

Vijñānabhikṣu lived between A. D. 1525 and 1600 and his pupil Bhāvā Gaṇeśa, the leader of Citpāvan Brahmins at Benares signed a *nirṇayapatra* dated A.D. 1583 as I have shown in a special paper.[2] In view of this chronology for Vijñānabhikṣu I am inclined to believe that Sadānanda Kāśmīraka, the author of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* is later than A. D. 1575.

(4) Similar to the reference to Nṛsiṁhāśrama in Sadānanda's स्वरूपनिर्णय on the strength of which I have suggested c. A. D. 1600 as the earlier limit for Sadānanda's date, another reference is found on p. 271 of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* edition as follows :—

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1. Vide p. 17 of *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (1932), footnote.

2. Vide pp. 20-28 of *Adyar Library Bulletin* for February 1944.

" नरसिंहाश्रमाणां मते तु—
" अधिष्ठानसामान्यज्ञानं भ्रमकारणमिति.........
.........अध्यस्तरजताद्याकारावृत्तिर्व्यर्था इति सिद्धान्तः।"

This quotation is evidently from some work of *Narasiṁhāśrama* (also known as *Nṛsiṁhāśrama*) on Vedānta. I could not identify it as the works of Nṛsiṁhāśrama are not available to me for reference.

The cumulative effect of all the references recorded above makes Sadānanda *posterior to c. A. D. 1575 or 1600.* Let us now try to fix the later limit for Sadānanda's date.

One of the MSS[1] used by Vāmana Śāstri for his edition of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* is called by him *Ka* (क). This MS is dated *Saṁvat 1761, Jyeṣṭha Kṛṣṇa pakṣa, dvitīyā*[2] which is equal to *Thursday, 8th June 1704.*[3] In view of this date of one of the MSS of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* we may safely fix *A. D. 1700* as the later limit for Sadānanda's date.

In verse 1 at the beiginning of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* Sadānanda bows to his *guru* Brahmānanda as follows :—

" नमामि सद्गुरुं शान्तं ब्रह्मानन्दं मुनीश्वरम्।
यत्कृपालवलेशेन सत्तर्कस्फुरणं मम ॥ १ ॥"

In verse 2 Sadānanda bows to one Nārāyaṇācārya as follows :—

" श्रीमन्नारायणाचार्यं सनातनशिवं सदा।
वंदेऽहं वाङ्मनःकायैर्द्वैतध्वान्तनिवृत्तये ॥ २ ॥"

If we succeed in identifying *Brahmānanda and Nārāyaṇācārya*, who were apparently his senior contemporaries, we may be able to throw some additional light on the date of Sadānanda Kāśmīraka. Unfortunately this identification is difficult as we find many authors of the names Nārāyaṇa and Brahmānanda recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. For the present I may

1. See p. 4 of Introduction to *Advaitabrahmasiddhi.*

2. The *Ka* MS ends as follows: —इति श्रीपरमहंस......॥ ॐ तत्सत् ॥ शिवः सर्वम्। वासुदेवः सर्वम्। हरिः सर्वम्। संवत् १७६१ ज्येष्ठकृष्णपक्षद्वितीयायां समाप्तम्."

3. Vide p. 210 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI (1922).

make the following tentative remarks on the identification of *Brahmānanda* and *Nārāyaṇācārya* mentioned by Sadānanda :—

I — *Brahmānanda* (author of *Nyāyaratnāvalī* on the *Siddhāntabindu*)

(1) One *Brahmānanda* wrote a commentary called the *Nyāya-ratnāvali* (or *Ratnāvali*) on the *Siddhāntabindu* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. In the colophon of this *Nyāyaratnāvali* the author is called *Brahmānanda Sarasvatī*, while in verse 2 at the beginning he calls himself merely *Brahmānanda* (" ब्रह्मानन्देन रच्यते ").[1]

(2) In the two verses at the end of the *Nyāyaratnāvalī* Brahmānanda mentions Nārāyaṇatīrtha as his *guru* along with one *Paramānanda-Sarasvatī*.

(3) On p. 3 of the *Nyāyaratnāvalī* Brahmānanda refers to *Kalpataru-ṭīkā Parimala* in the following extract :—

" शारीरकमीमांसारूपचतुराध्यायीतद्भाष्यतदीयटीकावाचस्पत्यतदीयटीका-
कल्पतरुतदीयटीकापरिमलरूपग्रन्थपञ्चक—इत्यर्थः ॥ "

The author of the *Kalpataru-Parimala* is the celebrated Appaya Dīkṣita, who flourished between *A. D. 1520 and 1592* (Vide p. 148 of *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. III—article by Mahālinga Śāstri). It is clear from this reference that *Brahmānanda*, the author of the *Nyāyaratnāvalī* is *later than c. A. D. 1592.*

II — *Gauḍa Brahmānanda*

(1) In the edition of the *Śārīraka-Mīmāṁsā-Vārtika* and its *Vivaraṇa* by Ananta Krishna Sastri and A. Bhattacharya (Calcutta University, 1941) we find *Nyāyaratnāvalī* mentioned as the work of *Gauḍa Brahmānanda*[2] (See Introduction).

(2) This *Gauḍa Brahmānanda* was the pupil of *Nārāyaṇānanda* who completed a *prose Vārtika* on the *Brahmasūtra* in *A. D. 1592.*

(3) This *Gauḍa Brahmānanda* was the *guru of Bālakṛṣṇānanda* (also called *Abhinava- Draviḍācārya*) author of the *Śārīraka Mīmāṁsā-Vārtika* (see p. xxviii of Introduction) who flourished *about A. D. 1650.*

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1. Vide *Siddhāntabindu* with *Ratnāvalī* ed. by Harihara Śāstri (Advaitamañjarī Series), Kumbakonam, December, 1893, p. 1.

2. Aufrecht (Cata. Catalo. I, p. 719) mentions *Nyāyaratnāvalī* as the work of Gauḍa Brahmānanda.

(4) *Gauḍa Brahmānanda* was the contemporary of *Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya* (see p. 481 of *History of Indian Logic* by S. Vidyabhusana) who lived about *A. D. 1650*.

The evidence about the name-sakes of *Brahmānanda* and *Nārāyaṇācārya* mentioned by Sadānanda Kāśmīraka may now be tabulated as follows :—

नारायणाचार्य (A) and ब्रह्मानन्द (D) | pupil सदानन्द काश्मीरक (Between A. D. 1600 and 1700)	नारायणानन्द (A. D. 1592) B | pupil E-गौड ब्रह्मानन्द (author of न्यायरत्नावली) | pupil बालकृष्णानन्द (c. A.D. 1650)	नारायणतीर्थ (C) | pupil F - ब्रह्मानन्द (author of न्यायरत्नावली[1] on सिद्धांतबिन्दु) (*later than A.D. 1592 and* before A. D. 1687)

Is it possible to suggest the following equations ? :—

(1) नारायणाचार्य (A) } = नारायणानन्द (B) } = नारायणतीर्थ (C)

(B) | pupil; (C) | pupil

(2) ब्रह्मानन्द (D) } = गौडब्रह्मानन्द (E) } = ब्रह्मानन्द (author of न्यायरत्नावली (F) on सिद्धान्तबिन्दु) later than A. D. 1592 and before A. D. 1687

(D) | pupil सदानन्द काश्मीरक (Between A. D. 1600 and 1700)

(E) | pupil बालकृष्णानन्द (c. A. D. 1650)

Even if the above equations are not proved we can safely assign the date of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* of Sadānanda Kāśmīraka to the period *A. D. 1600–1700* in the light of the evidence recorded in this paper.

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1. Aufrecht (CC I, p. 719) records a MS of *Nyāyaratnāvalī* under the entry "Hall, p. 109" i.e. p. 109 of Hall's *Bibliography*, Calcutta, 1859. Hall describes this MS as "an abridgement of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's अद्वैतसिद्धि and annotations on it by the epitomator" viz. Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, disciple of Nārāyaṇatīrtha and Paramānanda Sarasvatī. This MS bears the date *Vikrama* year 1743 = *A. D. 1687*. This date pushes back the date of Brahmānanda to a period A. D. 1592–1650. (It may be mentioned here that न्यायरत्नावली is a commentary on the सिद्धान्तबिन्दु of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and not a commentary on the अद्वैतसिद्धि of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī).

28. Quotations from the Śṛṅgāra-Sañjīvinī of Harideva Miśra in the Śloka-Saṁgraha of Maṇirāma — Between A. D. 1650 and 1700 *

Aufrecht mentions only once an author of the name Harideva Miśra[1] and the only work recorded against his name is कर्णकुतूहल, a MS of which has been recorded by Kielhorn.[2] Sometime ago my friend Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, published a work called the शृंगारसंजीविनी[3] by one हरिदेवमिश्र based on a rare MS of this work. Since the publication of this work I was on a look-out for some additional information about this author and his works but unfortunately I could not trace such information in published or unpublished sources. Recently, however, I came across some information of the type required by me but before I record it in this paper I note below some points from Mr. Sarma's remarks on Haridevamiśra in his Introduction to the edition of the *Akabarasāhi-Śṛṅgāra-darpaṇa* in which the शृंगारसंजीविनी is published as an Appendix. These points[4] are as follows :—

(1) शृंगारसञ्जीविनी (= SS) is a poem of about 100 verses on शृंगार.

(2) The only MS of SS is deposited with the number 3143 in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.

(3) The last folio of this MS is "blank except for the title of the work and the name of दीक्षित मणिराम who was a great scholar at the court of Maharaja Anup Singhji."

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* *Rājasthāna Bhāratī*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1947), pp. 61-66.

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 757.

2. Cata. of Sans. MSS in C. P., Nagpur, 1874, p. 56. This MS consisted of 4 leaves (108 Ślokas).

3. Akabarasāhi — Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa (Ganga Oriental Series, No. 1) Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1943, Appendix - शृंगारसंजीविनी (pp. 57-60).

4. **Vide pp. XXVI-XXVII of Introduction to the above edition.**

(4) From the concluding verses of the SS we get some information about the author which may be represented as follows :—

नीलमणि
|
Son
गौरीपति (married देवयानी)
|
Son
हरिदेवमिश्र
(alias लालमिश्र)
(author of SS) born and lived at
मथुरापुर, later lived at वाराणसी or Benares-
Patronized by लक्ष्मणचन्द्रदेव in whose
household he was known as लालमिश्र

(5) The SS was composed by its author to please God विश्वेश्वर (of Benares).

(6) Aufrecht (CC I, 757) mentions one हरिदेवमिश्र as the author of कर्णकुतूहल काव्य. He is perhaps the same as the author of the SS.

(7) As the Bikaner MS of the SS belonged to दीक्षित मणिराम of the 17th century, हरिदेवमिश्र should be considered earlier than this date.

(8) Rajendra Lala Mitra (Notices, No. 129) mentions one हरिजीवनमिश्र as the author of a drama विजयपारिजात (MS dated A. D. 1673). In the colophon the parentage of the author is given as follows :—

लालमिश्र
|
Son
हरिजीवनमिश्र
(author of विजयपारिजात–MS of A. D. 1673). This
लालमिश्र is possibly identical with हरिदेवमिश्र also
known as लालमिश्र

(9) From the evidence recorded above Mr. Sarma thinks that हरिदेवमिश्र, the author of the SS is earlier than the 17th century.

To corroborate the above conclusion of Mr. Sarma about the date of हरिदेवमिश्र I have to record the following additional evidence from a new source discovered by me.

(1) The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses a unique MS of a big anthology of about 1605 verses (MS No. 361 of 1884-86).

(2) The name of this anthology is श्लोकसंग्रह (or पद्यसंग्रह) compiled by its author मणिराम for the benefit of his son as stated in the introductory verse.

(3) I have proved in a special paper[1] that this मणिराम, the author of the श्लोकसंग्रह, is definitely later than A.D. 1600 as he quotes from अकबरीय-कालिदास and records 4-5 verses composed by him in praise of Raja Todarmalla (टोडरेश), the finance minister of Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1542-1605).

(4) So far no verses have been traced in any work from the शृंगारसंजीविनी of हरिदेवमिश्र, which was brought to light for the first time by my learned friend Mr. K. M. K. Sarma. My study of the श्लोकसंग्रह of मणिराम has brought to light the following verses of हरिदेवमिश्र quoted with the name of the author by मणिराम and traced by me in the published text of the शृंगारसंजीविनी.

MS of श्लोकसंग्रह of मणिराम No. 361 of 1884-86, copied in 1886 from an original MS at Sevai Jaipur			MS of शृंगारसंजीविनी in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, belonging to दीक्षित मणिराम	
Folio		Verse		Verse
17	वक्षः सादरमातनेति	(21)	वक्षः सादरमावृणोति	(80)
,,	नेत्रं खंजनगंजनाय	(22)	नेत्रं खञ्जन गञ्जनाय	(77)
,,	जेतुं शैशवमम्बुजायतदशो	(23)	जेतुं शैशवमम्बुजायत	(78)
19	नीलांवरावगुण्डित	(46)	नीलांबरावगुंठित	(54)
,,	माकूतं सकुतूहलं	(49)	साकूतं सकुतूहलं	(5)
,,	सभासा इवसालसा	(50)	सभासा इव सालसा	(6)
,,	कंदर्प्पस्य जगज्जयाय	(51)	कन्दर्पस्य जगज्जयाय	(9)
20	यूनां पतिष्यत	(5)	यूनां पतिष्यति	(39)
21	रुचिर तिमिरजालं	(79)	रुचिरतिमिरजालं	(41)
22	रगज राजीव	(4)	रराज राजीव विलोचना	(56)

1. Vide my paper on "*A Rare MS of the Ślokasaṁgraha Anthology by Maṇirāma and the Date of its Composition (Between A.D. 1650 and 1700).*"

MS of श्लोकसंग्रह of मणिराम No. 361 of 1884-86, copied in 1886 from an original MS at Sevai Jaipur			MS of शृंगारसंजीविनी in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, belonging to दीक्षित मणिराम	
Folio		Verses		Verses
22	सुवर्ण कंबुस्खलदंबु	(5)	सुवर्णकम्बु स्खलदंबु	(57)
31	चंडांशो रतिचंड	(47)	चण्डांशो रतिचण्ड	(85)
32	उच्चैः पीनपयोधर	(58)	उच्चैः पीनपयोधर	(47)
,,	उल्लंघ्य सर्पभय	(58)	उल्लङ्घ्य सर्वभय	(71)
,,	अधिसरणे तरुणीनां	(59)	अभिसरेण तरुणीनां	(72)
,,	सौधीयति विषमवनी	(60)	सौधीयति विषमवनी	(73)
,,	कुल्या तुल्या सरिदियम्	(61)	कुल्या तुल्या	(74)
,,	दीपीयंति पयोमुचो	(62)	दीपीयन्ति पयोयुचो	(75)
36	पुरा मुरारेरियम्	(15)	पुरा मुरारेरियभङ्गसङ्ग	(28)
,,	स्नेहेन पूर्णमभितो	(16)	स्नेहेन पूर्णमयितो	(29)
,,	बाला हालाहलमिव	(17)	बाला हालाहलमिव	(32)
,,	इयं रजनि रुज्वल	(18)	इयं रजनिरुज्ज्वल	(87)
,,	कल्पीयंति दिनानि	(19)	कल्पीयन्ति दिनानि	(88)
38	यांती बंधुजनेन	(51)	यांती बंधुजनेन	(16)
,,	प्रत्यग्भूधर शखर	(60)	प्रत्यग्भूधर शेखरोपरि	(17)
47	मेरुं द्वयं वर्षति	(1)	मेरुद्वयं वर्षति	(50)
,,	नियन्दमिन्दीवर	(10)	निस्पन्द मिन्दीवर	(51)
50	विराममेषापि ययौ	(50)	विराममेषापि ययौ	(67)
,,	विराममेवं वत याति	(51)	विराममेषा बत याति	(61)
,,	संबोधितासि परिणाम	(52)	संबोधितासि	(70)

In the above table I have traced at least 30 verses of हरिदेवमिश्र in the शृंगारसंजीविनी as found in the श्लोकसंग्रह of मणिराम, while the Bikaner MS belonging to मणिराम दीक्षित of the 17th century shows a fairly correct text of these verses. The Jaipur copy of the श्लोकसंग्रह made in 1886 shows many scribal errors. It would be better if the Jaipur original of the 1886 copy can be recovered and used for an edition of the श्लोकसंग्रह, which a scholar like Prof. N. A. Gore can undertake as he has agreed to study this rare MS very closely and give us a critical analysis of it before long. It would be in the fitness of things if the Bikaner Darbar can undertake an edition of this rare anthology by मणिराम दीक्षित, who was protégé of

Maharaja Anup Singhji of Bikaner (A. D. 1669-1698)[1] and entrust the work to a scholar like Prof. Gore who has already brought out critical editions of some Sanskrit Kāvyas in recent years. Since the Anup Sanskrit Library at Bikaner was reorganized by the Bikaner Darbar through the well-planned efforts of Sardar Major K. M. Panikkar, the present Prime Minister of Bikaner and his friend Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of the Madras University, much useful literary work has been done at Bikaner. In fact this activity has linked up Bikaner not only with the different centres of learning in India but also outside. In the present paper I have tried to link up my discovery of an anthology by a protégé of Maharaja Anup Singhji of Bikaner with the rare MS of the शृंगारसंजीविनी belonging to this protégé and deposited in the Bikaner Library, which bears the sacred name of Maharaja Anup Singhji, a great lover and patron of Sanskrit learning.

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1. Vide p. 1 of Introduction to *Anūpasiṁhaguṇāvatāra* (The Ganga Oriental Series, Dedicatory Volume, Bikaner, 1942) edited with English Trans. by Dr. C. K. Raja.

29. A Rare Manuscript of the Śloka-Saṁgraha Anthology by Maṇirāma and the Date of Its Composition (Between A. D. 1650 and 1700 *

The only MS of an anthology by मणिराम recorded by Aufrecht is the following :—

CC I, 677 — " श्लोकसंग्रह by मणिराम Peters 3. 396 "

This MS is identical with *MS No. 361 of 1884-86* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It consists of about 96 folios (10 lines to a page and 52 letters to a line) of modern paper. The MS begins :—

" ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः

मणिरामेण विदुषा स्वसुतस्य हितैषिणा ।
प्राचीनकृतपद्यानां संग्रहः क्रियते स(स्व)यम् ॥ १ ॥ "

" आदौ गणपतेः

" गण्डस्थलीगलदमन्दमदप्रवाहो-
माद्यद्द्विरेफमधुरस्वर्दत्तकर्णः ।
हर्षादिवालसनिमीलितनेत्रयुग्मो
विघ्नछिदे भवतु भूतपतिर्गणेशः ॥ २ ॥ "

The MS ends :—

" वयमिह परितुष्टा वल्कलै स्वंच लक्ष्म्या
समदह परितो निर्व्विशेषो विशेषः ।
स भवति दरिद्री यस्य तृष्णा विशाला
मनसिच परितुष्टेः कोर्थवान् को दरिद्रः ॥ १६०५ ॥

संतु स्वराज्यभूराज्यभुवोराज्यविभूतये ।
एतावैभवतृप्तोस्मि यदधीन कस्य चित् ॥ १६०६ ॥

इति श्रीमणिरामकृतः श्लोकसंग्रहः समाप्तः । संवत् १९४२ शाके १८७ मासानां

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* *Rājasthāna Bhāratī*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 35-45.

मासोत्तमे द्वितीयकजेष्ठ कृष्णा ८ मंदवासरे लीपकृतं ब्राह्मण पारीक हरगोविंद् जयपूर ।। श्रीराम etc."

It will be seen from the above extracts that this anthology (पद्यसंग्रह or श्लोकसंग्रह) was compiled by मणिराम for the benefit of his own son as stated by him in verse 1 at the beginning. I have failed to get any personal history of this मणिराम in the body of the work except the above statement. The copy before me was made at Savai Jaipur in Saṁvat 1942 (= *A. D. 1886*) by a पारीक ब्राह्मण of the name Hara Govinda possibly from some old MS of the work which the owner was not prepared to sell but allowed to be copied for Sir R. G. Bhandarkar when he carried on his search for MSS in 1884–86.

This big anthology of about 1606 verses mentions as a rule the names of authors and works from whom the several verses of the compendium have been incorporated first-hand or otherwise. I have suggested to my friend Prof. N. A. Gore of the S. P. College to analyse this big anthology and prepare indices of works and authors and also of the प्रतीकs of the verses quoted in it. He has agreed to this suggestion but before he gives us the results of his critical analysis I want to record in this paper the evidence about the chronology of the work which I could gather by a cursory perusal of the work. I hope this evidence would help Prof. Gore to determine more exactly my chronology of this work in the light of his elaborate study of this unique MS.

To enable us to fix the earlier limit for the date of मणिराम I note below the following evidence for the consideration of scholars :—

(1) मणिराम (= *M*) mentions and quotes from हरिनारायणमिश्र e.g.

Folio 7 — " मेरुस्तम्भे......हरिनारायण मिश्रस्य "

Folio 1 — " श्रीमद्गङ्गातरङ्गावक्ति...७ हरिनारायणमिश्रानाम् "

Folio 4 — " या गौरी शशिर......४० हरिनारायणमिश्र "

Folio 31—" त्वया नायं सायं पथिकपुरतो...४६ हरिनारायण-मिश्रस्य "

According to Dr. Chaudhuri one हरिनारायणमिश्र has been quoted from in the पद्यवेणी of वेणीदत्त (A. D. 1644) as the author of the following verses :—

P. V. *No. 872* — " निर्गुणापि सगुणा "

P. V. *No. 141* — " भूभृन्मौलि तटीषु...... । साहा साहिजहां ब्रवीमि... "

In view of the reference to Shah Jahan (1628–1658 A. D.) in verse No. 141 above this हरिनारायणमिश्र is contemporary of Shah Jahan and I may add that he is contemporary of वेणीदत्त also.

If हरिनारायणमिश्र mentioned by *M* is identical with his namesake mentioned in the पद्यवेणी we can say that *M* is *later than c. A. D. 1630.*

(2) *M* mentions भोजप्रबन्ध as follows :—

Folio 48 — " भोज प्रबन्धादेतौ " *Folio 6* — "भोजप्रबन्धस्य"

Folio 8 — Do —

Folio 58 — " भोजप्रबन्धात् " *Folio 72* — " भोजप्रबन्धात् "

According to Dr. A. B. Keith (*Sans. Lit.*, 1928, p. 293) the *Bhojaprabandha* of बल्लालसेन belongs to the *16th Century*. We may, therefore, conclude that *M* is *later than c. A. D. 1550.*

(3) *M* quotes from and mentions अकबरीय कालिदास e. g. on folios 4, 6, 10, 11 (= P. V. 138), 13, 54 (verses 14 and 19). These references would make *M* posterior to Akbar (A.D. 1542–1605) who patronized अकबरीय कालिदास.

(4) The following verses are quoted by *M* as his own in his anthology :—

Folio 6 — " टोडरेश यशोभद्या बुद्बुदास्तारकव्रजाः ।
व्योमगंगामृणालीव फेनखण्डोपमो विधुः ॥ ६८ ॥
देव श्रीटोडरेश क्षितिपतितिलक श्वेतमानंयशोभि-
र्जाते गीर्व्वाणवृन्दै तव शिवसदृशे कौतुकं तत्र जातं ।
अन्योन्यं सर्वदेवा नतितति विनताः श्रीमहादेवबुध्या ।
जाता लक्ष्म्या च कृष्णे पुनरपि च शिवे योजिता दृष्टिपाताः ॥ ६९ ॥
ममैवैतौ "

Folio 7 — " दीपः सत्रपमन्दिरे परचमू रात्रौ च चण्डद्युतिः ।
शत्रोः संगरसागरेषु भगवान् साक्षात्पुनर्वाडवः ।
विद्युद्वैरिकुलाचले सुमनसां वृन्दै सुवर्णाचलो ।
राजस्टोडरमल्लनामनृपतेर्भाति प्रतापानलः ॥ ८० ॥ मम "

Folio 9 — " कालिन्दी कामकेलौ कलयति न कलां केरलीकेलितल्पं ।
कर्णाटी कर्णकूपे कमलकलिकया नापि कांतिं करोति ।
गौडी गत्वा गुहायां गयति गुरुतां गुर्ज्जभूर्ज्जदेशे ।
तैलङ्गी तैलवार्तां त्यजति तु नितरां टोडरेश प्रयाणे ॥ ममैवेदं ॥ "

Folio 10 — " याने श्रीनृपटोडरस्य सकलं केतुं निरीक्ष्यारुणं ।
यात्रादुंदुभिदीर्घनिस्वनदलद्ब्रह्माण्डरक्तभ्रमात् ।
धाता व्यग्रमतिः प्रपश्यति पुनः संधाय हेतुं भयात् ।
सूर्य्योभूश्च कंपति मुहुस्त्रैलोक्यमावर्त्तते ॥ १२ ॥ ममैव ॥ "

Folio 22 — " जितं समस्तं हि जगन्मनोजे-
रतः परं किं करणीयमस्ति ।
इतीव हेतोः किमुरोजकैतवा-
द्व्यस्तीकृतौ कांचनदुन्दुभी ते ॥ ३०० ॥ ममैव ॥ "

Out of the five verses which, *M* states, are his own composition four verses are in praise of राजा टोडरमल्ल the finance minister of Akbar. टोडरमल्ल (A.D. 1535-1589) was a great patron of Sanskrit learning. Is it possible to suppose that *M* was patronized by राजा टोडरमल्ल? As *M* has taken special care to compose 4 verses in praise of this Raja we can easily infer that either *M* had intense admiration for टोडरमल्ल as a result of the latter's liberal patronage to *M* or that *M* was not far removed in point of time from टोडरमल्ल so that he could pay his tribute to टोडरमल्ल's valour, the reputation of which must have been fresh in the minds of the generations that followed him say between A. D. 1600 and 1675 and to which *M* belonged.

(5) *M* mentions " आंकोल लक्ष्मण " [1] on folio 7 and quotes the following verses as his composition :—

" रघुकुलतिलक कृपाल त्वद्द्विष क्षोणिपाल
प्रविलसदयकीर्तिश्यामले विश्वजाले ।

1. On folio 8 I find another verse ascribed to आंकोल लक्ष्मण as follows :—

" देव क्षोणितलाधिप त्वयिमहादानप्रधाने विधौ
चेतः कुर्व्वति यातयत्यपि दृशं स्वर्णादिके वस्तुनि ।
विप्राणामतिघोरधारकठिनद्योतत्कुठारोद्यता-
घातप्रस्फुरिताङ्गसन्धिचकितो मेरुः परं कुंपते ॥ ८५ ॥

आंकोल लक्ष्मणस्य "

भगवति भजमाने कृष्णतां शूलपाणौ
किमुदधि गिरिपुत्र्यौ चक्रतुस्तन्निवातः ॥ ७४ ॥
आंकोल लक्ष्मणस्य"

The above verse is anonymously quoted on p. 123 of सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911) as follows :-

" रघुतिलक नृपाल त्वद्विषत्क्षोणिपाल
प्रतिलसदपकीर्तिश्यामले विश्वजाले ।
भगवति भजमाने कृष्णतां शूलपाणौ
किमुदधिगिरिपुत्र्यौ चक्रतु स्तन्न विद्मः ॥ १२२ ॥"

"आंकोल लक्ष्मण" mentioned by *M* is identical with "लक्ष्मणभट्ट आङ्कोलकर" the author of the anthology पद्यरचना (काव्यमाला 89. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1908.) In my paper on the date of पद्यरचना (*Journal of Oriental Research Madras*, Vol. XIV. Pt. III) I have proved that this author flourished between A. D. 1610 and 1673 as he quotes अकबरीय कालिदास on the one hand and is quoted in Haribhāskara Agnihotri's पद्यामृततरङ्गिणि composed in *A. D. 1673*. As *M* mentions आंकोल लक्ष्मण (Between c. A. D. 1610 and 1673) we may reasonably infer that *M* was either a contemporary of आंकोल लक्ष्मण or that he flourished later than A. D. 1630.

(6) Prof. Gore will of course deal exhaustively with the works and authors mentioned by *M* in his anthology. I note below these works and authors as I noticed them during a rapid survey of the Ms :—

भानुकर, हरिनारायणमिश्र, रावण, कालिदास, रामचन्द्र, घनश्याम, अकब्बरी कालिदास, गणपति, रघुनाथ, हनूमत्, भोजप्रबन्ध, गोविंदभट्ट, घनश्याममिश्र, आंकोल लक्ष्मण, मम (author himself), धरणीधर, कुलमणि, श्रीहर्ष, दाक्षिणात्य, महाकवि, भेरीभांकृति, मुरारि, नारायणभट्ट, वराहमिहिर, रौद्र, लक्ष्मण, वैद्यभानु, बाण, रत्नाकर, भवभूति, गदाधर, जयदेव, प्रभाकरभट्ट (fol. 17), हरिदेवमिश्र, त्रिविक्रम, बिल्हण, हरिदेव, शार्ङ्गधर, वैद्यनाथ, गोवर्द्धन, शकवृद्ध, भास, लक्ष्मीधर, वाल्मीकि, रुद्रदेव, पौराणिक शंकरभट्ट (fol. 25), अमरुक, विश्वंभर मिश्र, वाणीविलास, मैथिल (fol. 34), मोरिका, वाहिनीपति, षाण्मासिक, धनंजयविजय, मत्युपाध्याय, निद्रादरिद्र, अविलव, वासुदेव, धूर्त्त, कवीन्द्र (47), भर्तृहर, माघकवि, अवंतिवर्मन्, कलश, अचल, गुणाकर, कविराज, पाणिनि, प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय, भास (fol. 58), कविकंकण, महानाटक, उत्तरचरित्र, व्यास, कृष्णमिश्र, भर्तृहरि (fol. 65), शंकरार्य्य, महादेव, उमा-

पतिदेव, मदन, त्रिलोचनदास (fol. 72), भवदेव ठक्कुर, रंगनाथ, भोज, विकटनितंबा, भोज, रुद्रभट्टाचार्य, भेरीभांकर चन्द्रदेव, राघवचैतन्य, मल्लभट्ट, आनंदवर्द्धन, पुष्पाकर (fol. 78), गोविन्दराज, लक्ष्मणसेन, मुक्तापीड, चन्द्रकवि, भवदत्त, नागवैद्य, वल्लभदेव, पुष्पाकर (fol. 81), भोजदेव, सरस्वतीकुटुंब, क्षेमेन्द्र, कर्पूरकवि, धनदेव, हरिहर (fol. 84), मालवरुद्र, देवेश्वर, etc.

(7) *M* has quoted more than 25 verses of हरिदेवमिश्र in the present anthology. I have proved in a special paper that all these verses have been taken by *M* from the शृंगारसंजीवनी of हरिदेवमिश्र recently edited by Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner as Appendix to his edition of अकबरसाही शृंगारदर्पण (Ganga Oriental Series No. 1, 1943). Curiously enough the rare MS of the शृंगारसंजीवनी on which Mr. Sarma has based his edition belonged to दीक्षित मणिराम the great scholar at the court of Maharaja Anup Singhji of Bikaner (A. D. 1669–1698) as the last folio of this MS bears the title of the work and the name of दीक्षित मणिराम, as stated by Mr. Sarma in his Introduction (p. XXVI). I am of opinion that मणिराम, the author of the श्लोकसंग्रह anthology is identical with मणिराम दीक्षित the protègè of Maharaja Anup Singhji. Very probably M used the rare Ms of शृंगारसंजीवनी for the quotations given by him in his श्लोकसंग्रह.

In view of the evidence recorded above we may easily arrive at the following conclusions :—

(1) The date of the composition of the श्लोकसंग्रह of मणिराम is definitely later than A. D. 1600.

(2) मणिराम दीक्षित, the owner of the Bikaner MS of the शृंगारसंजीवनी, is identical with मणिराम, the author of the श्लोकसंग्रह anthology.

If these conclusions are accepted the *date of the* श्लोकसंग्रह *lies between A. D. 1650 and 1700*.

I reported my discovery of मणिराम's श्लोकसंग्रह anthology to Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, who was kind enough to send me a copy of his note on "दीक्षित मणिराम" (Pages 63-64 of *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, *XXI*, 1945) and some additional information. While thanking Mr. Sarma for his great interest in my discovery, I note for the information of readers some points

from Mr. Sarma's note and correspondence bearing on the life and works of दीक्षित मणिराम :—

(1) There are many MSS in the Anup Sans. Library bearing the signature of दीक्षित मणिराम, sometimes together with the signature of शिवानन्द मिश्र.

(2) The genealogy of मणिराम as revealed by his works is as follows :—

शिवदत्त (of गौडवंश)
|
गंगाराम मिश्र
|
मणिराम (belonging to धूर्जटपुर)

(3) मणिराम refers to his *guru* हरिनारायणमिश्र[1] in his अनूपव्यवहारसागर ("अस्मद् गुरुचरण हरिनारायणमिश्र-कृतपद्येन ज्ञेयम्" — fol. 39 a of the MS in the Anup Sans. Library). In the B. O. R. Institute MS of the श्लोकसंग्रह also मणिराम quotes some verses of हरिनारायणमिश्र.

(4) Works of मणिराम in the Anup Library :—

(i) कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्रभाष्य (*No. 706*) — At the beginning the author says that he writes this for the benefit of his son. At the beginning of the श्लोकसंग्रह also he makes a similar statement (मणिरामेण विदुषा स्वसुतस्य हितैषिणा। प्राचनिकृतपद्यानां संग्रहः क्रियते स्वयम्॥)

(ii) महाभारतसार (*Nos. 984–88*) signed by मणिराम and शिवानन्द.

(iii) महाभारतभावदीपसारोद्धार (No. 989) विराटपर्वन् and (No. 990) उद्योगपर्वन् — This is a gloss of नीलकंठ's commentary and explains difficult passages here and there. It is styled परिष्कार also. नीलकंठ चतुर्धर[2]

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1. One हरिनारायणमिश्र composed (1) मधुविध्वंसभास्कर denouncing spirituous liquor and (2) मांसतिमिरविध्वंसभास्कर against non-vegetarian diet. There is a MS of No. 1 in the Anup Library. No. 2 is referred to in No. 1.

2. Vide my papers on this author :—
(1) *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), 1942, Vol. XXIII, pp. 146–161.
(2) *Journal of the Tanjore S. M. Library* (1944), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1–7.

was patronized by महाराज अनूपसिंह of Bikaner, the patron of मणिराम. Possibly मणिराम must have been in contact with नीलकंठ चतुर्धर during Anupasimha's Deccan campaigns.

(iv) अष्टादशदिवसयुद्धानि (No. 991) — There is no mention of the author. Mr. Sarma thinks that this work is probably a part of मणिराम's महाभारतसार.

(v) अनूपविलास in 7 parts called रत्नs dealing with धर्मशास्त्र (Nos. 2348–2359) (see Dr. C. K. Raja's article in the *Jha Institute Journal*, Vol. II, parts 2–3).

(vi) अनूपव्यवहारसागर (No. 4305) deals with मुहूर्तशास्त्र in ten sections called लहरीs — MS dated *Saṁvat 1746* (= *A. D. 1690*).

(vii) मन्त्रमाला (No. 8014).

(viii) अनन्तव्रतोद्यापन (No. 1477).

(5) A MS of the भ्रमरदूत of वाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य bears the signature of दीक्षित मणिराम along with the following versified endorsement :—

" रामपत्पङ्कजासक्तचित्तविद्वच्छिरोमणेः ।
पुस्तं मिश्र मणीरामस्यास्तां ख्यातं महीतले । "

This very endorsement is found on a MS of the commentary प्रकाश on प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय (MS No. 31997). Sometimes the signature appears as "दी(क्षित) मणिराम" and sometimes as "दी० मणिराम-शिवानन्द." This शिवानन्द needs to be identified. On a MS of नलोदय in the Anup Library (No. 3052) we find the following verse :—

" रसाश्विसप्तेन्दुमिते च वर्षे वसन्तमासे हि हरेस्थितौ च ।
यं कालिदासोऽपि चकार पूर्वं नलोदयाख्यं हि कथानकं च ।
तं मणिरामः शिवानंद त्रिपुरस्य पुरे वसन् ।
लिलेख चै व सर्वेषां लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥

The chronogram "रसाश्विसप्तेन्दु" = *Saṁvat 1726* = *A. D. 1670*.

There are many name-sakes[1] of मणिराम. They should be distinguished from our मणिराम, the protégé of महाराज अनूपसिंह of Bikaner. The relative chronology of the several works of this मणिराम should be reconstructed on the strength of the dated MSS of his works in the Anup Library, Bikaner, but I leave this task to my friend Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, M. O. L. the present Curator of this Library and the General Editor of its *Ganga Oriental Series*.

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1. Vide Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalogorum* I, 421; II, 97; and III, 91.

30. Māruta-maṇḍana of Vanamālin and Its Date — Between A. D. 1575 and 1600 *

The only MS of a work on Vedānta colled the *Mārutamaṇḍana* by Vanamālin[1] recorded by Aufrecht[2] is "Bhr 718" which is identical with *MS No. 718 of 1882-83* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It consists of 63 folios, of which folio 1 is unfortunately missing since its acquisition. Folio 2 begins :—

—ह्यादिपदलक्षणस्य गङ्गापदलक्ष्यतीरस्य गङ्गात्ववदसत्यत्वाब्रह्मत्वा—

The Ms ends as follows :—

" भुक्त्वा श्यामाकमुष्टिं वियदप्रदमयद्दीनबंधुर्द्विजातेः
दत्वा भूतीः पराऽस्वाधृतकर इति मा देहि मां पद्मया यः।
द्रौपद्याः शाकलेशा त्रिभुवनमयुषघज्वलां(?)दुः प्रसाद्यः
स्थित्वांतकारिताद्वै मम यदुवरो ग्रंथतः प्रीयतां सः ॥ १ ॥

श्रीगोविन्दविहारभूषितभुवो वृंदावनात्प्राग्दिशि
क्रोशानां त्रिशुगे पुरे श्रु(?)तिभरद्वाजात्वमाये द्विजाः ।
श्रीसन्नाहमुचो वसंति वनमाली तत्कुले(भू)द्बधः
ग्रंथो मारुतमंडनोस्ति परिपूर्णस्तत्कृतोविघ्नतः ॥ २ ॥

विघ्नोदयादिकर्तारं भर्तारं हि श्रियः सताम् ।
भवसंतापहंतारं वंदे श्रीहयकंधरम् ॥ ३ ॥
भगवतोंघ्रिकंजस्य श्रीगोपालस्य रेणवः ।
क्रियासु वैभवं वाचामघराशेश्च शोधनं ॥ ४ ॥

संवत् १७४१ समास्तु शुभमत् ॥ समुती फागुन वदी वजुदमी स रामगतितो हारी । श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॥ रामा ताता ॥ "

The above extract, though incorrect in many places, gives us the following particulars about the author and his work :—

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* *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 163-168.

1. *CC I, 549* — "वनमालिन् — चण्डमारुत (*CC* I, 176 — *Rice 142* and *Govt. Ori. MS Library Madras, 26* ") — मारुतमण्डन (*CC* I, 452, *Bhr. 718*).

2. *CC I, 452*—"मारुतमण्डन, Vedānta, by Vanamālin, *Bhr*. 718."

(1) In *verse* 1 of the extract the author bows to god यदुवर (कृष्ण).

(2) In *verse* 2 it is stated that वनमाली is the author of this work called मारुतमण्डन. He was born of a family of Brahmins of the *Bharadvāja Gotra* [भरद्वाजात्वमा is evidently a misreading for भरद्वाजान्वया (ये द्विजाः)]. This family lived at a place called त्रिशुगपुर (?) situated to the east of वृन्दावन,[1] adorned by the temple of गोविंद.

(3) In *verse* 3 the author bows to god Gaṇeśa (हयकंधर).

(4) In *verse 4* he invokes the blessings of god गोपाल.

(5) The date of the MS is *Saṁvat 1741 = A. D. 1685* [month of *Phālguna*, *Vadya* (Śukla) *Pakṣa*].

I note below the references to authors and works etc. as they are found in the MS before me :—

(1) आनंदतीर्थ, 2
(2) नारायणसंहिता, 2
(3) बृहत्संहिता, 2
(4) महासंहिता, 2
(5) नारायणतंत्र, 2
(6) ब्रह्मतंत्र, 2
(7) पुरुषोत्तमतंत्र, 2
(8) मायावैभव, 2
(9) ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त, 2
(10) ब्रह्मतर्क, 2
(11) भविष्यत्, 2
(12) भारततात्पर्यनिर्णय, 2
(13) अस्मदाचार्येण, 3, 4
(11) गौडपादशंकरादेः, 3
(12) पाद्मवचन, 3
(13) कौर्मे, 3

(14) " मध्वनामा यतिरसौ सच्छास्त्राणि करिष्यति ।
निरसिष्यति पाखण्डान् दुःशास्त्राणि महामतिः ॥ " (Fol. 3)

(15) स्कांदे, 3
(16) शंकरभाष्ये, 3
(17) रामानुजभाष्ये, 3
(18) श्रीकंठभाष्ये, 3
(19) महाभारत, 4
(20) श्रीमध्वाचार्याणां, 4

(21) ब्राह्मे (क्षेत्रकांडे वेंकटमाहात्म्ये तृतीयेध्याये)

(21) तात्पर्यचंद्रिका, 4, 5 (चंद्रिकायां), 23 (चंद्रिकादौ)

(22) कालिदासादेः, 4

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1. वनमाली was a champion of Madhva philosophy. As he hailed from the neighbourhood of Vṛndāvana, the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship in the United Provinces, it seems that Madhvaism had spread far and wide from its original home in South India at the time of Vanamālin's literary career, say, between A. D. 1575 and 1650.

Folio 5 — " तथाहि ।

वेदांता प्रवदंति नेतिकरणं विष्णुं कुतो वैरिदं
क्षेपिष्टादि गिरामिव प्रथमतस्ते वौ नु वाहायत ।
वेदांता अथवा जपाय विषदून्मन्त्रा यथा केवलं
धर्मादे प्रमितिर्भवेत्प्रथमतः कांडात्तवा(?)ज्ञातवित् ॥ "

(22) भट्टमते, 5

(23) प्रभाकरमते, 5

(24) अनुव्याख्याने, 5, 7

Folio 6 — " तथाहि ।

तर्केणार्षगिरां कथंचिदपि नः प्रामाण्यमुक्तं नहि
न्यायान् कांचन सोर्थपन् भवति चांगं ब्रह्ममीमांसने ।
सिद्धांतद्वतितद्वियोजनकता वेदांतवाचा ततो
वृत्तं न प्रकृते विरोध्य विदितार्थज्ञापने मंदधीः ॥ "

Folio 6 — " तथाहि । बोध्यं स्याद्यदि निर्गुणश्रुतिगणैः....गृह्णतः ॥ "

Folio 7 — " आह ।

अश्रौषीस्त्वमिदं कुतः...शास्त्रं विचार्यं क्वचित् ॥ १२ ॥ "
" यतेन शिष्यस्य...शास्त्रवेद्यं कथं स्यात् ॥ "

(25) न्यायामृते, 7

Folio 8 —" शास्त्रानारंभणे नागुणचिति...एकता स्यान्नजीवे ॥ १४ ॥. "

(26) न्यायसुधायां, 8, 11 (सुधायां), 12, 15. 23, 24, 26, 27, 52

Folio 10 — " अमितमहिमविष्णोरिच्छया...भ्युपेतः परेशः ॥ १६ ॥ "

Folio 11 — " अभेदो यत्र सिद्धो हि...स्वभावः सविशेषकः ॥ १७ ॥ "

Folio 12 — " स्वीये पूर्णसुखे हरौ गुणनिधौ...योगो हि वृत्तेः पुरा ॥ १८ ॥ "
— " अपि च नयमिमं मन्यते...प्रलपसि कथमित्थं पूर्वपक्षे कुबुद्धे ॥ १९ ॥ "

Folio 15 — " जीवभिन्नेश्वरे माने...नारभ्यं मननं ततः ॥ २० ॥ "
— " प्रथम नयनिरासे कारणं...सर्वथोत्पत्ति शिष्टा ॥ २१ ॥ "

Folio 16 — " अभिजगुणनिकेते...ब्रह्मवाचा विधातुम् ॥ २२ ॥ "

Folio 17 — " अभिदधति सधर्म्मं...केन नैर्गुण्यवाचां ॥ २३ ॥ "
— " दानवाक्य...प्रणवाद्याश्च वाक्यतः ॥ २४ ॥ "

(27) गारुडोक्ति, 17, 36

Folio 18 — " आनंदानां वदंत्यामिततरतमतां...ज्योतिरप्यस्तु गुप्तं ॥ २५ ॥ "

Folio 19 — " अनेकत्वैकत्वे...यद कथं ही शिजरिवैं ॥ २६ ॥ "
— " शाश्वेत्यादि गिरो वदंति...नैव प्रवेष्टुं क्षमः ॥ २७ ॥ "

Folio 20 — " धर्मिग्राहकमानेन...अपहर्तुं न शक्यते ॥ २८ ॥ "

Folio 22 — " क्षेत्रोत्पन्नधने...पुरानोत्तरम् ॥ २८ ॥ "

(28) भामत्यां, 24, 26

(24) तत्त्वप्रकाशिकायां, 24

(25) भाष्यकृता, 24

Folio 26 — " दुःखादि स्वामिता...त्वादृशा द्वेषदुष्टाः ॥ ३० ॥ "

Folio 28 — " जिज्ञासानयगोचरस्तनुभृतो...प्रसंगात् तथा ॥ ३७ ॥ "

Folio 30 — " अन्योन्यं विरसा गुणा...स्वपज्ञतायां स्फुटं ॥ "

— " विरुद्धे जेनाग्रे...संभवति नो ॥ ३९ ॥ "

Folio 31 — " प्राबल्यादिनि गद्यते कृतगिरां...श्रुतिशिखाध्यक्षानुमानैरुजा ॥ ४१ ॥ "

(26) कौमारिलानां, 33

(27) तंत्ररत्ने, 34

(28) वरदराजीये, 34, (शब्दांतराधिकरणे, संख्याधिकरणे)

Folio 36 — " मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहाम् ।
वनमालिकृतं भाति जिज्ञासान्यायवर्णनम् ॥ ३ ॥ "

Folio 37 — " रूढ्याब्रह्मणि शंकिते तनुधरे...मूलाद्यभिन्ने हरौ ॥ "

— " ब्रह्माभेदगिरः क्वचित्तनुभृतो...न कोप्येककः ॥ ४५ ॥ "

Folio 39 — " योगालिंगितरूढितो वदति हि...मुख्यार्थकत्वं भवेत् "

Folio 42 — " मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।
वनमालिकृतं भाति जन्मादिन्यायवर्णनं ॥ ३ ॥ "

— " सर्वेषां वव(?)सीं समन्वयविधे—श्रौत्यो गिरः सर्वथा ॥ "

Folio 43 — " सदेकंद्धे(?)वासी...आवर्जनगिरां ॥ "

Folio 44 — " किंच स्रष्टुमपीश्वरस्य...हरेस्याद्यथा ॥ "

— " विकल्पोनुष्ठाने...वचस्ते गतभरा ॥ "

Folio 45 — " मानं नैवास्तिभेदे...न्यायपीडा च नास्ति ॥ "

Folio 46 — " मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।
वनमालिकृतं भाति शास्त्रयोनिनिरूपणं ॥ "

— " अभिदधति गिरो या...नैवास्तिमानं मुकुंदात् ॥ "

Folio 47 — " दृष्टो विश्वनियामको.. सिद्धिर्न वै वस्तुतः ॥ "

Folio 48 — " नृहरिहरविधीनां...यो विशेषात्प्रवृत्तः ॥ "

(29) नारायणीयाख्यान, 48

(30) हरिवंश, 50

Folio 50 — " मंडने माध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।
वनमालिकृतं भाति समन्वयनिरूपणं ।। "

Folio 51 — " श्रुत्वानंतगुणं हरिं...ब्रह्मत्वमीशानुगाः ।। "
— " ध्यानेनाधिगमायवश्रुतिचय...व्यर्थां भावेपुस्तदा ।। "

Folio 52 — " मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य खंडने च सुरद्रुहां ।
वनमालिकृतं भाति ईक्षतिन्यायवर्णनं ॥
पंचन्यायाः समीचीनं वर्णिता वनमालिना ।
मायावादिमुखं भंक्त्वा मध्वतंत्रस्य मंडने ॥
ग्रंथस्य चावशिष्टस्य तात्पर्यं समासेन निरूप्यते ।। "

(31) " उक्तहि मनोरमायां अश्वक इत्यत्राश्वशब्दो अश्व वर्तते कन्प्रत्ययस्तु प्रतिकृतिरूपे सदृशे इत्येके । अन्ये तु गौर्वहीक इतिवत् अश्वशब्दः " etc. (Folio 57)

(32) माघकाव्ये, 57

(33) भगवत्पादैः, 58

(34) वाशिष्ठरामायणे, 61 (ऐंद्वोपाख्याने)

(35) स्मृतेः, 62 (ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेर्जुन तिष्ठति) — There are some other verses of the *Gītā* quoted in the work.

The foregoing analysis of the MS of मारुतमंडन before us enables us to make the following observations :—

(1) The work मारुतमंडन is avowedly composed in defence of the Madhva doctrine by its author वनमालिन् as expressly stated in the oft-repeated verse "मंडने मध्वतंत्रस्य etc." on folios 36, 42, 46, 50, 52.

(2) The later limit to the date of मारुतमंडन is *A. D. 1685* in which year the present MS of this work was copied.

(3) The reference to मनोरमा on folio 57 (No. 31 in the above list) needs to be identified. If it is identified with the प्रौढमनोरमा of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (Between A. D. 1560 and 1620) we may easily fix up वनमालिन् *between say A. D. 1600 and 1685.*

(4) The न्यायामृत[1] mentioned on folio 7 (No. 25 of the list of

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[1] Vide p. 172 of *Adyar Sanskrit MSS Cata.* Part II (1928)–"न्यायामृत सौगन्ध्यम् वनमालिकृत — 26 D 26 ग्र 86 अस (शिथिलम्)" — Perhaps this may be a work of the author of मारुतमण्डन.

references) is possibly identical with the न्यायामृत of व्यास-तीर्थ of the Madhva school; he died in *A. D. 1533* (vide p. 753 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937). Prof. B. N. K. Sarma assigns व्यासतीर्थ to the period *A. D. 1478–1539* (*NIA*, II, p. 659).

(5) The न्यायसुधा or सुधा quoted several times in the work (No. 26 of the list) is possibly identical with the न्यायसुधा (a commentary on the अनुव्याख्यान of आनंदतीर्थ) by जयतीर्थ, who flourished *between A. D. 1366 and 1389* (see p. 394 of मध्य-युगीन चरित्रकोश).

(6) The तात्पर्यचन्द्रिका (No. 21 of the list) is possibly identical with the तात्पर्यचन्द्रिका of व्यासतीर्थ which is a commentary on the तत्त्वप्रकाशिका of जयतीर्थ. This तत्त्वप्रकाशिका (No. 24 of the list) is a commentary on the ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य of आनन्दतीर्थ.

(7) Owing to the loss of the 1st folio of the MS of the मारुत-मण्डन I am unable to say what information it contained about the author and his work. In my analysis of the MS I have indicated several verses quoted by Vanamālin during the course of his polemical discussion. Though incorrectly written, these verses are good composition but I cannot say if they are Vanamālin's own composition or his teacher's. On folios 3 and 4 he refers to his teacher as "अस्मदाचार्य", who needs to be identified. Perhaps the first folio now missing in our MS may have contained a reference to this आचार्य.

(8) I have reserved for another paper a study of the other works of our Vanamālin, some MSS of which have been traced by me in the Govt. MSS library at the B.O.R. Institute. In three[1] of these works Vanamālin refers to his teacher as मरुत् in the expressions "आचार्यान् श्रीमरुन्मुख्यान्" "मरुतमाचार्य" and "मरुदंश." Perhaps the name "मारुत-मण्डन" of the present work may contain a reference to this teacher मरुत्.

In view of the data collected above I am inclined to assign वनमालिन्, the author of the मारुतमण्डन, to the period, *A.D. 1575-1650*.

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1. These works are :—(1) अद्वैतसिद्धिखण्डन, (2) श्रुतिसिद्धान्तदीपिका (MS dated *A. D. 1692*) and (3) भगवद्गीता टीका.

The न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्यम् (Adyar MS) may be our author's work. The Adyar MS of the work needs to be examined with a view to proving this suggestion.

31. The So-called Manuscript of the Advaita-Siddhikhaṇḍana mentioned by Aufrecht and its Identification with the Nyāyāmṛta-Saugandhya of Vanamālin — Between A. D. 1575 & 1650 *

Aufrecht makes the following entries about a work called the अद्वैतसिद्धिखण्डन :—

C C I, 10 "अद्वैतसिद्धिखण्डन by वनमालिन् Bhr. 668. C C I, 549 — "वनमालिन् अद्वैतसिद्धिखण्डन"

The only MS of this work recorded by Aufrecht in the above entries is "*Bhr. 668*" which is identical with MS *No. 668 of* 1882–83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is written on country paper (9 lines to a page and 38 letters to a line). The size of each folio is :— 10¼" × 4¼". The arrangement of the folios in the MS is as follows :—

Folio 1 and Folios 43 to 269 (last folio) comprise the old original copy written in thick black letters.

Folio 2 to 33 are inserted by a later writer perhaps to make up the missing folios in the above original. They are written in small characters and are whitish in appearance but eaten up by moths.

Folio 1 is pasted on another blank folio, which is of the same appearance as that of folios 2 to 33. This folio, however, contains the following endorsements :—

" तत्त्वं वेदय वेदगं नरहरे नैषोधिकारीति चेत्
स्तंभादाविरभूः कुतो सुरतमश्चंद्रांशुतामाश्रिते: ॥
द्रोहेणापि न ते स्मरत्ययमतो नेहानुकंपेति चेत्
तत्किं त्वं न तदीश यद्यनिशं स्नेहादितः स्मर्यंते ॥३-०॥श्री॥"

Underneath the above writing but with letters inverted we find the following endorsement :—

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* *Mahārāval Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Dungarpur, 1950, pp. 288–293.

" अथ वनमालीविरचितअद्वैतसिद्धिखण्डन-
माध्वशास्त्रीय सौगंध्यग्रंथ तृटितक्रयक्रीतशाके
१७४२ ॥ श्री ॥ "

The handwriting of both the above endorsements is identical with that of folios 2 to 33. It would appear, therefore, that these folios 2 to 33 were written and inserted by the owner of the MS, who purchased this MS in an incomplete condition in Śaka 1742 (= A. D. 1820) as stated in the endorsement "ग्रंथ तृटितक्रयक्रीत-शाके १७४२."

Folio 1 begins as follows :—

" श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः श्रीमदानंदतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्येभ्यो नमः श्रीवनमालिदासगुरुभ्यो नमः

सकलनिगमवाच्यो हेयशून्यो गुणाब्धि-
र्भवजलधितितीर्षु ज्ञेयमूर्तिर्मुकुंदः ।
भवमतिगतपुंभिः प्राप्य धामाखिलेशः
स्फुरतु स हृदये मे सुप्रसन्नो हयास्यः ॥ १ ॥

ज(ग)दुदयलयादीन् दोषहीनोविधत्ते
भ्रमति निखिलविश्वं यस्य शक्त्यैकदेशे ।
अणुक...वनवाक्षे नं तथा रस्य विष्णोः
स कृपयतु सदा नो गोपसूनुर्मुकुंदः ॥ २ ॥

कृतनिगमविभागं केशवांशं मुनीन्द्रं
यतिगुरु मरुदंशं देशिकाचार्यवर्यं ।
कुमतवनकृशानू श्रीजयव्यासतीर्थौ
प्रणमति वनमाली तत्प्रसादैककामः ॥ ३ ॥

श्रीमध्वशास्त्रदुग्धाब्धे न्यायामृतं यदुत्थितम् ।
श्री व्यते तस्य सौगंध्यं[1]......स्य शुश्रुत्सया ॥ ४ ॥

आत्मा वारे द्र......"

The MS ends on folio 269 as follows :—

" किंच त्वदुक्तार्थो न प्रकाश इति सविशेष स्वप्रकाशस्वरूपभिन्ने तथास्तु भासमाने सुखादिस्फुरणेन प्रकाशते राम श्रीराम "

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1. Vide p. 172 of *Cata. of Sanskrit MSS*, Adyar Library, Pt. II, 1928 — " न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्यम् — वनमालिकृतम्
26D 26 ग्र 86 अस (शिथिलम्) "

The above extracts give us the following particulars about the author and his work :—

(1) The author bows to god नृसिंह, आनंदतीर्थ (= मध्वाचार्य) and one वनमालिदासगुरु at the beginning of the MS.

(2) In *verse* 1 he bows to god Gaṇeśa (हयास्य).

(3) In *verse* 2 he invokes the favour of god मुकुंद.

(4) In *verse* 3 he bows to his preceptor मरुत् who is called यतिगुरु and देशिकाचार्यवर्य्य. He also invokes the blessings of जयतीर्थ and व्यासतीर्थ. The name of the author is वनमाली.

(5) *Verse* 5 gives us the title of the work, which is न्यायामृत-सौगन्ध्य.[1] This title is in agreement with the following verse found on folio 23 :—

" सामान्यतो हि मिथ्यात्वभंजनं माथिभंजनं ।
श्रीन्यायामृतसौगन्ध्ये श्राविते वनमालिना ॥ "

In the margins of folios 2 to 33 the name of the work is recorded as "सौगन्ध्यं." On folio 33 occurs the endorsement "अद्वैत-सिद्धिखंडन वनमालीमिश्रीय". Perhaps this endorsement is responsible for the title "अद्वैतसिद्धिखंडन" recorded in the catalogue of 1882-83 collection to which this MS belongs.

These verses are identical with verses 3 and 4 of the B. O. R.I. MS *No.* 668 *of* 1882-83, which is evidently a MS of न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य.

Besides the references (on folio 1) to जयतीर्थं, व्यासतीर्थ, मरुदंश गुरु (author's preceptor) the work mentions the following authors and works :—

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1. Aufrecht (C C III, 67) records the following MS of न्यायामृत-सौगन्ध्य :—"न्यायामृत Vedānta by व्यासतीर्थ — Comm. न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य by वन-मालिमिश्र H. z. 1541, p. 147"

"Hz 1541" = MS No. 1541 in the *list of Sanskrit MSS* by Hultzsch (Report No. 1. 1895). This MS contained only 8 leaves. The beginning of this MS as given on p. 147 of the Report reads as follows :—

" कृतानिगमविभागं केशवांशं मुनीद्रं । यतिगुरुमरुदंशदेशिकाचार्य्यवर्य्यं
कुमतवनकृशानुः श्री नयं व्यासतीर्थं । प्रणमति वनमाली तत्प्रसादैककामः
श्रीमध्वशास्त्रदुग्धाब्धेर्यन्न्यायामृतमुत्थितं ।
श्राव्यते तस्य सौगन्ध्यं स्वश्रुतस्य बुभुत्सया ॥ "

(1) आचार्यवचसः, 10
(2) तत्त्वप्रदीपिका, 10, 254 (तत्त्वप्रदीप)
(3) शून्यवादिभिः, 12

Folio 21 "इति मिथ्यात्वनिरुक्तिभंगः समाप्तः"

(4) पातंजलसूत्र, 22
ब्रह्ममीमांसाधिकारणेषु, 23

Folio 23 "इति सामान्यतो मिथ्यात्वभं (गः समाप्तः)"

(5) ब्रह्मपुराण, 23

Folio 27 "इति दृश्यत्वभंगः"

Folio 29 "इति जडत्वभंगः"

(6) आनंदबोध, 30
(7) आचार्याशयात्, 31
(8) मंडनोक्तेः, 43
(9) आकाशाधिकरणे, 56
(10) गौडमीमांसक, 56, 185
(11) नव्यमीमांसकैः, 56, 133
(12) बौद्धधिकारे, 62, 125, 156
(13) शाबरभाष्ये, 63, 65 (शबरवाक्यं), 70, 178 (शबरस्वामिना), 234
(14) कुसुमांजली, 65
(15) टुपृटीकायां, 70
(16) शास्त्रदीपिका, 70
(17) पाणिनेः, 71
(18) विवरणे, 78, 253
(19) पक्षधरामिश्रैः, 81
(20) बौद्धं प्रति वार्त्तिके, 84

Folio 85 — "इति भाविबाधकशंकाभंगः"

(21) हरिवंश, 91, 256
(22) प्रत्यक्षदीधितौ, 99

Folio 109 — "इति विशेषतो मिथ्यात्वानुभंगः"

(23) वार्त्तिके (बौद्धं प्रति), 125
(24) खंडने, 130, 131, 199
(25) महाभाष्ये, 162, 188, 207, 209, 211, 224

Folio 172 — "इति प्रतिकमव्यवस्थं भंगः श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः श्री लक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय नमः"

(26) वार्तिककारैः, 192

Folio 203—"इति द्वैतप्रत्यक्षस्याद्वैतश्रुतिबाधकत्वे खंडनभंगः श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः"

(27) बृहदारण्यके, 203, 210, 212

(28) अमर, 206, 211 (अमरव्याख्यायाम्)

(29) कैय्यट, 206

(30) पदमंजर्याम्, 206

(31) गीतायाम् 208, (many verses from the *Gītā* have been quoted throughout the work)

(32) "तार्किकभाट्टरीत्या", 210

(33) काठके, 210, 212

(34) न्यायविदः, 211

(35) मणिवाक्य, 213

(36) वैशेषिकमत, 217

(37) भारते, 217

(38) जैमिनीसूत्रे, 222

(39) वाचस्पतिना, 225

Folio 244 — "इति एकजीवमतभंगः श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः"

Folio 252 — "इति अज्ञाने प्रत्यक्षत्वभंगः श्री नृसिंहाय नमः"

(40) विष्णुपुराण, 258

(41) निघंटोक्तेः, 258

Folio 265 — "इति अविद्यायाश्चिन्मात्राश्रितत्वभंगः श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः"

It is clear from the evidence recorded above that the present MS *No.* 668 *of* 1882–83 is a MS of न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य (of वनमालीमिश्र) of which two other MSS have been noticed by me in this paper viz. (1) the MS described by Hultzsch and (2) the MS mentioned in the Adyar library catalogue. Evidently the title अद्वैतसिद्धिखंडन as applied to this MS is not correct.

Vanamālin mentions पक्षधरमिश्र on folio 81 of the MS. In the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* (Poona, 1937) p. 753, we are told that व्यासतीर्थ (died A.D. 1533) had a controversy with पक्षधरमिश्र. According to Dr. S. K. De[1] the date of पक्षधर is uncertain. According to Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan (*Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 455–56) पक्षधर belongs to the *last quarter of the 13th century* (i.e. *Between A. D.* 1275 & 1300). Gopinath Kaviraj (*Sarswati Bhawan Studies*, IV, pp. 62 f.) shifts this date to the "*3rd quarter of the 15th century*" (i.e., *Between A. D.* 1450 and 1475. If this date is correct

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1. Vide foot note 3 on p. 64 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942.

it will have to be reconciled with the period (*A. D.* 1478–1539) to which व्यासतीर्थ has been assigned by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma.[1] जीवगोस्वामिन् who composed works[2] in *A. D.* 1555, 1589 and 1592, states that he has taken some passages[3] from व्यासतीर्थ. This fact harmonises chronologically with the period of व्यासतीर्थ viz. *A. D.* 1478–1539 fixed up by Dr. B. N. K. Sarma.

The work प्रत्यक्षदीधिति mentioned on folio 99 by Vanamālin is possibly a section of the तत्त्वचिंतामणिदीधिति of रघुनाथशिरोमणि (*A. D.* 1477–1547) the great logician of Nudia – p. 676 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa.*

From the chronology recorded above the present work of Vanamālin viz. न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य is definitely later than A. D. 1550. This very Vanamālin composed a vigorous defence of the मध्वतंत्र in a work called the मारुतमण्डन on which I have written a special paper.[4] The rare MS of this work at the B. O. R. Institute viz. *No.* 718 *of* 1882–83 is dated *Saṁvat* 1741 = *A. D.* 1685. In a verse at the end of this work the author Vanamālin informs us that he belonged to a Brahmin family of the *Bharadvāja gotra*, living at a place not far removed from Vṛndāvana (in the U. P.). On folio 7 of the MS of the मारुतमण्डन the author mentions न्यायामृत and on folio 4 he mentions तात्पर्यचंद्रिका. Both these works were composed by व्यासतीर्थ (*A. D.* 1478–1539).

In view of the above evidence we may assign the न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य of Vanamālin to the period *A.D.* 1575–1650. This Vanamālin appears to have composed श्रुतिसिद्धांतदीपिका (B. O. R. I. MS dated *A. D.* 1692) and a commentary on the भगवद्गीता, not to say भक्तिरत्नाकर, a MS of which has been described by Hultzsch in his *Report I*, pp. 56 and 129 (extract). All these three works need to be studied separately with a view to collecting data bearing on the personality of the author and his literary career. Besides the five works of our V*anamālin* viz. (1) न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य, (2) मारुतमण्डन, (3) श्रुतिसिद्धांत-दीपिका, (4) भगवद्गीता टीका and (5) भक्तिरत्नाकर there may be many more, which can be proved to be the works of this author. Aufrecht re-

1. Vide p. 659 of Vol. II of *New Indian Antiquary.*

2. Vide p. 122 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith* etc.

3. Ibid p. 312.

4. "Mārutamaṇḍana by Vanamālin and its Date (Between A. D. 1575 and 1650)".

cords several authors of the name वनमालिन् separately, with a work or two to the credit of each. We must, therefore, examine each of these works and prove its authorship on the strength of internal and external evidence. In the present paper I have only examined the so-called MS of the अद्वैतसिद्धिखंडन in the Govt. MSS library at the B. O. R. Institute and proved it to be identical with न्यायामृतसौगन्ध्य of Vanamālin, represented by at least two other MSS elsewhere.

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32. Vidyāvilāsa, a Commentary on the Siddhānta-Kaumudī by Śivarāma Tripāṭhin — Between A. D. 1700 and 1775 *

Aufrecht[1] records many commentaries on *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (c. A. D. 1560–1620). Among these commentaries no mention is made of a commentary called *Vidyāvilāsa* by Śivarāma, a MS of which is available in the collection of the Sanskrit Pathashala at Rajapur in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. I propose in this paper to examine this MS made available to me by my learned friend Shri Raghunatha Sastri Patankar of Rajapur.

About *Vidyāvilāsa* Aufrecht makes the following entry :—

CC I, 575 — "विद्याविलास by Śivarāma. Mentioned by him in his *Lakṣmīnivāsābhidhāna* L. 723."[2]

CC III, 121 — "विद्याविलास by Śivarāma, See *Kaumudī-Vidyāvilāsa*."

CC III, 28 — "कौमुदीविद्याविलास" or विद्याविलास, gr. by Śivarāma, As, p. 51."

It appears that the work on grammar of the name "कौमुदीविद्याविलास" or विद्याविलास by शिवराम mentioned by Aufrecht is identical with the विद्याविलास commentary by शिवराम on the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* represented by the Rajapur MS before me. I am un-

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* *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XV, Part 2, pp. 62–67.

1. See *Cata Catalogorum* I, p. 718; II, pp. 171–172; III, p. 148.

2. See description of MS No. 723 on pages 136–137 of Vol. II. *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* by R. Mitra, Calcutta. In this description of a MS of लक्ष्मीनिवासाभिधान which is a Sanskrit Vocabulary in verse of words formed with the Uṇādi affixes, the author शिवराम, son of कृष्णराम and grandson of त्रिलोकचन्द्र, refers to विद्याविलास and other works composed by him in the following verses at the end of Ms :—

" काव्यानि पञ्चनुतयो युगसम्मिताश्च टीकास्त्रयोदश तथैष उणादिकोषः।
भूपालभूषणमथो रसरत्नहारो विद्याविलास इनपूर्वफलाक्तिरब्दे ॥ ३१ ॥
ग्रन्थान् मया विरचितान्परिशीलयन्तु । etc. "

able to examine Aufrecht's entry "As, p. 51" as the list of MSS represented by it is not available to me.

The Rajapur MS of *Vidyāvilāsa* consists of 17 folios (size :— 9½ inches × 3¾ inches ; about 7 lines on each page, each line containing about 39 letters). The MS begins as follows :—

" श्री ।। रामत्रयीव या वेद्या शिवनेत्रत्रयीव या ।
विशुद्धये मम गिरो भवतास्सा मुनित्रयी ।। १ ।।

यत्कार्यार्थमुपादानं स्पष्टं तज्ज्ञायते बुधैः ।
केचित्कृत्प्रत्ययैः सिद्धास्तद्धितैरपि केचन ।। २ ।।

समासैश्च तिङा शब्दा अव्युत्पन्नाश्च केचन ।
नैवोपयोगो व्युत्पत्तेर्ग्रन्थ एवाखिलं यतः ।। ३ ।।

पदकृत्यं शास्त्रबाधो निवृत्त्यधिकृती तथा ।
परिभाषाविचारोपि कृतत्वात्क्रियते न हि ।। ४ ।।

अर्थस्तु नोक्तः सर्वत्र तेनासौ लिख्यते मया ।
कोशकाव्यादिसं...त्या यथालाभं यथामति ।। ५ ।।

एकत्र लिखितो योर्थो यः प्रसिद्धतरस्तथा ।
प्रतीयते विग्रहाद्यैः सोर्थो नात्र विलिख्यते ।। ६ ।।

विद्याविलासः कौमुद्यां शिवरामविनिर्मितः ।
तनोतु विबुधानन्दं कृष्णरासविलासवत् ।। ७ ।।

काव्यानि पञ्च नुतयो युगसंमिताश्च
टीकास्त्रयोदश चैक उणादिकोशः ।
भूपालभूषणमथो रसरत्नहारो
विद्याविलास इनपूर्वफलाक्षिरब्दे[1] ।। ८ ।।

ग्रन्थान्मया विरचितान्परिशीलयन्तु
शीलान्विताः सुमनसो मनसो मुदे मे ।
यद्वह्निशोधितमनल्परुचा समेतं
जाम्बूनदं......मौल्यविशेषलभ्यम् ।। ९ ।।

ननु नौपयिकं चेदं यत्प्राचीनोक्तिखण्डनम् ।
सालातुरीय एवाह तदशिष्यमिति स्फुटम् ।। १० ।।

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1. Lines 1 and 2 of stanza 8, though scratched out in the MS and corrected, are legible. They read as follows :—

" स्तोत्रय(त्रयं ?) रुचिरकाव्यचतुष्टयं च ।
टीकाद्वयाधिक(द)शैक उणादिकोशः ।। "

तस्याप्युक्तौ वररुचिर्गोनर्दीयस्तदुक्तिषु ।
अमुंक्रमं समालोच्य जनः सर्वः प्रवर्तते ॥ ११ ॥ "

The Ms is not complete. It ends as follows on folio 17*b* :—

" ......अष्टापदं । द्यूतफलकं । सुवर्णं वा । माषकुम्भवापेन । क्षेत्रविशेषणं । द्रोणाढकादि वापवत् । चतुरङ्गयोगेन सैन्ययोगेन । "

Besides his own works mentioned by Śivarāma in stanzas 7 and 8 quoted above he refers to the following works and authors in the portion of his commentary covered up by the fragment of the MS before me :—

1. शब्देन्दुशेखर — fol. 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15.
2. नागेश (son of सतीदेवी and शिवभट्ट) — (author of शब्देन्दुशेखर) — fol. 2.
3. मनोरमा — fol. 2, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15.
4. नन्दिकेश्वरकारिकायाम् — fol. 2.
5. दीक्षित वार्त्तिककार — (= Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita) — fol. 5.
6. वार्तिकार — fol. 6.
7. कौस्तुभे — fol. 7, (" कौस्तुभग्रंथः चिन्त्यः ") 13.
8. शब्दरत्ने — fol. 7, 15.
9. परिभाषेन्दुशेखरे — fol. 8, 9, 12, 15.
10. वृत्तरत्नाकर — fol. 8.
11. मार्कण्डेयपुराणोक्त सप्तशतीपाठकर्त्ता — fol. 12.
12. कालिदास — fol. 15.
13. अमरः — fol. 15.
14. माघः — fol. 15.

As Śivarāma mentions Nāgeśa (or Nāgojibhaṭṭa) and his works in his *Vidyāvilāsa* commentary on the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita he is chronologically later than Nāgeśa, who is assigned to the period A. D. 1700-1750 by Shri Chitrav Shastri.[1]

The identity of Śivarāma, the author of *Vidyāvilāsa* represented by the Rajpur MS before me, with Śivarāma, the author of the Sanskrit vocabulary *Lakṣmīnivāsābhidhāna* (MS described by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Notices*, Vol. II, pp. 136-137) is cleary proved by the following evidence :—

(1) *Stanzas 8 and 9* which refer to the author's works in the

1. *Vide* p. 482 of *Madyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937.

beginning of the *Vidyāvilāsa* (Rajapur MS) are identical with *Stanzas 31 and 32* in the colophon of *Lakṣmīnivāsābhidhāna* (MS described by R. Mitra).

(2) *Śivarāma* is the name of the author of the *Vidyāvilāsa* as also that of the vocabulary *Lakṣmīnivāsābhidhāna*.

(3) The work "कौमुदीविद्याविलास" or "विद्याविलास" on grammar mentioned by Aufrecht (*CC III*, 28) is identical with विद्याविलास commentary on the सिद्धांतकौमुदी (represented by the Rajapur MS). In fact the Rajapur MS (Stanza 7) refers to the author शिवराम and his "कौमुदीविद्याविलास" in the following line :—

" विद्याविलासः कौमुद्यां शिवरामविनिर्मितः । "

Śivarāma, the author of *Vidyāvilāsa* commentary, is better known as Śivarāma Tripāṭhin. Aufrecht makes the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogourm* about his works :—

CC I, *p*. 652—"शिवराम त्रिपाठिन् elder brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma, and Keśavarāma, son of Kṛṣṇarāma, grandson of Trilokacandra. He quotes the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* in the *Lakṣmīvilāsa* 9, which suffices to place him in the beginning of the 18th Century.

(Works)—काञ्चनदर्पण वासवदत्ताटीका
—कादम्बरीटीका
—काव्यलक्ष्मीप्रकाश
—दशकुमारचरितभाष्य
—नक्षत्रमाला and its commentary लक्ष्मीविलास
—भूपालभूषण
—रसरत्नहार
—लक्ष्मीनिवासाभिधान उणादिकोश
—विद्याविलास
—विषमपदी काव्यप्रकाशटीका"

Dr. S. K. De in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. 1 (1923), p. 318 makes some remarks on Śivarāma Tripāṭhin. I may note some points from these remarks :—

(1) *Śivarāma's works* : (i) रसरत्नहार and its commentary (ed. Kāvyamāla, pt. 6, 1890, pp. 118-140). (ii) अलंकारसमुद्गक cited at the end of his रावणपुरवध, where he gives a list of his 34 works. (iii) वासवदत्ताटीका (ed. Bib. Indica) where he refers to his रसरत्नहार. (iv) विषमपदी टीका on Mammaṭa's

काव्यप्रकाश (See Kielhorn's *Central Prov. Cata.*, p. 104), (v) काव्यलक्ष्मीप्रकाश, a work on metrics.

(2) *Date* — He quotes *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* and, therefore, may be placed in the *beginning of the 18th century*.

(3) About this author see *JAOS*, XXIV, 57-63.

In view of the evidence recorded in this paper it is clear that Śivarāma, the author of the *Vidyāvilāsa* commentary on the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, is identical with Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, the author of many Sanskrit works recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

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33. Sanskrit and Hindi Works of Mahārāja Viśvanāthasiṁha of Rewah — Between A. D. 1813 and 1854 *

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries about a royal author of the name Viśvanāthasiṁha or Viśvanāthasiṁha-deva :—

CC I, 585 — " विश्वनाथसिंह or विश्वनाथसिंहदेव an officer of सीतारामचन्द्रबहादूर and pupil of प्रियदास :—

— रामगीताटीका[1]

— रामचन्द्राह्निक and Comm.[2]

— राममन्त्रार्थनिर्णय[3]

— वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य[4]

— सर्वसिद्धान्त " [5]

About the so-called "सीतारामचंद्रबहादूर" referred to in the above entries by Aufrecht we find the following entries in the *Catalogorum* :—

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* *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-12.

1. *CC I, 510* — " रामगीता टीका. Oudh X, 22. "

2. *CC I, 553* — " रामचन्द्राह्निक and Comm. by विश्वनाथसिंह L. 73; Oudh V, 30 XIII, 10.

3. *CC I, 518* — " राममन्त्रार्थनिर्णय — Oudh, V, 28, XV, 128. "

4. *CC I, 385* — " वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य — Rādhāvallabha doctrine by विश्वनाथसिंह. Oudh, 1876, 24. "

5. *CC I, 702-3* — " सर्वसिद्धान्त — a dialogue between राजकुमार विश्वनाथसिंह and भिक्षुकाचार्य on the divinity and worship of राम —
   —L. 2329
   —Oudh III, 20; V, 24 ; XIII, 98, 111
   —Oppert 6269"

None of the above MSS is available to me for examination. I shall, therefore, base my evidence in this paper on the description of some of these MSS as found recorded in the Catalogues.

CC I, 723 "राजबहादूर सीतारामचंद्र, patron of विश्वनाथसिंह (रामचन्द्र-चम्पू) L. 73"

Aufrecht has not identified either "सीतारामचंद्रबहादूर or विश्वनाथ-सिंहदेव." I shall, therefore, try to examine Aufrecht's entries and try to identify these persons.

In June 1945 Dr. C. K. Raja of the Madras University gave me an extract[1] from the MS of संगीतरत्नाकरव्याख्या called संगीतसेतु available in the Alwar Darbar Library (No. 4628-33). Dr. Raja asked me to study this extract and fix the date of the author and his patron.

The extract from the Alwar MS of the संगीतसेतु supplied by Dr. Raja gives us the following points for verification :—

(1) The author of the work was one गंगाराम, son of तुलाराम of माथुरकुल.

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1. This extract reads as follows :—

'जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी कुलपतिर्यानादभूमीश्वरी
यासादिखरनूपुरा रणितयुक्तानोद्भवालापगीः ।
ग्रामादित्रिकसप्तकावृतिमयी मूर्च्छासमुच्छ्रापगा
सा श्रीचक्रमयी शतश्रुतिगणाहूता विदेहात्मजा ॥ १ ॥

ईदृक् तद्दासवर्यः क्षितितलपतिभृन्नैवजातो न भावी
योऽयं विश्वाधिनाथः सरिगमपधनी लापसंलापनाढ्यः ।
श्रुत्योरेवं श्रुतीनां गणमणिलषितः सक्तधी ग्रामकूटे
जूटे तानात्मकेऽसौ स इह विजयते रागरूपो नृपेन्द्रः ॥ २ ॥

तदाज्ञयाहं करवाणि सेतुं संगीतसिन्धो व्रजभाषयैव
तत्रासहायस्य सहायवन्ते भवन्तु सन्तः प्रियदासवर्याः ॥ ३ ॥

सहन्तु तेऽति साहसं कुलालिचक्रकानने ।
उपस्थितं विमर्शनात् स्वरादिवातसंक्रमे ॥ ४ ॥

श्रीगुरुचरणसरोजे ध्यात्वा सेतूपरिस्थितोऽपि
गंगारामेति संज्ञः कुर्वेरीमे सप्रीत्याहं ।
माथुरमणिकुलजन्मा जिज्ञासूनां विनोदाय
तद्वत्संगीतज्ञमतमनुकलयन् सुबोधाय ॥ ५ ॥

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजा-श्रीराजबहादूर-सीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारि विश्वनाथसिंहदेव-तदाज्ञाप्रयुक्त श्रीमाथुरकुलमणि-तुलारामगर्भसमुद्भूत-गंगारामकृत संगीतसेतौ......"

(2) The patron of our author was King विश्वाधिनाथ or विश्वनाथ-सिंहदेव who was a lover of music.

(3) विश्वनाथसिंहदेव is described in the colophon as "महाराजाधिराज" and "श्रीराजाबहादूर." He is further described by the epithet "सीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारी", which suggests that he was a devotee of god सीतारामचन्द्र. सीता is referred to in verse 1 of the extract as "राघवसुन्दरी" and "विदेहात्मजा."

(4) The work संगीतसेतु was composed in व्रजभाषा by our author by the order of विश्वनाथसिंहदेव as stated in verse 3 at the beginning.

(5) In verse 3 at the beginning of the work our author makes a respectful reference to one प्रियदास who needs to be identified.

Before proceeding to record evidence on the points mentioned above let us see if we can trace any other MS of the संगीतसेतु of गंगाराम in our published catalogues of MSS. Fortunately for us there is a complete MS of this work in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore. In the description of this MS the editor of the Tanjore MSS Catalogue observes as follows :—

"*Saṅgītaratnākaravyākhyā-Setu* — A Hindi Commentary. Though the text of Śārṅgadeva is published this Commentary is not published. As this author says this work is written in *Vraja-bhāṣā* or a north Indian Dialect. This commentary is called *Saṅgīta-setu* and as the author says, is written at the bidding of a prince called *Viśvanāthasiṁha Sudeva*. He mentions his father's name as one *Tulārām* belonging to a family residing in Muttra. The MS in this library represents the commentary on all the seven chapters." (The entire commentary is represented by MSS Nos. 10754 to 10782 — *Vide* Pp. 7282–7283 of Vol. XVI of the *Tanjore MSS Catalogue*).

No MSS of the several Sanskrit works ascribed to *Viśvanātha-siṁhadeva* by Aufrecht are available to me. I shall, therefore,

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1. Vide p. 7279 of Vol. XVI of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore MSS — No. 10754* (*Burnell's Catalogue.* No. 6598 *a* (Page 59) sheets 102 — *Begins* ; — जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी etc and *Ends* :—

"इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजबहादूरसीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारविश्वनाथ-सिंहसुदेवतदाज्ञाप्रयुक्तश्रीमाथुरकुलमणितुलारामगर्भसमुत्पन्नगङ्गारामकृतसङ्गीतसेतौ स्वहा(स्वरग)ताध्यायः प्रथमः समाप्तिमगमत् तदेतद्विदुषां शुभं भूयात् ॥"

cord below the description of the MSS of two Sanskrit works of this royal author as given by Rajendralal Mitra :—

(1) रामचन्द्रचम्पू with टीका (MS *No.* 73 described by R. Mitra on p. 41 of *Notices*, Calcutta, 1871, Vol. I) — A romance on the life of Rāma and his consort Sītā, by *Viśvanāthasiṁha* — folios 43 — Country paper — MS belongs to Babu Hariścandra of Benares.

The MS begins :— " शक्तिर्येषा न पुंसां भवति न कविता लोकशास्त्राद्यवेक्षां। नैपुण्यं चैव नैवाभ्यसनमपि तथा शिक्षया काव्यगानाम्। काव्य कुर्वन्ति तेऽपि प्रभुरगुणयुतं यत्कृपातो लभन्ते। प्रेमाणं चालम्यं तदवनितनयापादपद्मं नमामि।"

The MS ends :— " विश्वनाथानुभूतोदितं ध्यानं हान्त भवबन्धजालं। इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीराजबहादूरसीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारी विश्वनाथसिंहभूदेवविरचितरामचन्द्राह्निकटीकायामष्टमो यमः"

The above extract clearly proves the identity of the author of this Sanskrit work with his name-sake mentioned in the Hindi work viz. the संगीतसेतु already described by me on the strength of the extracts from the Alwar and Tanjore MSS of this work. This Sanskrit work रामचंद्रान्हिक with commentary gives us the following particulars :—

(i) Its author is King विश्वनाथसिंहदेव.

(ii) In the colophon he is called "महाराजाधिराज", "राजबहादूर" and "सीतारामचंद्रकृपापात्राधिकारी." These epithets are invariably mentioned in the colophons of the MSS of the Hindi works of our author like the संगीतसेतु and others.

(2) सर्वसिद्धांत — A MS of this Sanskrit work is described by Mitra in his *Notices*, Vol. VII, Calcutta, 1884, Pp. 99-100 — *No. 2329*, folios 85, Extent 3300 ślokas. This work is described as "an essay on the divinity of Rāmacandra and the truth of the dual theory of the elder Vedānta. By *Rāja Kumāra Viśvanāthasiṁha*."

The MS begins :—

" सान्द्रानन्दसुधाम्बुधेरुदयभूः सत्यप्रतिज्ञावशी। प्रायेशाप्रतिपादकोपनिषदां प्रामाण्यमेव स्वयं।
सीतालक्ष्मणवायुसूनुसहितः सर्व्वेश्वरेशो विभुर्ज्ञानाधद्भुतभूरिशक्तिरवतु श्रीरामचन्द्रः स नः॥

शक्तिः संविदसौ हरेः प्रणयिणी जाड्यं हरन्तां नृणां । मुक्ताकुन्द + + न्दुकम्बुमिहिका कर्पूरकान्तद्युतिः ।
वीणावादनहर्षितार्त्तजगती हस्ताक्षमालामतिंहसीव प्रतिगाहतामविरतं मे मानसं भारती ॥

व्यासव्यासक्तचित्तप्रथितहरिगुणानर्थधारावगाहं । सद्यो या लेखितुं ताननुपममसृणं मोदकं मातृदत्तं ।

शुण्डाग्रे सन्दधानस्त्रुटितरदरयो विघ्नराजो मदीयं । प्रत्यूहं काण्डमस्मिन् हरतु दुरि.......वमानोदरीयं ॥

पतितोद्धृतिमहिमानः सदयहृदयप्रियादासगुरुचरणाः । विश्वनाथ-हृदयस्थमनसिद्धान्तं तन्वते स्वयमेव ॥

श्री महाराजकुमार विश्वनाथसिंहदेव भवात्रर्म्मितभाषाप्रबन्धरामायणप्रतिपादितश्रीरामपरत्वपर्य्यालोचनया बुद्धिमत् प्रवराग्रगणनीय–समधिगतसमस्तवेदान्ततत्वभवदमात्य-श्रीमद्भोदूलालसततप्रतिपादिता द्वैतमतपर्य्यालोचनया इत्यादि । ''

The MS ends :—

" चन्द्रलालोऽनिरुद्धो वै युग्मभक्तिप्रवर्त्तकः ।
यतः श्रीराधिकाकृष्णकृपापात्रं हि मद्वपुः ॥

गुरूत्तमस्य केशस्य त्वियं शुद्धा परम्परा ।
तनोतु मङ्गलान्याशु प्रियदासनिरूपिता ॥

तस्य शिष्योऽस्मदाचार्य्यः परमानन्दरूपवान् ।
भुवने श्रीप्रियादासो नित्यं तस्मै नमो नमः ॥

इति श्रीगुरुपरम्परा—इति श्रीसर्वसिद्धान्ते श्रीमहाराजकुमारश्रीविश्वनाथसिंहविरचिते भिक्षुकाचार्य्यसंवादे पञ्चमः सिद्धान्तः । समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः ॥ "

We get the following information from the above extracts :—

(1) The author of this work was विश्वनाथसिंहदेव who is called "श्रीमहाराजकुमार" and not "महाराजाधिराज" as in the रामचन्द्रचम्पू and Gaṅgārāma's संगीत(रत्नाकर)सेतु. It appears, therefore, that the सर्वसिद्धांत was composed by our author before his coming to the *gādī*.

(ii) The guru of our author was one प्रियादास (प्रियादासगुरुचरणाः). The *guruparamparā* begins with one चंद्रलाल and ends with प्रियादास.

(iii) When विश्वनाथसिंहदेव was a महाराजकुमार there seems to have been a minister of the name भोदूलाल mentioned as "अमात्यश्रीभोदूलाल" at the bginning of the work.

(iv) One भिक्षुकाचार्य is mentioned in the colophon. We must see if this person is imaginary or historical.

From the data so far recorded it is clear that our author was interested in व्रजभाषा and that by his order and under his patronage Gaṅgārāma composed the संगीतसेतु in व्रजभाषा. प्रियादास mentioned by Gaṅgārāma with respect is evidently identical with प्रियादास the guru of Gaṅgārāma's patron विश्वनाथसिंहदेव. The spiritual genealogy of this *guru* has also been recorded by this author in his Sanskrit work सर्वसिद्धान्त composed by him when he was an heir-apparent, महाराजकुमार.

In view of our author's interest in व्रजभाषा we must see what works in this language were composed by him. In my search for these works, I have found the following *Hindi* works in the catalogues of Hindi MSS available to me :—

(1) Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS*, Allahabad, 1929, makes the following remarks on "*Viśvanātha Siṁha*" :—

P. 117 — "205. Viśvanātha Siṁha Mahārājā of Rewah, who ascended the throne in *1835 A. D.* has written many books of which *Parama Tatva Prakāśa* (a work on yoga and devotion) and *Rāgasāgara* on music have been found in the present search in the Fatehpur district. The first MS is dated *1837 A. D.* which appears to be the date of its composition. The second has no date. Viśvanātha Siṁha[1] was a poet of eminence."

P. 488 — MS No. 205 (a)— परमतत्वप्रकाश by Viśvanātha Siṁhaji, leaves 15, 64 ślokas — Date of composition :—

Saṁvat 1892 (= A. D. 1835). MS ends :— " इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजा श्रीराजाबहादुर सितारामचन्द्र कृपातत्राधिकारि विश्वनाथसिंह जू देवकृत परमतत्वप्रकास ग्रंथ समाप्त etc. "

In the beginning our author refers to his guru प्रियादास :— "जय गनेश हरिगुरु प्रियादास चरण धारि सीस ॥"

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1. विश्वनाथसिंह the Maharaja of Rewa should not be confounded with विश्वनाथ, a Bhāṭ of Biswan (Dist. Sitapur) who composed अलंकारादरस in *A. D. 1815* for one जालिमसिंह and another work अलंकारदर्पन in the same year (Vide pp. 243-244 of *Triennial Report — Hindi MSS*, Allahabad, 1924).

—*MS No. 205* (*b*) — रागसागर by Mahārājā Viśvanātha Simha of Rewā — 6 leaves — 270 *ślokas* — " राग रागिनीयों के वर्नन "

MS Begins — " अथ लिष्यते रागसागरादि महाराज विश्वनाथसिंघ क्रतता चौतारा etc."

(2) Syam Sundar Das in his *Triennial Report* (*Hindi*) MSS, Allahabad, 1912, records the following note on our author :—

Pages 92-93 — " No. 249 — विश्वनाथसिंह महाराज (*1813-1834*) of Rewáh. Besides being a liberal patron of learned men he was himself a good author (See No. 43 of 1900). The following works of his have been found :—

(*a*) उत्तमनीतिचान्द्रिका — An unusually large commentary or the eight *Kabittas* on morals or policy written by himself and named ध्रुवाष्टकनीति. The MS is dated *1847 A. D.*

(*b*) आनंदरघुनंदन नाटक — A dramatic work dealing with the story of Rāma.

(*c*) पाखंडखंडिनी — A commentary on the works of Kabīra Dāsa.

(*d*) ध्रुवाष्टक — A work on morals and policy in prose.

(All these MSS are described on P. 326 of this Report).

(3) The *Triennial Report* (Hindi MSS), 1914 (Allahabad) contains the following remarks about विश्वनाथसिंह :—

Page 23 (*Report*) — "(52) His Highness Maharaja **Viswanatha Simha** of Rewah who from *1813 to 1859* was one of the voluminous authors and 10 of his works have been noticed, only two of which appear to have been known before. I may add that his son and successor Mahārājā **Raghuraja Singha** (*1854-80*) is alone a well-known and voluminous author."

Page 443 — " No. 329 — Viśwanatha Singha, Maharaja of Rewah (*1813-1854*) is one of the voluminous poets of Hindi (See No. 52 in the body of the Report. His ten works have been noticed :—

(*a*) आदिमंगल a commentary on Kabīra's *Bījaka*.

(*b*) बसन्त dealing with god and soul.

(*c*) चौतीशी on Spiritual Knowledge.

(*d*) चौराशी रमैनी — MS dated *1847 A. D.* gloss on the Ramainī of Kathiawar.

(e) कन्हा on spiritual knowledge and precepts, being comments on Kabīra-Dāsa's "*Karhā*."

(f) रामायन — or the Story of Rāma.

(g) शब्द — MS dated *1839 A. D.*, being a commentary on Kabīra's "*Śabda*."

(h) साखी — MS dated *1847 A. D.*, Commentary on Kabīr's "*Sākhī*."

(i) संतशतक — MS dated *1846 A. D.*, on spiritual knowledge, devotion and unworldliness.

(j) विश्वभोजनप्रकाश, on cooking food.

These MSS have been described on pages 444–45. The MS of रामायन (*f*) refers to गुरुप्रियादास. This work was composed when our author was an heir-apparent or महाराजकुमार as the Colophon reads "इति उत्तरकांड रामायण समाप्त श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्री बाबूसाहब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देवकृत ॥." The following MSS describe the author as "महाराजाधिराज श्री महाराजा राजा बहादुर" and hence they were composed when he had come to the *gādī* of Rewa :—

(g) शब्द dated *Saṁvat 1896 = A. D. 1840*.

(h) साखी dated *Saṁvat 1904 = A. D. 1848*.

(i) सांतशतक dated *Saṁvat 1903 = A. D. 1847*.

(j) विश्वभोजनप्रकाश[1] — This is a treatise on cookery (*7030 ślokas*).

(4) The *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS), Allahabad, 1905, contains the following MSS of the works of Viśvanāthasiṁha :—

MS No. 22 — अनुभवपरप्रदर्शनी टीका — Prose and Verse — Annotations on the 12 books of Kabīra Dās by Maharaja Viśvanātha singha of Rewa (*1834 A. D.*). The MS copy was made in Saṁvat 1905 (*1848 A. D.*) — The extracts given in the Catalogue refer to guru प्रियदास and the author as "महाराजाधिराज etc."

MS No. 53 — उत्तमकाव्यप्रकाश — Prose and Verse — 1195 *Ślokas*- A book on Hindi composition with special reference to sarcastic style by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewah. The MS is dated Saṁvat 1896 (*1839 A. D.*) in which year,

1. Cf. भोजनसार (MS No. 1515 of 1891–95) composed by Girdhari in A. D. 1739. This author was a Court-poet of Sevai Jaising of Amber (A. D. 1699–1743).

it appears, the work was also completed. The extracts refer to *guru* प्रियदास and author as "महाराजाधिराज" etc.

MS No. 54 — शांत शतक — Prose and Verse — 2580 *Ślokas* — A book dealing with spiritual subjects by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewah. The book is divided into 3 chapters, dealing with worldly renunciation, spiritual knowledge and final beatitude. The MS is dated Saṁvat 1895 (= *A. D. 1838*) — See No. 53 — The extracts refer to प्रियदास and the author as "महाराजाधिराज" etc.

No. 115 — रामायण (in verse) — 13,448 *ślokas* — 570 folios. — The Story of Rāmacandra's life by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewah (*1840*). The MS is dated Saṁvat 1889 (*1832 A. D.*)

The MS refers to *guru* प्रियादास and the author as "महाराजकुमार श्री बाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव."

No. 172 — गीतरघुनंदन with Commentary — composed in *A. D.* 1832 — MS dated A. D. *1833* (see No. 44 of 1900. The date 1844 given in this note is of the MS and not of the composition of the book).

No. 173 — भजन by Viśvanātha Singha.

(5) *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS) Allahabad, 1903, records the following MSS of the works of Viśvanātha Singha :—

No. 43 — अष्ट याम का आह्निक (in verse) — 34 folios — 210 ślokas — A poem in *Dohā Coupāī* and *Soraṭhā* metre describing the diary of Rāma and Sītā during the 8 watches of one whole day and night, written in Saṁvat 1877 (*1830 A. D.*) by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewah. He was a great patron of poets and during his reign Rewah was one of the centres, where Hindi poets flourished in their greatest brilliancy and whence standard works on Hindi poetry were issued.

No. 44 — गीत रघुनन्दन with टीका प्रमानिका — Prose and Verse — 39 folios — 1432 *ślokas* — A commentary (with text) on गीतरघुनन्दन, a poem regarding Śrī Rāmacandra by one Gosai Jamunādāsa – the author of commentary is Maharaja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewah, who completed it in *Saṁvat 1901* (= *A. D. 1844*) — See No. 43 — The colophon refers to the author of the commentary as "महाराज कुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह."

No. 47 — धनुर्विद्या — (Text and commentary)—Prose and Verse — 22 folios — 495 *ślokas* — by Mahārāja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewah — This is a treatise on the art of using the bow and the arrow — MS dated Saṁvat 1911 (= A. D. *1855*).

No. 48 — परमतत्त्वप्रकाश — Verse — 16 folios — 210 *Ślokas* — A book on the Bhakti (devotion) of God by Maharāja Viśvanātha Singha. (See No. 43) — The Colophon refers to the author as "महाराजाधिराज etc.".

(6) *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS), Allahabad, 1904, records the following MSS of Viśvanātha Singha's works :—

No. 6 — आनन्दरामायण (अयोध्याकाण्ड to उत्तरकाण्ड) — Verse — 250 folios — 14000 *Ślokas* — the story of Śrī Rāmacandra's life in verse. The book is divided into 7 parts, out of which the first part is missing. In the midst of the MS there is an extra page on which is written that the first book consisted of 40 leaves and extended to 2480 *ślokas*. The author of this book is the well-known Maharaja Viśvanātha Singhji of Rewah some of whose works were noticed in the *Report* for 1900. He composed the book before he was installed on the *gaddi*. The dates of the different parts of the MS range between Saṁvat 1880 and 1890 (*1833–1843 A. D.*) — The extracts refer to *guru* प्रियादास and the author as "श्रीबाबूसाहेब विसुनाथसिंघ जू देव."

No. 16 — परमधर्मानिर्णय (प्रथम खण्ड) Verse and Prose — 130 folios — 2730 ślokas — A treatise on Vaiṣṇavism by Maharaja Viśwanātha Singha of Rewāh. It deals in detail with all the forms, ceremonies and beliefs of the Vaiṣṇavas as propounded by the professors of that religion. It is divided into four parts of which three only have been noticed. The MS is dated *Saṁvat 1905* (*1848 A. D.*) — The author refers to his *guru* प्रियदास at the beginning of the work. — In the Colophon the author is called "श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्री-महाराजा श्रीराजाबहादुर सीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारी विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव"—The MS was copied by लाला रामदयाल.

No. 17 — परमधर्मनिर्णय (द्वितीय खण्ड) Verse and prose — 104 folios — 2574 *ślokas* — This part treats of love of God and the expiation of sins.—The MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1905 (*1848 A. D.*) — Colophon similar to the above Colophon of No. 16.

No. 18 — परमधर्मनिर्णय (चतुर्थ खण्ड) — 112 folios— Verse and Prose— 2630 *ślokas* — This part treats of duties and ceremo-

nies which may be performed by the four varṇas in cases of danger and difficulty. — Colophon as in No. 17.

No. 19 — प्रियादासचरितामृत — folios 11-370 *Ślokas* — This is a biographical account of *Priyā Dās*, the preceptor of Maharaja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewāh. *Priyā Dās* was a *Mahārāṣtra Brahmin*, Son of Basudeva and his former name was *Kṛṣṇa Datta*. He was reputed for his deep knowledge of *Bhāgavata* and probably he rendered that book into the Bundelakhandi dialect as mentioned by Ward (*View of the History of the Hindus*, Vol, II, p. 481) but he cannot be the same Priyā Dās (1712 A. D.) who wrote the well-known gloss on the *Bhaktanāmāvali* of Nābhā Dās, as the time of Priyā Dās alias Kṛṣṇa Datta must be fixed in the *first half of the 19th Century*, when Maharaja Viśvanātha Singha, his disciple flourished at Rewāh. The author of this MS is one *Droṇācārya Tiwādī*, who was a disciple of Priyā Dās and who *wrote this life in Saṁvat 1910* (*1853 A. D.*). — Syamsundar states that Priyā Dās composed many *Sanskrit* and *Bhāṣā* works.

No. 20 — धनुषविद्या — Verse — 15 folios — 226 *Ślokas* — This is a treatise on archery based on the laws of Manu, by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewā. A similar treatise was noticed last year but it was in Sanskrit with a commentary in Hindi, — Colophon as in No. 18.

(7) The *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS by Syamsunder Das, Allahabad, 1907. Records the following MSS of the works of Viśvanātha Siṁha :—

No. 38 — आनन्दरघुनन्दननाटक — Prose and Verse — 85 folios — 2225 ślokas — story of Rāmacandra's life in dramatic form by Maharaja Viśvanātha Siṁha of Rewāh (*1830 A. D.*).

The MS is dated *Saṁvat 1887* (*1830 A. D.*) The Colophon refers to the author as " श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव ". Mr. Das states that this work was composed by its author before his coronation — The MS was copied by one दिलराज लाला.

No. 84 — वेदान्तपंचक सटीक भाषा — Prose and Verse — folios 13 — 300 ślokas — A small book on Vedānta by Maharaja Viśvanātha Siṁha of Rewāh, — The author refers to प्रियदास at the beginning of the work — The Colophon mentions its author as " श्रीमहा-

राजाधिराजश्रीमहाराजश्रीराजाबहादूरश्रीसीतारामचन्द्र'कृपापात्राधिकारीविश्वनाथसिंह जू देव".

No. 114 — गीतावली पूर्वार्द्ध — verse, 91 folios — 2460 ślokas — An account of Rāmacandra and the city of Ajudhyā by Maharaja Viśvanātha Siṁha of Rewāh. The MS is dated *Saṁvat 1887* (*1830 A. D.*) The Colophon describes its author as—" श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव. "

No. 145— उत्तमकाव्यप्रकाश by विश्वनाथसिंह composed in *A. D. 1840* —MS is dated *A. D. 1840* (See No. 53 of 1903)—This MS is not fully noticed in the catalogue but is mentioned with the above details in *Appendix I*. I have recorded above some account of the Sanskrit and Hindi works of Viśvanātha Siṁha on the strength of scattered notices of them in Sanskrit and Hindi MSS Catalogues.[2] This account may not be exhaustive as the catalogues available to me

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1. In the जगदीशशतक (MS No 82) and रामरसिकावली (MS No. 89) by महाराज रघुराजसिंह (son of विश्वनाथसिंह) the author is called " श्रीकृष्णचंद्र कृपापात्राधिकारी."

2. My friend Mr. K. M. K, Sarma, M. O. L. Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, reports to me the following MSS of the works of विश्वनाथसिंह in the Anup Library :—

Sanskrit :—(1) संगीत रघुनंदन (Sanskrit) folios 15 — Dated *Saṁvat 1891* (= *A. D. 1835*)—

It ends :— "इति सिद्धि श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीजयसिंहदेवसूनुश्रीविश्वनाथसिंह जू देवकृत etc."

Hindi :—(1) रामायण in 7 Vols. — Dated *Saṁvat 1891* (= A. D. 1835). In the Colophon the author is called " महाराजकुमार श्री बाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथ"

(2) आनन्द रघुनन्दन — dated *Saṁvat 1891* (*A. D. 1835*).
(3) सिकारकी कवित्त — No date.
(4) अयोध्यायशो वर्णन — No date.
(5) गीतावली पूर्वार्द्ध — dated *Saṁvat 1893* (*A. D. 1837*).
(6) विनयमाला — dated *Saṁvat 1890* (*A. D. 1834*).
(7) वीरविजयकर — No date.
(8) चित्रकूटमाहात्म्य — No date.

I am thankful to Mr. Sarma for the above information sent by him on 20-9-1945.

are not many. It is, however, clear from my account that Maharaja Viśvanātha Siṁha was a highly religious personage with voluminous literary work to his credit.

My friend the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad of Rewa, whose contact with me for a few years prior to his sad demise created in me a strong desire to study the cultural and literary history of Baghel Khanda, had sent to me a typewritten copy of his *History of the Rewah State*. In this copy I find the following remarks about Maharaja Viśvanātha Siṁha :—

"Maharaja *Jai Singh Deva* abdicated in favour of his son Maharaja Kumar *Vishwanatha Singh* (afterwards Maharaja Vishwanatha Singh) in 1813 and from this time onward Vishwanatha Singh controlled the administration of the state until his father's death in 1833. Jaisingh was a good scholar and author of several works as well as a patron of learning. He was married at Manda and at Gauria. He had three sons: (1) *Vishwanatha Singh*, who as already stated succeeded him. (2) *Lakshman Singh* who was granted the chaurasi Madhogarh and (3) *Balbhadra Singh* of Amarpatan. ....

30. *Vishwanatha Singh* (*A.D. 1833–1854*) — We have seen that Vishwanatha Singha was administering the state for 20 years before his accession to the Gādī. He was a very able ruler and administered the state with great success. *Like his father he was a lover of literature and patron of learning.* Misunderstanding arose between Maharaja Vishwanath Singh and the heir-apparent. Some of the Sardars of the state endeavoured to create misunderstanding between Maharaja Vishwanatha Singh and the Yuvarāja Maharaja Kumar afterwards Maharaja Raghuraja Singha. They partially succeeded in doing so and the result might have been disastrous to the state but for the foresightedness and sagacity of Maharaja Vishwanatha Singh and good sense and filial love of Raghuraja Singh .... (Some Sardars were expelled from the state)...... these Sardars went to Lahore and were in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab." They were called back to Rewa some years afterwards at the suggestion of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General.

Raghurāja Singh was born in 1823. Maharaja Vishwanath Singh delegated most of his powers to Raghuraja Singh in 1842 when the Yuvaraja was in his 19th year........

Maharaja Vishwanatha Singh on the delegation of powers to him by his father made *Pande Bhondu Lal* his Diwan...........

Vishwanatha Singh had only one son and three daughters. He had five Mahārāṇis......*Raghurāja Singh* (A. D. 1854-1880). Born in 1823. He ascended the Rewa Gādī in 1854 and died in February 1880. Like his father and grand-father he was a patron of learning and was a Hindi poet of no mean order. He was *Sanskrit Scholar and knew English*"...........

I believe, the above remarks of Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad give us the cultural background of the several Sanskrit and Hindi works of Maharaja Vishwanatha Singh of Rewah. It is also noteworthy that three Rewa Maharajas in succession viz. Jai Singh, Vishwanatha Singh and Raghuraja Singh were not only patrons of learning but were men of high literary attainments and capable administrators.

I now close my account of the Sanskrit and Hindi works of Maharaja Vishwanath Singh of Rewa with the following table showing the dates of composition of these works as also the dates of their available MSS noted in this paper :—

S. No.	Language	Name of Work	Date of Composition	Date of MS	Remarks V = विश्वनाथसिंह
1	Sanskrit	रामगीताटीका	...	...	
2	,,	रामचन्द्राह्निक and Comm.	...	...	
3	,,	राममन्त्रार्थनिर्णय	...	...	
4	,,	वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य	...	...	
5	,,	सर्वसिद्धान्त	...	...	V called महाराजकुमार —mentions अमात्य भोदूलाल
6	,,	रामचन्द्रचम्पू	...	...	V Called महाराजाधिराज
7	,,	संगीत रघुनंदन	...	1835	
8	Hindi	परमतत्वप्रकाश	1835	1837	V — "महाराजाधिराज"
9	,,	रागसागर	...	...	
10	,,	उत्तमनीतिचन्द्रिका	...	1847	

S. No.	Lang-uage	Name of Work	Date of Compo-sition	Date of MS	Remark V = विश्वनाथसिंह
11	Hindi	आनंदरघुनंदन नाटक	...	1830 1835	V — "महाराजकुमार बाबूसाहेब"
12	,,	पाखण्डखण्डिनी	...	...	
13	,,	ध्रुवाष्टक	...	...	
14	,,	आदिमंगल	...	...	
15	,,	बसन्त	...	...	
16	,,	चौतीशी	...	...	
17	,,	चौराशी रमैनी	...	1847	
18	,,	कन्हा	...	...	
19	,,	रामायण	...	1835 } 1832 }	V — "महाराजकुमार बाबूसाहेब"
20	,,	शब्द	...	1839 }	V — "महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजबहादुर"
21	,,	साखी	...	1847 }	
22	,,	संतशतक	...	1846 }	
23	,,	विश्वभोजनप्रकाश	...	... }	
24	,,	अनुभवपर प्रद-शनी टीका	...	1848	V — "महाराजाधिराज"
25	,,	उत्तम काव्यप्रकाश	1840	1840	— Do —
26	,,	शांतशतक	...	1838	— Do —
27	,,	* गीतरघुनंदन by जमुनादास	1832	1833	
28	,,	Do-with टीका प्रमानिका by *Viśvanātha Simha*	...	1844	V — "महाराजकुमार बाबूसाहेब"
29	,,	भजन	...	...	
30	,,	अष्टयामका आह्निक	1830	...	

S. No.	Language	Name of Work	Date of Composition	Date of MS	Remark V = विश्वनाथसिंह
31	Hindi	धनुर्विद्या (*Sanskrit*) with टीका (Hindi)	...	1855	
32	,,	आनंदरामायण	...	1833 to 1843	V — " बाबूसाहेब "
33	,,	परमधर्मनिर्णय	...	1848	V — " महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजा श्रीराजा· बहादूर "
34	,,	*प्रियादासचरितामृत by द्रोणाचार्य तिवाडी	1853	...	
35	,,	धनुषविद्या	...	...	
36	,,	वेदान्तपञ्चक सटीक भाषा	...	...	V — " महाराजाधिराज etc."
37	,,	गीतावली (पूर्वार्द्ध)	...	1830 1837	V — " महाराजा श्रीबाबूसाहेब "
38	,,	सिकारकी कवित्त	...	...	
39	,,	अयोध्यायशोवर्णन	...	...	
40	,,	विनयमाला	...	1834	
41	,,	वीरविजयकर	...	...	
42	,,	चित्रकूटमाहात्म्य	...	1834	

After this paper was written I received a copy of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur* (Mewar) by M. L. Menaria, (1943). Pages 188–286 of this catalogue contain a list of *Hindi and Rajasthani MSS*. In this list I notice the following MSS of the works of विश्वनाथसिंह :—

Page 190 — No. 323 — अयोध्याजी के भजन — *Kāvya*.

,, ,, 119 — अयोध्या माहात्म्य — *Māhātmya*.

Page 194 — No. 113 — आनंद रघुनंदन नाटक — *Nāṭaka*.

Page 204 — No. 114 — गीतावली (पूर्वार्द्ध) — *Kāvya*.

Page 206 — No. 57 — चित्रकूटमाहात्म्य — *Māhātmya* — वि. सं. १८९०
(= *A. D. 1834*).

Page 240 — No. 325 — भजन — *Kāvya.*

Page 252 — No. 279 — राजनीति — *Nīti.*

Page 264 — No. 326 — विनयमाला — *Kāvya.*

,, — No. 674 — Do — Do — वि. सं. १८९० (= *A. D. 1834*).

Page 266 — No. 322 — सारविजय — *Dhanurvidyā.*

Page 272 — No. 327 — शान्तिशतक — *Kāvya.*

,, — No. 278 — शिकार के कवित्त — *Kāvya.*

,, — No. 321 — Do — Do —

Page 274 — No. 324 — शृङ्गार के कवित्त — *Kāvya.*

Page 284 — No. 280 — हनुमानजीके कवित्त — *Stotra* — वि. सं. १८८९
(= *A. D. 1833*).

,, — No. 335 — Do — Do —

It is possible to trace the MSS of the works of Maharaja Viśvanāthasiṁha in many other MSS Libraries, both private and public. In H. I. Poleman's *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada* (1938) he records a MS of आनन्दरघुनन्दन नाटक (Hindi) P. 302 — *MS No. 5820*. This is the only MS of Viśvanāthasiṁha's works recorded in this Catalogue.

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34. Viśvanātha Mahādeva Rānaḍe, a Cittapāvan Court-poet of Raja Ramsing I of Jaipur and his works — Between A. D. 1650 and 1700 *

In the Gotrāvali of the Chitpāvan Brahmins of the Maharashtra we find the surname *Rānaḍe.* The *gotra* of the Rānaḍe family is *Bhāradvāja.* There are at present numerous *Rānaḍe* families in the Maharashtra. Some of the members of these families are highly educated and well-placed in life. During the last 100 years the Rānaḍes have produced some men[1] of literary pursuits but it is not known if any such men were produced by this family before A. D. 1880. It is, therefore, worth while investigating and putting on record whatever information we can discover from authentic records[2] about the literary men belonging to the Rānaḍe family preferably before A. D. 1880.

As I have no early genealogies of the *Rānaḍes* with me, I shall satisfy myself by recording here a usage of the surname '*Rānaḍe*' which I found in a document of A. D. 1660 while studying some documents of my own family[3] between A. D. 1633 and 1685. This

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* *Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society*, N. S. Vol. 17, pp. 43-55.

1. The late Justice Madhava Govind Ranade stands at the top of such men. His versatile intellect, patriotism, and sterling character as also other qualities of head and heart have already won for him an immortal fame in the history of Maharashtra. Among living members of the Rānaḍe families mention may be made of Prof. R. D. Ranade, now head of the Philosophy Department of the Allahabad University, the author of some standard works on philosophy such as '*Constructive Survey of the Upanishadic Philosophy,*' '*Mysticism in Mahārāshsra,*' etc. In the field of Marathi literature I may mention here my friend Prof. S. B. Ranade, now Professor in the Ismail College, Andheri, who has already made a mark in the field of Marathi Poetry by the publication of his numerous poems during the last 30 years or so.

2. No family history of the Rānaḍes has so far been published. It is time that some one attempts such history.

3. Vide p. 219 of *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, Bombay,

(*Continued on the next page*)

document is a sale-deed of property by one *Rogbhaṭ* bin *Gopāla bhaṭ Rānaḍīyā* in favour of Jān Thākur bin Rām Thākur. Evidently Rogbhaṭ Rānaḍīyā was living in A. D. 1600 when he sold a property to Jān Thākur of Jamasade near Devagad. Gopālabhaṭ, the father of Rogbhaṭ, was a contemporary of Rām Thākur about A. D. 1633, which is the date of the earliest sale-deed of property purchased by Rām Thākur. It is clear from this contemporary document that one Rānaḍe family was resident near Devagad in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. Like many other Chitpāvan Brahmins the Rānaḍes must have migrated[1] from

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

1938, where I have recorded the dates of sale-deeds of properties purchased by my ancestors, viz. the *Thākurs* of Jamsade (near Devagad in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency).

1. Compare the following account of a Chittapāvana going to Bengal (between A. D. 1660 and 1690) from Konkon for attaining *siddhi* under the guidance of a tāntric teacher of *Rāḍhā* :—

In the *Fragments of Poems pertaining to the Maratha King Sambhaji* (A. D. 1680–1689) published by me in the *Annals* (B. O. R. I.), Vol. XIX, Part I (1938), pp. 49–60, we find the description of a सिद्ध of राढा in Bengal (pp. 57–58 — verses I to 32). A Chittapāvana Brahmin called शिवयोगी from Konkon went to this सिद्ध and became his pupil :—

" शिवयोगी नाम कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणश्चित्तपावनः ।
निशम्य तस्य सिद्धस्य चरितं परमाद्भुतम् ॥ ३३ ॥
हित्वा कोंकणकं देशं तं देशं समुपाश्रितः ।
गुरुत्वेनाशु तं सिद्धं वरयामास सुव्रतः ॥ ३४ ॥ "

This चित्तपावन Brahmin served the सिद्ध of राढा devotedly and in course of time attained सिद्धि :—

" प्रगल्भोदारसेवाभिराराध्य गुरुमादरात् ।
अलभच्छिवयोगी सः सिद्धिकामपि सुव्रतः ॥ ५ ॥ "

He then returned to शृंगारपुर near Sangameshvar in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency and founded there a मठी or hermitage :—

" पश्यन्क्षेत्राणि नानारसभरभरितः पर्यटन्तीर्थपङ्क्तीः ।
प्रेम्णा शृंगारपुर्यां व्यरचदथ मठीं कोंकणे क्रूरदेशे
वस्तुं योगी प्रसिद्धस्तदनुनुतगुणं सन्निवासं चकार ॥ "

If the above story of a चित्तपावन migrating to a remote place in Bengal from Konkon is correct, we have in it a parallel to the case of

(*Continued on the next page*)

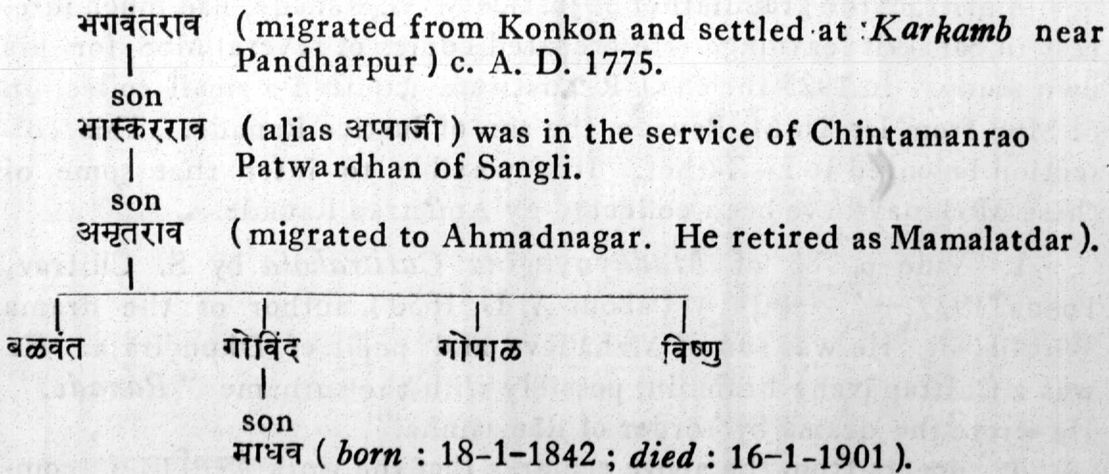
Konkon to Poona and other places above' the Ghāṭs during the Peshwa period of Maratha history, when the rule of the Chitpāvans, i.e. the Peshwas attracted many Brahmins to their capital Poona, which then provided prospects to many ambitious youths. As I have not studied all the records of the Maratha history pertaining to this period I am unable to say whether any member of the Rānaḍe family made his home in Poona and took to any political or literary pursuits.

The study of family history will he greatly facilitated if a dictionary of surnames current in Maharashtra is compiled. Such a dictionary should record the usage of every surname in a definitely dated document so that we can have before us under each surname dated usages of that surname from the earliest to the latest with indication of the source for each usage recorded. In the case of the surname *Rānaḍe* we have no means of determining the geography[1] of the residence of the Rānaḍes and their migration

(*Continued from the previous page*)

another चित्तपावन, viz. विश्वनाथ रानडे, going to Benares and becoming a pupil of *Kamalākara* anb *Dhuṇḍirāja*. As the चित्तपावन शिवयोगी is shown as contemporary of King Sambhaji (A.D.1680–1689), he appears to have been a contemporary of विश्वनाथ रानड who composed his शृंगारवापिका, say, between A. D. 1667 and 1675.

1. Vide आठवणी by the late Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Poona, 1935, *pages 1 to 10*. Here an account is given of the ancestors of the late Justice Mādhava Govind Ranade. The native place of this line of the Rānaḍe family is *Pācerisaḍā* near Guhāgar in the *C*hiplun Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. The genealogy of this family, as recorded here, is as follows :—



भगवंतराव (migrated from Konkon and settled at *Karkamb* near Pandharpur) c. A. D. 1775.
|
son
भास्करराव (alias अप्पाजी) was in the service of Chintamanrao Patwardhan of Sangli.
|
son
अमृतराव (migrated to Ahmadnagar. He retired as Mamalatdar).
|
बळवंत | गोविंद | गोपाळ | विष्णु
गोविंद
|
son
माधव (*born* : 18-1-1842 ; *died* : 16-1-1901).

(*Continued on the next page*)

from the earliest home to other parts of the Maharashtra or outside. The study of surnames is further rendered difficult by the early Maratha practice of using only the name of the person and his father without the use of the surname, unlike the present practice of using the names of the person and his father together with his surname in each case.

In spite of the tendency to omit surnames we often find the mention of the surname or *Upanāma* in some late Sanskrit works of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. In accordance with this tendency, which finally became universal in the nineteenth century, we find the surname *Rānaḍe* mentioned by a writer of the seventeenth century in his two rare works, each of which is represented by a single MS only. I shall now record whatever information can be gathered from these two MSS about the personal history of this member of the Rānaḍe family belonging to the Shivaji period of the Maratha history and then link it up with other contemporary history as far as possible.

Aufrecht makes the following entries about an author विश्वनाथ भट्ट and his works :—

CC I, 584 — '*Śṛṅgāravāpikā nāṭikā*' composed by विश्वनाथ भट्ट.

CC I, 661 — 'शृङ्गारवापिका, nāṭaka by Viśvanātha, IO. 274.'

CC II, 138 — 'विश्वनाथ भट्ट, son of Mahādeva, son of Viṣṇu, son of Haribhaṭṭa :

Śṛṅgāravāpikā nāṭikā. He wrote this play by desire of King Rāmasinha, son of Jayasinha.'[1]

(Continued from the previous page)

Amritrao, the grandfather of Justice M. G. Ranade, had much interest in Sanskrit learning. He prepared copies of several MSS for his own study. In 1925 the B. O. R. Institute acquired a small collection of MSS from Dr. N. M. Ranade, the son of Justice Ranade. This collection belonged to his father. It is possible to infer that some of these MSS may have been collected by Amritrao Ranade.

1. Vide p. 783 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937 — " विश्वनाथ भट्ट (about A. D. 1650), author of the drama शृंगारवाटिका. He was son of Mahādeva and pupil of Dhuṇḍirāja. He was a Chittapāvana Brahmin, possibly with the surname "*Rānaḍe.*" He wrote the drama by 'order of Rāmasinha."

It appears from the above remarks that the work शम्भुविलास, composed by विश्वनाथभट्ट रानडे, is not known to the *M. Caritrakośa*.

CC III, 123 — ' Viśvanātha, with the surname Rānaḍe, of the Chittapāvan family :
Śambhuvilāsa Kāvya. '

CC III, 132 — ' शम्भुविलास, kāvya by Viśvanātha, IO. 1148, No. 3850. '

According to Krishnamachariar[1] ' Dhuṇḍirāja's pupil wrote the *nāṭikā Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* on the loves of Candrakeli, King of Avanti, and Kantimati, daughter of Campāvati. '

The India Office MS of the *Śambhuvilāsa* is described by Dr. Eggeling as follows on p. 1446 of *IO. MSS Cata.*, VII (1904), No. 3850 (1148*c*) :—

' Foll. 19 ; size 9 in. by 4 in. ; good Devanāgarī handwriting of *1719 A. D.* ; eight lines in a page.

Śambhuvilāsa, a devotional poem in honour of Śiva, in three cantos by Viśvanātha, surnamed *Rānaḍa* (?), of the Chittapāvana family. '

Viśvanātha refers to himself in two verses in the introductory portion of the *Śambhuvilāsa* as follows :—

" श्रीषट्केन समन्वितं प्रथमतो नत्वा गुरूं बुद्धिदं
विघ्नध्वंसपा(प)रायणं च हृदये ध्यात्वा गणाधीश्वरं ।
नानालंकृतिजातिरीतिमहितं श्रीविश्वनाथः कविः
काव्यं शम्भुविलासनाम कुरुते संख्यावतां प्रीतये ॥ १ ॥ "

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1. *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937, p. 661 — Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa Rānaḍe mentions one धुण्डिराज as his *guru.* Krishnamachariar refers to the descendants of a धुण्डिराज. These are as follows :—

धुण्डिराज (probably same as व्यासयज्वन्—*A. D. 1713*).
|
son
बाळकृष्ण
|
son
शङ्कर (दीक्षित) wrote the play प्रद्युम्नविजय for Sabhasundara Raja of Pannah, grandson of Chitrasal of Bundelkhand.

On p. 245 Krishnamachariar observes : ' धुण्डिराज व्यासयज्वन्, son of Lakṣmaṇa, composed a comm. on मुद्राराक्षस in *1713 A. D.* probably at the direction of King Śarbhoji (of Tanjore).'

The identity of धुण्डिराज, the guru of विश्वनाथ भट्ट (Rānaḍe), with धुण्डिराज व्यासयज्वन् of A. D. 1713 needs to be proved on independent evidence, if it is suggested by Krishnamachariar.

" ध्यात्वा मानसपूजनं च विधिवत्कृत्वा कविर्ब्राह्मणः
श्लोकान्विश्वगुरोः पुरोऽपठदिमान्श्रीविश्वनाथो निजान् । "

Canto I consists of 40 stanzas, II of 80 stanzas, and III of 14 stanzas. At the end of Canto II the following date of copy is recorded :—

" संवत् १७७६[1] माघ-शुदि-त्रयोदशी भौमवासरे लि० ॥ उद्धवजी नागेश । "

The MS ends as follows :—

" इति श्रीचित्तपावनजातीय रानडोपनामक कविश्रीविश्वनाथकृते श्रीशंभु-विलास शेषनाम चाव्ये [०विलासाख्ये काव्ये I, II.] तृतीयः सर्गः । "

It is clear from the above lines that विश्वनाथ was a *Chitta-pāvan* Brahmin of the surname रानडे who had migrated to Benares for spiritual reasons (ब्रह्म हृदि स्मरन्) after having realized the futility of existence (ज्ञात्वा प्रपंचं मृषा).[2] These reasons are stated by him in verse 14 of Canto III which precedes the above colophon and reads as follows :—

" भुक्त्वा वैषयिकं सुखं कविरसौ स जातबोधस्ततो
दृश्यं स्थावरजंगमात्क(०त्मक)मिदं ज्ञात्वा प्रपंचं मृषा ।
सर्वानंदगृहं परात्परतरं श्रीराजराजेश्वरी-
रूपं ब्रह्म हृदि स्मरन् शिव(व)ने काश्यां स्थितिर्निर्ममे ॥ १४ ॥ "

Dr. Eggeling has devoted three pages[3] to the description of

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1. This date corresponds to *11th February. 1720*, which is a *Thursday* according to Ephemeris (vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 242).

2. In a work called the अद्वैतसुधा (B. O. R. I. MS *No. 143* of 1902–07), composed by लक्ष्मणपंडित in *A. D. 1662*, he states that he migrated to Benares from Maharashtra for spiritual reasons after abandoning all his belongings (दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रियः काश्यामुदासीनमति, etc.). Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa appears to have been a contemporary of Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa Rānaḍe and went to Benares for reasons identical with those mentioned by Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa in verse 14 of Canto III of the *Śāmbhuvilāsa*. Lakṣmaṇa had two preceptors, (1) रामाश्रम and (2) उत्तमश्लोक, like Viśvanāthā's two *gurus* : (1) कमलाकर and (2) धुण्डिराज.

3. *IO. MSS Cata.*, VII, pp. 1615-1618 — MS No. 4196 (274) — ' Foll. 42, size 11 in. by 4½ in., Devanāgarī Character. *Foll. 1–26*

(*Continued on the next page*)

the only MS of Viśvanātha's *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā*. His description pertaining to the author and the subject of the drama is as follows :—

' *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* (or *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* as it is frequently called in the MS), a play (*nāṭikā*), in four acts by विश्वनाथभट्ट कवि (pupil of धुण्डिराज), son of महादेवभट्ट सूरि, grandson of विष्णुभट्ट कोविद, and great-grandson of हरिभट्ट पंडित of the चित्तपावन family. The subject of the play is the love of the young King of Avanti चन्द्रकेतु and कान्तिमती daughter of King रत्नपाल of चंपावती. "

In the following verse at the commencement of the play the author bows to this *guru* Dhuṇḍirāja :—

" यच्छिष्यै रचिता जयंति जगति ग्रंथा हि ते यान् क्षणं
दृष्ट्वा मस्तकघूर्णनं वितनुते वागीश्वरोऽपि स्वयं ।
तस्मै वैदिकतांत्रिकाध्वरविदे श्रीढुंढिराजाय मे
विश्वेऽस्मिन् स्थिरकीर्तयेऽस्ति गुरवे सद्बुद्धिदात्रे नमः ॥ १ ॥ "

Evidently Dhuṇḍirāja had a large following of pupils including our *Chittapāvan* author. These pupils had composed some works of value, being inspired to do so by their illustrious *guru* who is called by the epithet ' वैदिकतांत्रिकाध्वरविद्.'

After the above salutation to the *guru* the Sūtradhāra introduces the author of the play in a long passage which states that the play was written by the order of ' महाराजाधिराज-श्रीरामसिंह-महीपाल ' and then gives us some deatails about the author's pedigree as follows :—

हरिभट्ट (पंडित) of ' चित्तपावन जाती '
|
Son
विष्णुभट्ट (कोविद)
|
Son
महादेवभट्ट (सूरि)
|
Son
विश्वनाथ (कवि), author of शृंगारवापिका

(*Continued from the previous page*)

written in a large clear hand, about *1650 A. D.*; eight lines in a page. *Foll. 27–42* in a smaller slanting hand in *1706 A. D.*; twelve lines in a page.'

The introductory passage[1] referred to above calls विश्वनाथ कवि as 'कमलाकरांतेवासि', i. e. pupil of कमलाकर. We have already referred to another *guru* of our author, viz. ढुंढिराज. I believe that कमलाकर, mentioned by our author is identical with कमलाकरभट्ट, the author of *Nirṇayasindhu*, composed in A. D. 1612, and whose literary activity is assigned by scholars[2] to the period *between A.D. 1610 and A. D. 1640.*

The Sūtradhāra next makes a reference to कुमार विष्णुसिंह for whose entertainment रामसिंह महीपाल had ordered the performance of this drama :—

"आर्ये विष्णुसिंहं कुमारं पुरस्कृत्य शृंगारवापिकाभिनयप्रदर्शनार्थं श्रीरामसिंहमहीपालेनाज्ञप्तोऽस्मि ।"

The play may have been meant not only for prince विष्णुसिंह but for other associate princes as well, as will be seen from the following words of the Sūtradhāra :—

"अद्यासौ बहुमोदतां कविरमी शृंगारवापीं यथा
गाहंतां नृपसूनवः[3] सुखवशाद्रात्रिर्व्रजेत्सूक्ष्मतां ।"

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1. This passage reads as follows :—
"अद्याहं परममहिमपरमात्मपादपद्मालयद्वंद्वनिर्द्वंद्वभक्तिमकरंदास्वादनसदामोदमानमहोदारमनोमिलिंदेन० ...... श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरामसिंह-महीपालेनाज्ञप्तोऽस्मीति । भो भो कमलाकरांतेवासिन् (? ०सि-) श्रीविश्वनाथकविविरचिता चंद्रकेतुमहीपालचरित्रविराजिता शृंगारवापिका नाम नाटिकास्तीत्यस्माभिर्बहुदिनं श्रूयते। तदद्य सुमतिना त्वया सा विस्तीर्णेऽस्मिन्सभामंडपे गीतवाद्याद्यैरभिनेतव्येति । अस्ति च तेन चित्तपावनजातीयेन निखिलमहाजनसमाजसंमानितहरिभट्टपंडितप्रपौत्रेण प्रतिदिनं वेदवेदांतादिसकलशास्त्राध्यापनकृतकालक्षेपणस्य विष्णुभट्टकोविदस्य पौत्रेण निरंतरं श्रौतस्मार्तानुष्ठानपरायणमतिश्रीमहादेवभट्ट-सूरिसुतेन श्रीविश्वनाथ (भट्ट marg.) कविना सास्माकमनुग्रहबुद्धया पाठिता समर्पिता च ।"

2. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 437.

3. Vide pp. 234–235 of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. II, 1889 (London). 'Tavernier passed down the Ganges reaching Rajmahāl on the *4th of January, 1666.* On the 6th M. Bernier left him to go to Kasimbazar, while he proceeded to Dacca, etc.' (p. xxviii of *Intro.* to Vol. I). Tavernier visited a house at Benares which was used as a college for the education of the youth of good families. It was founded by Raja Jaising (father of Rāmsing), the 'most powerful

(Continued on the next page)

We are further given by the Sūtradhāra the genealogy of Raja Rāma Siṁha in several verses.[1] This genealogy is as follows :—

(*Continued from the previous page*)

of the idolatrous princes, who was then in the empire of the Great Mogul.' Tavernier 'saw the children of this Prince (Jaising) who were being educated there and had as teachers several *Brahmins* who taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols and is very different from that spoken by the people.' 'Having entered the court of this college being curious to see it and throwing my eyes upwards, I perceived a double gallery which ran all round it, and in the lower one these *two princes* were seated accompanied by many young nobles and numerous *Brahmins* who were making different figures like those of mathematics on the ground with chalk. As soon as I entered these *princes* sent to inquire who I was, and having learnt that I was a Frenchman they invited me to ascend, when they asked me many things about Europe and especially about France. One of the *Brahmins* had two globes, which the Dutch had given him and I pointed out the position of France upon them. After some conversation of this kind they presented me with *betel*, etc.'

[The *two princes* whom Tavernier met are evidently *Rāmsing* and *Kiratsing*, the sons of Jaising I. It is possible to suppose that *Viśvanātha Rānaḍe* may have been one of the *Brahmins* who educated Ramsing and his brother at the Benares College and later after A. D. 1667, when Ramsing came to the throne, Viśvanātha was asked to compose a drama for Ramsing's son, Viṣṇusiṁha or Bhishansing].

1. These verses read as follows :—

" आसींत्सूर्यकुले मनूपमनिभः श्रीमानसिंहाऽभिधो
राजा रंजितपंडितेन्द्रनिवहः सिंहोपमो विक्रमे ।
कीर्त्या सर्वदिगंत नित्यगतयाप्यासन्नया सर्वदा
कर्णश्रीवलिभोजराजगणनाकाले पुरा कीर्तितः ॥ १ ॥
तस्मात्कीर्तिसितीकृतत्रिभुवनात् श्रीपूर्णिमाचंद्रवद्
भूमींद्राद्भुजशालिनः किल जगत्सिंहः कुमारोऽभवत् ।
सर्वान्यो युवराज एव वशयामासारिसार्थान्यथा
मातंगान् सृणिरोजसाऽऽजिशिरसि श्रीकार्त्तिकेयोपमः ॥ २ ॥
तस्मिन्वंदिमुखांबुजेषु मधुरान् श्रीसाधुवादान्निजान्
धृत्वा वासवमित्रतां सति गते तत्पुत्रमुर्वीमिमां ।

(*Continued on the next page*)

मानसिंह (of सूर्यकुल)
|
जगत्सिंह
|
महासिंह
|
जयसिंह
|
रामसिंह

This genealogy exactly tallies with the genealogy of the Jaipur kings as we find it recorded in the current reference books.[1]

As regards the date of composition of the *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* I have to point out that it must have been composed after the succession[2] of Rāmsing to the throne of Jaipur as it appears to refer to this succession in the following line :—

(*Continued from the previous page*)

शासत्सन् शुशुभे तरामिह महासिंहाभिधः संपदा
यश्चासीद्धनदोपमो गुणिजनग्रामप्रदः सर्वदा ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मान्मानिजनादि नाम्न उद्भूद्राज्ञो महामानवान्
राजा राजदुदारचारुचरितो विश्वंभराभूषणं ।
नाम्ना श्रीजयसिंहत्यविहितो दानैस्तु कर्णाधिकः
बुद्धया चित्रशिखंडिनन्दनसमः सिंहोपमो विक्रमे ॥ ४ ॥

तस्या शेषाचलेशार्चितपदसरणः श्रीसुधर्मोपमायां
केचित्तार्किसभायां कतिचन विबुधाः सांख्यपातञ्जले च ।
केचित्साहित्य शाब्दे तत इतरबुधा श्रौतयौगे च शास्त्रे
व्याख्यायावाप्यमानं निजवसतिगृहं यानवंतश्च जग्मुः ॥ ५ ॥

सूनुस्तस्य सुधार्णवोदितसुधाधामोपमो दीप्तिभिर्-
भूमीन्द्रस्य जयन्तवन्नयनयोः पित्रोः सदानंदकृत्
राज्यं प्राप्य पुरूरवा इव परः श्रीरामसिंहाख्यया ।
यः ख्यातो भुवि विक्रमांचितभुजः श्रीपार्वतीपुत्रवत् ॥ ६ ॥ ''

1. Vide *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa*, Vol. XIII, p. ज (121). Mānsing died in A. D. 1615. Mahāsing came to the throne in A. D. 1620. बिशनसिंग is mentioned as the successor of Rāmsing. After बिशनासिंग Savai Jaising came to the throne in A. D. 1699.

2. Rāmsing came to the throne of Jaipur in A. D. 1667 after the

(*Continued on the next page*)

" राज्यं प्राप्य पुरूरवा इव परः श्रीरामसिंहाख्यया । "

Secondly, it refers to कुमारविष्णुसिंह[1] who was obviously the heir-apparant to the throne and for whose entertainment this play was composed by Viśvanātha by the order of Rāmsing, who is called by the title ' महाराजाधिराज ' as already noted above. In the following verse[2] we are told that Rāmsing was served by other Rajput princes like *Arjuna* (*Simha* ?), *Hindu Simha*, *Hari Simha Rāvala*, *Jayat Simha*, etc :—

" वीरैरर्जुनहिंदुसिंह सबलानंदोग्रसिंहोद्भट-
श्रेष्ठश्रीहरिसिंहरावलजयत्सिंहादिभिः सेवितं ।
यं दृष्ट्वा समरे सपत्नपृतना संत्रस्य भावानथो
धत्तेऽष्टावपि सात्त्विकान्नववधूतुल्यं प्रगल्भाप्यहो ॥ "

Students of the history of the Jaipur State will be able to identify the Rajput names mentioned in the above verse.

The later limit to the date of *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* would be about A. D. 1675 because Rāmsing died about this time.[3] It appears,

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

death of his father Mirza Raja Jaising in the month of *July 1667* at Burhanpur (vide *p. 112* of *Chronology of India* by Burgess, 1913). Ramsing was ordered to Gawahatti in Assam where he remained till 1675.

Ramsing is supposed to have had a hand in Shivaji's escape from Agra in A. D. 1666 (*p. 111*).

1. The *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (MS No. 273 of 1884–86 — B. O. R. Institute) gives the genealogy of the Jaipur kings in the first canto. According to this genealogy two princes are mentioned after रामसिंह. They are (1) कृष्णसिंह and (2) विष्णुसिंह. The interest of विष्णुसिंह in poetry and music is testified by the following verse on folio 6 of *Īśvara-vilāsakāvya* :—

" नानाकौतुककाव्यनाटककथासंगीतभर्गाभरै-
र्यस्तावन्मथुरापुरीमधिवसन् भोगश्चकार स्वयं ।
खेलोत्खातखलेति खड्गजबले खंगारपुत्रेऽखिलां
क्षिप्त्वा राज्यधुरं धुरंधरवरे वीरे हरीसिंहके ॥ "

2. *Ind. Office Cata.*, VII, p. 1617.

3. Vide p. 328 of *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Beale London, 1904.—'RAM SING I.........His son Bishan Singh succeeded him after *his death about the year A. D. 1675.*'

therefore, that Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa Rānaḍe composed his drama *Śṛṅgāravāpikā between A. D. 1667 and 1675*.[1]

The surname *Rānaḍe* of Viśvanātha as also his caste-name चित्तपावन is clearly mentioned by him in the body of the text of the drama *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* towards the close of the work which reads as follows :—

" यो जात्या खलु चित्तपावन इति ख्यातस्तथोपाख्यया
विख्यातो भुवि रानडा इति जडाज्ञानापहानौ कृती ।
तस्य श्रीकवि-विश्वनाथविदुषो(ड)दोषोज्झितैषा कृतिः
कुर्यांच्चेतसि संमदं बहुविधं संख्यावतां संप्रति ।। ८९ ।।

इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे ॥ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।। इति श्रीचित्तपावनजातीयरानडयोपनामक कवि-विश्वनाथ-भट्टविरचिता शृंगारवापिका नाम नाटिका काश्यां परिपूर्णा संवत् १७६३ समए अगहन वदि अष्टमी । "

The above MS of this drama, dated *A. D. 1707*, is the earliest dated MS of the work. Whether Viśvanātha composed any other works I cannot say at present. It is for the present Rānaḍe families to see if they can identify Viśvanātha and his three ancestors, whose names he has recorded in the drama before us. It is also a matter for investigation whether Viśvanātha had any sons and whether his descendant is represented in the living Rānaḍe families in the Maharashtra or outside. I have pointed out earlier in this paper a Rānaḍe family residing near Devagad in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay presidency. It is not improbable that Viśvanātha's ancestors, viz. father महादेव, grandfather विष्णु and great-grandfather हरि had their home in the Ratnagiri District and may have been connected with the contemporary Rānaḍe family residing near Devagad between A. D. 1600 and 1675.

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1. Vide p. 110 of *Beale's Dictionary of Ori. Biography — Bishan Singh* (= विष्णुसिंह mentioned as कुमार by Viśvanātha) was the son of Ramsing and father of Sewai Jaising. Bishun Singh died about the year A. D. **1693** (A. H. 1105)

From the *Hindi MSS Report* (for 1909–1911), Allahabad, 1914, pp. 16–17, we learn that Kulapati Miśra composed his द्रोणपर्व भाषा or a metrical version of the *Droṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in *A.D.1676* under the patronage of Ramsing of Jaipur. In the Beale's *Dictionary of Ori. Biography* (p. 323) we are told that Ramsing died about A. D. **1675**. This date conflicts with the date of composition of Kulapati Miśra's work composed under Rāmsing's patronage.

A court-poet of Sevai Jaising, who had close knowledge of the ancestry of Jaipur princes, has given us a fine description of Ramsing's interest in literature. This poet is Kṛṣṇa Kavi who in his *Īśvarvilāsakāvya* (composed about A. D. 1744) refers to Rāmsing I as follows :—

Folio 5 of MS *No. 273 of 1884-86* —

"तत्पुत्रो रामसिंह सकलवसुमतीभाग्यसौभाग्यभूमा
भूयः श्यामासिधूमानुमितपरबलोत्तापितेजो हताशः ।
यः सौंदर्यप्रसारैर्जगति रतिपतिर्भाविनं मानभंगं
स्वस्याभिज्ञाय विज्ञस्तनुमतनुहरक्रोधकुंडे जुहाव ॥ ३९ ॥

काले प्रालेय-हेमाचलयुगलमपि प्रस्खलेत्सागरोऽपि
क्षोभेण त्यक्तवेलो भवति न तु चलेद्रामसिंहोऽतिधीरः ।
सेवासुंभावसंभावितत्तम[1] यवनार्धाशकारावमाकौ
सद्यो निर्मोच्य भूयस्तरमुपरि भरं स्वात्मनः सोऽयमूहे ॥ ४० ॥

यस्योत्तुंगतुरंगसंगतमदप्रोद्दाममातंगभू-
भारांदोलचलाचलाचलधरा चक्रस्य यात्राविधौ ।
आसामाधिपतिः प्रकंपितमतिः कष्टेन हा वर्तते
प्रायोऽनन्यगतिर्भवे सवरूणं कृत्वा शरण्यस्थितं ॥ ४१ ॥

काव्यालापकलाकलापकलनाकौतूहलोत्कर्षकः
प्रोद्यन्नाटकसाटकप्रहसनाख्यानप्रबंधोत्सुकः
श्रीरामायणभारतादि विलसत्पौराणवाग्विस्तर-
क्षीरांभोनिधिराजहंसरुचिरः श्रीरामसिंहो नृपः ॥ ४२ ॥

पूर्वदिग्विजयमुद्वहतोऽस्य प्रोद्भटाः किल भटाः सुविशंकाः ।
रंगभूर्भुवि कुरंगमृगाक्ष्यां चक्रिरे परविलासवनेषु ॥ ४३ ॥

भूयो निःसानघोषप्रपतदतिहिमोपद्रवेणातिदुर्गान्
दुर्गाद्याम्क्राबिलादीन्बलखबुखहरारूमसामांतदेशान् ।
यः सद्यो निर्जिगाय प्रबलनिजबलाच्छादितारातिभूमिः
प्रोद्यत्सांग्रामिकाश्वप्रवरप्ररिलसत्पृष्ठपल्याणरोपं ॥ ४४ ॥"

I shall now record the chronology of Viśvanātha Mahādeva

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1. सेवा and सुंभा in verse 40 are Shivaji and Sambhaji respectively. Rāmsing had a hand in their escape from Agra. After Jaising's death in A. D. 1667 Rāmsing was made governor of Assam (verse 41). Rāmsing's *love of literature* is described in verse 42. It was this love of नाटकs and प्रहसन्s that evidently encouraged विश्वनाथ रानडे to compose शृंगारवापिका.

Rānaḍe, his contemporaries and predecessors as far as could be reconstructed from the data recorded in this paper :—

A. D.		
1600	...	The great-grandfather of Viśvanātha (= *VMR*) probably lived at this time. His name was हरिभट्ट as recorded by *VMR*.
1612	...	Kamalākarabhaṭṭa composed his *Nirṇayasindhu*. *VMR* is called the pupil of Kamalākara (कमलाकरान्तेवासी).
1625	...	विष्णुभट्ट, the grandfather of *VMR* was possibly living at this time.
1633	...	One *Gopālabhaṭṭa Rānaḍe* was living at Jamasade near Devagad in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. He was contemporary of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Rānaḍe, the grandfather of *VMR*.
1610–1640		Period of the literary activity of Kamalākara, the author of *Nirṇayasindhu*.
c. 1640	...	Probable time of the contact of *VMR* with his *guru* Kamlākara at Benares.
1660	...	One Rogbhaṭ Rānaḍe living near Devagad (Ratnagiri District).
1666	...	Tavernier meets the two sons of Mirza Raja Jaising at a Benares College. One of them was Rāmsing.
1667	...	Death of Mirza Raja Jaysing, the father of *VMR*'s patron Rāmsing.
1667	...	Rāmsing came to the throne of Jaipur. He had a hand in Shivaji's escape from Agra in A. D. 1666.
c. 1675–76		Death of Rāmsing according to some sources.
1667–1683[1]		Contact of *VMR* with Raja Rāmsing and composition of *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* for Prince Viṣṇusiṁha.

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1. After this paper was drafted I had occasion to read Roa Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's paper in the *P. V. Kane Volume* (1941) on "An Unkown but Daring Project of King Sambhaji," pp. 390–394. This paper refers to two Sanskrit letters of Sambhaji to Raja Rāmsing of Jaipur addressed in A. D. 1683. One of these letters is dated *c. 1682.* This date clearly shows that Rāmsing did not die *c. 1675.*

(Continued on the next page)

1676 ... Kulapati Miśra composed his *Droṇaparva* under the patronage of Rāmsing.

1682 ... Sanskrit letter of Sambhaji to Rāmsing.

1693 ... Death of Viṣṇusiṁha (or Bishansing), father of Sewai Jaising (A. D. 1699–1744).

1706 ... Date of India Office MS of *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* by *VMR*.

1720 ... Date of India Office MS of *Śambhuvilāsa* by *VMR*.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

as stated in *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (p. 328) but that he was living in A. D. 1682. Viśvanātha Rānaḍe mentions कुमार विष्णुसिंह and also states that he composed his work for this prince by order of Rāmsing. Rao Bahadur Sardesai says (in his footnote on p. 391 of his paper) that *Krishna Singh* or *Kisan Singh* was the only son of Rāmsing. This son was put to death at about the age of 19 near Parenda on *18th April, 1682*, by Aurangzeb for complicity with his rebel son Akbar. Sambhaji mentions 'कुमार कृष्णसिंह' in his letter to Rāmsing referred to above. He also mentions 'हाडा दुर्जनसिंह' who rose against Aurangzeb and was later killed in a fight. Viśvanātha Rānaḍe also mentions 'अर्जुन हिंदुसिंह'. Is he identical with 'हाडा दुर्जनसिंह'? Without a reliable history of Jaipur, based on contemporary sources, I find it difficult to deal with these names.

35. Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, the Brother of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the Guru of Sevai Jaising of Amber *

I have reconstructed elsewhere[1] the genealogy of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the author of the celebrated work on Dharmaśāstra called the *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma*. In this genealogy occurs the name of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa who was the brother of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. Accordding to the testimony of the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* of Kṛṣṇakavi composed about 1744 A. D., Prabhākarabhaṭṭa was a habitual resident of Mathura though his son Vrajanātha resided at Jaipur in company of Maharaja Sevai Jaising. It appears that Ratnākarabhaṭṭa's family had a Deccani origin[2] and it is possible to suppose

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* *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, pp. 293–296.

1. *Vide* my article on '*The Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jaising of Amber* (1699–1744 A. D.)' in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, p. 174. The genealogy of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa as reconstructed by me on the evidence of MSS is as follows :—

Devabhaṭṭa (Surname Mahāśabda — of Śāṇḍilya Gotra) →
- —*Prabhākara* (A. D. 1734) →
  - —*Vrajanātha* (A. D. 1755)
  - —*Gokulanātha*
- —*Ratnākara* (A.D. 1713) → *Gaṅgārama* (1755 A.D.) → *Rāmeśvara* (1755 A. D.) → *Viśveśvara* (after 1788 A.D.)

My friend Pandit Hari Narayan Purohit, B. A. of Jaipur informs me in a private communication dated 12–9–1938 that there is a grand building and garden at Jaipur which once belonged to Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the guru of Sevai Jaising. The descendants of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa are still living at Jaipur. His library of rare MSS or rather a portion of it that survived was added to the Private Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jaipur. I may suggest that a Manucripts Library in the name of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa should be opened by the Jaipur Darbar as a permanent memorial of the spiritual and religious association of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa with Maharaja Sevai Jaising, which brought about a revival of Hindu religion in his reign.

2. *Vide* p. 170, *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II. My reasons for proving the the Deccani origin of this family are as follows :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

that his father or grandfather may have migrated from the Deccan first to Benares and thence to Jaipur.

Though in my previous papers I have gathered some information about Ratnākarabhaṭṭa and Vrajanātha (his nephew) I could not get any information about Vrajanātha's father, viz. Prabhākarabhaṭṭa beyond the fact that he was a resident of Mathura ('*Mathuraikavāsī*') and that his son Vrajanātha was a follower of Vallabhācārya.[1] The very names Vrajanātha and his brother Gokulanātha indicate the influence of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa's residence at Mathura.

The influence of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa on Maharaja Sevai Jaising appears to have been very great as he was his *guru*. It is, however, interesting to find that even his nephew Vrajanātha and his brother Prabhākarabhaṭṭa had much to do with the course of political events during the reign of Sevai Jaising. In fact they were his advisers on important matters of state and in diplomatic negotiations. These remarks can be substantiated by a contemporary letter dated *16th August*, 1734,[2] from an agent of the

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

(1) In the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* Ratnākarabhaṭṭa is called *'Ṛgvedi'* (fol. 37 of MS No. 273 of 1883-84. — B. O. R. Institute MSS Library) verse 8.

(2) The *gotra* of this family was *'Śāṇḍilya'* as stated by Ratnākarabhaṭṭa in verse 27 of the *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* (fol. 4 of B. O. R. I. MS 253 of 1887-91).

(3) The family deity was *'Rāmacandra'* as Ratnākarabhaṭṭa calls himself *'Rāmāṅghripravaṇa'*. (*Vide* verse 27 of *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* referred to above.)

(4) The surname of the family was *'Mahāśabda'* which is equal to *'Mahāśabde'* now current in the Deccan among Ṛgvedi Deśastha Brahmins of Śāṇḍilya gotra. This surname is recorded by Viśveśvara, the great grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. (*Ibid.*, p. 173).

At Māṅgdari in the Bhor State near Poona there is a temple of Rāmacandra, the family deity of the Mahaśabdes belonging to that place.

1. *Vide* my article on *Vaidikavaiṣṇavasadācāra* (*Bombay Uni. Journal*, Vol. VI, Part VI (May 1938), p. 84, footnotes 1, 2 and 3.

2. *Peshwa Dafter Selections*, Vol. XXX, Letter No. 108, dated 16-8-1734. "Babuji Joshi reports Jaising having deputed one Dinanath to open peace talks with the Peshwa."

Peshwa at Jaipur who reports to his master at Poona as follows :— 'I, Babuji Joshi, in paying my respects to Shrimant Rajeśrī Svāmī (= Peshwa) have to report that owing to the blessings of the Svāmī I (the writer) have fared well up to *Śrāvaṇa vadi* 14, Friday. It was only yesterday that I received the letter of Dinānāthaji, who returned to Mathura after marriage. Dhondo Govind is at present at Delhi, engaged in carrying out the orders of the Svāmī. His letters will reach you shortly. In particular (I have to state) : Dinānāthaji came to Mathura, where *Vṛjanātha*, the purohit of Raje Jaising is staying at present. (In spite of his being a *purohit*) he holds considerable influence at present.[1] He has addressed one letter to you and also one letter to me to the effect that Raje (i. e. Sevai Jaising) was very much distressed on account of the molestations to his territory caused by Malharaji Holkar and Rānoji Sinde. He desires to maintain friendly relations (with you) at least in future and for this very purpose Vṛjanāthaji pressed Dinānāthaji to stay at Mathura and letters were despatched to us. If, therefore, you are inclined to make an alliance with Raje Jaising kindly arrange to send a letter to Āyāmalji stating that Dinānāthaji has been sent to him as your representative to speak on your behalf. Kindly send one responsible man to us with Dinānāthaji. Exchange of views will thus be facilitated — so much should be stated in your letter. You may also add that you desire to see him personally. In short he is a very influential man and hence it is desirable to make friends with him so that our object may be gained in course of time. *Vṛjanātha Dīkṣita* and his father *Prabhākara Dīkṣita* have sent a letter to you (Svāmī). After a perusal of that letter kindly reply to them in a gratifying manner.' [2]

I have no doubt that Vṛjanāth mentioned in the above letter of A. D. 1734 is identical with Vrajanātha, the son of Prabhākara as we know from the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* of Kṛṣṇakavi (1744 A. D.). Vṛjanātha and his brother Gokulanātha were always in the company

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1. *Ibid*—' सांप्रत काळांत वृजनाथजी यांची चाल फार आहे '

2. *Ibid*.—' वृजनाथ दीक्षित व त्यांचे तीर्थरूप प्रभाकर दीक्षित.यानी स्वामीस पत्र लिहिले आहे तें पत्र वाचून समाधानपूर्वक उभयतास पत्र ल्याहवीं'. It appears that Sevai Jaising sent his envoys to Gwalior for negotiating with Peshwa's officers. One of these envoys was a member of the Dīkṣita family. *Vide* P. D., Vol. XXX, Letter No. 132, dated '*about Sept*., 1735'— ' नरवरीहून राजश्री सवाइजी कडील दीक्षित व मुनसी ग्वालेरीस आले आहेत.'

of Sevai Jaising (तौ भ्रातरौ संनिहितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने ॥९॥ राज्ञोत्तम श्रीव्रजनाथवक्त्रविनिर्गतां शास्त्रकथामजस्रं। शृण्वन्सविद्वत्समुदायमध्ये धर्मेण कालं सकलं निनाय ॥१०॥). Obviously Sevai Jaising enjoyed their company very much on account of his own religiosity and the capacity of Vrajanātha to expound *dharma* to his royal patron.

My identification of *Vṛjanātha Dīkṣita* mentioned in the *Peshwa Dafter* letter with *Vrajanātha* the nephew of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa is further supported by the identity of parentage, the father's name Prabhākara being common to both the cases. From Syāma Laṭṭu's *Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka*[1] (composed in A. D. 1755) we know that Vrajanātha was patronized by Madhosing, the son of Sevai Jaising twenty-one years after A. D. 1734, the year of the *Peshwa Daftar* letter of Babuji Joshi. Even in A. D. 1734 Vrajanātha was competent to negotiate an alliance with Dinānāthaji, the Peshwa's representative and to enter into diplomatic correspondence with the Peshwa Bajirao the First, who has been advised by his agent Babuji Joshi to seek his friendship on account of the tremendous personal influence of Vrajanātha over Sevai Jaising. It may, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that in A. D. 1734 Vrajanātha was at least a middle-aged person and that during Madhosing's reign his friendship must have been sought by his royal patron mainly on account of Vrajanātha's personal cordial relations with his father Sevai Jaising, who died in 1744 A. D.

Vrajanātha's father Prabhākara Dīkṣita was living in A. D. 1734 and must have been an elderly person claiming much respect from Sevai Jaising on account of his being the brother of his guru Ratnākarabhaṭṭa who composed his *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* in A. D. 1713 by the order of Sevai Jaising. It is difficult to say anything about the date of death of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa for want of evidence though a conjecture may be warranted that he may then have been living in a very advanced state of old age leaving his work to his brother Prabhākara and nephew *Vrajanātha*, both competent to advise Sevai Jaising in religious and political matters as indicated by Babuji Joshi's letter of A. D. 1734.

I believe my present paper which links up Kṛṣṇakavi's testimony of A. D. 1744 with an earlier contemporary letter in the *Peshwa Daftar* of A. D. 1734 has to a certain extent revealed the personality of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa though nothing is as yet known to

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1. *Vide* M. M. Patkar's article on this poem in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 34–37.

us about his literary achievements which characterize his son Vrajanātha and his brother Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.

List of Historical Persons mentioned in the Paper.

1. *Prabhākarabhaṭṭa* — the brother of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa resident of Mathura.
2. *Ratnākarabhaṭṭa* — the guru of Sevai Jaising of Amber (A. D. 1699–1744) and author of *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* (composed 1713 A. D.).
3. *Kṛṣṇakavi* — Author of the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* composed by order of Īśvar Singh, the son of Sevai Jaising about A. D. 1744.
4. *Vrajanātha* — Son of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa and nephew of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. He wrote many works under the patronage of Sevai Jaising and his son Madhosing.
5. *Devabhaṭṭa* — Father of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, resident of Benares. His gotra was *Śāṇḍilya*. '*Mahāśabda*' was his surname. His family deity was god Rāmacandra. He appears to have been a Deccani Brahmin of the Ṛgvedi Śākhā.
6. *Gokulanātha* — Son of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa.
7. *Gaṅgārāma* — Son of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.
8. *Rāmeśvara* — Son of Gaṅgārāma and father of Viśveśvara-Bhaṭṭa Mahāśabda.
9. *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa*:— Great grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.
10. *Babuji Joshi* — An agent of the Peshwa Bajirao I at Jaipur (August 1734).
11. *Dinānātha* — Representative of the Peshwa Bajirao I at Jaipur in the matter of a friendly alliance with Sevai Jaising.

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36. Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the Author of Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya — His Works and Descendants, Between A. D. 1669 and 1760 *

In my papers[1] on the Aśvamedha performed by Maharaja Sevai Jaising of Amber I have made use of a contemporary kāvya called the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya*[2] composed by Kṛṣṇakavi, a court-poet of Sevai Jaising, by the order of Īśvarasing about A. D. 1744. Copies of my papers in question were sent to the late Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani, Director of Archaeological Researches at Jaipur and to Pandit Hari Narayan Purohit[3] of Jaipur as both these scholars were keenly interested in these papers and made proper use of them. Sahani made use of my papers in identifying a sacrificial post[4] at Jaipur which he has proved to be the relic of the Aśvamedha referred to above. Pandit Hari Narayan put me in touch with an illustrious descendant of Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the author of the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya*. This descendant is no other than Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha, the author of several Sanskrit and Hindi works[5] and now working as Professor of Sanskrit and Hindi in the Maharaja College at Jaipur. On the title-page of his *Sāhityavaibhavam* Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha describes himself as "तैलङ्गान्ववायसुधासागरसमुत्थश्रीलश्रीकृष्णाभिधानकाविकलानिधिवंशजेन (कृतं साहित्यवैभवम्)" and then in an Appendix to this work called the वंशवीथि pp. 525 to 648) he records every possible information regarding the his-

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* *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍal Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 15–23.

1. Vide the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, pp. 166-180 ; the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras), Vol. XV pp. 364–367; the *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa*, (Poona), Vol. II, pp. 43-46.

2. Represented by a single copy in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (= MS No. 273 of 1884-86 at the B. O. R. Institute).

3. Author of *Sundara Granthāvali* (2 vols.), 1937.

4. Vide *Archæological Report of Jaipur State* for 1936–37 and 1937–38, pp. 4–5, and Plate XVII (C) which is a photo of the "*Yajña-Stambha* of Maharaja Sewai Jaisingji."

5. His *Sāhitya-Vaibhavam* (1930, pp. 648) is an exquisite collection of Sanskrit Poems, very highly spoken of by Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Principal Gopinath Kaviraja and other Sanskritists.

tory of his family in detail. This history is divided into two parts :—(1) a metrical account of his family called कुलप्रबंध in 132 stanzas composed by one of his ancestors viz. हारिहरभट्ट[1] who is referred to by Kṛṣṇa Kavi in *Īśvaravilāsa kāvya* and (2) वंशपरिचय in Sanskrit prepared by Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha himself on the basis of sources for the history of his family available with him. The *Kulaprabandha* is very important as it gives us the history of this Tailanga Brahmin family upto A. D. 1700 or so. Harihara's father Rāmakṛṣṇa was in favour of Raja Ramsing[2] and was the guru[3] of Kṛṣṇa Sinha. Rāmakṛṣṇa was the son of वंशीधर and brother of नारायण, who was a pupil of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya[4] but unfortunately his life was a short-lived one.

The family of Kṛṣṇakavi belonged to गौतम *gotra*[5] according to the *Kulaprabandha* (= *KP*). The original ancestor of the family was one बावीजीदीक्षित[6] who migrated to *Kāśī* or Benares from

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1. On p. 563 of the *Sāhityavaibhavam* we find the verse referring to हरिहरभट्ट :—

"आज्ञातः श्रीसवाईश्वरधरणिपतेः प्राप्तभूरिप्रमोदः
संप्राप्योत्साहकश्रीहरिहरसुकवेः संमतं संशयघ्नम् ।
काव्यं नव्यं सुभव्यं भुवि रचयति यः प्रीतये पण्डितानाम्
सोयं श्री कृष्णशर्मा कृतमति नमति श्रीगुरोरङ्घ्रिपद्मम् ॥ ८ ॥"
(हरिहरसुकवेः 'कुलप्रबंध' निर्मातुः श्रीहरिहरभट्टस्य)

2. Son of Mirza Raja Jayasing (died 1667); verse 112 of श्रीकुलप्रबंध refers to रामकृष्ण's association with Rāmsing :—

"श्रीरामसिंहस्तनयस्तदीयः । श्रीरामकृष्णं रमयांबभूव ॥ ११२ ॥"

3. Verse 114 of कुलप्रबंध states :—

"गुरुवत्कृष्णसिंहेन रामकृष्णोथ मानितः"

Harihara refers to his father रामकृष्ण in verse 123 of कुलप्रबंध as follows :—

हरिहर इति नाम्ना रामकृष्णात्मजोयं
व्यरचयदथवंशज्ञानसिद्धयै प्रबन्धम्"

But for Harihara's कुलप्रबंध the history of this illustrious family would have remained a sealed book to us.

4. Verse 77 of कुलप्रबंध :—

"लब्ध्वा विद्या निखिलाः पण्डितराजाज्जगन्नाथात्
नारायणस्तु दैवादल्पायुः स्वपुरीमगमत् ॥ ७७ ॥"

5. *KP*. verse 7 :—"तमोपहन्ता खलु गौतमोभूत् ।

6. *KP*. „ 36 :—"बावीनामा समभवदलं...दीक्षितं नामधेयं ॥ ३६ ॥"

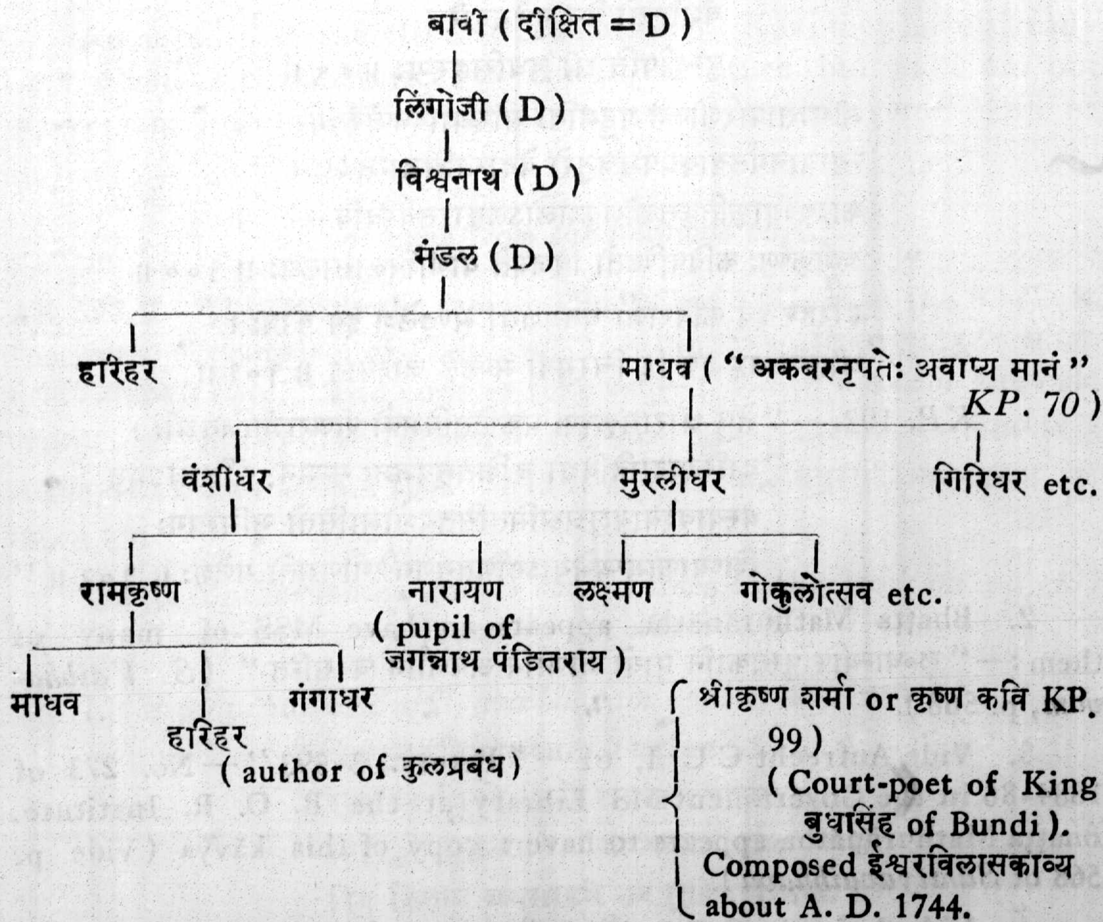
Southern India.[1] His native village was देवर्षि.[2] The genealogy of this family as revealed by the *KP* has been given in a table[3] by Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha. It shows that Kṛṣṇa Kavi and Harihara the author of the *KP* were contemporary cousins. In fact as Kṛṣṇa Kavi refers to Harihara, his cousin, in the beginning of the *Īśvaravilāsa* we find Harihara referring to Kṛṣṇa Kavi in the *KP* with admiration for the latter's poetic abilities and wishes him long life and prosperity.[4] Rāmakṛṣṇa, the father of Harihara, enjoyed royal

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1. *KP*. verse 37 :—" स दक्षिणो दक्षिणदिग्विभागात्काशीपुरीं प्राप धनर्द्धियुक्तः ॥ "

2. *KP*. ,, 67 :—" देवर्षिनाम्नि...निजपत्तनेस्मिन् ॥ ६७ ॥ "

3. I give below a fragment of this genealogy to enable us to understand the relation of Kṛṣṇa Kavi to Harihara the author of the KP :—



4. *Sāhityavaibhavam*, p. 546 ff.

" श्रीकृष्णशर्मा तनयस्तदानीम्
श्रीलक्ष्मणादाहितलक्षणोभूत् ।

(*Continued on next page*)

patronage and was much respected by his numerous illustrious pupils.[1]

Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha gives us a list of Hindi and Sanskrit works[2] of Kṛṣṇa Kavi as follows :—

" व्रजभाषायाम् — (1) अलङ्कारकलानिधि, (2) सांभर युद्ध, (3) जाजऊ युद्ध, (4) बहादुरविजय, (5) शृंगाररसमाधुरी, (6) विदग्धमाधवमाधुरी, (7) तैत्तिरीयाद्युपनिषदां प्राचीनहिंदीभाषायामनुवादः, (8) जयसिंहगुणसरिता, (9) रामचन्द्रोदय, (10) रामरासा, (11) वृत्तचन्द्रिका, (12) नखसिखवर्णनं, (13) दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी and others."

" संस्कृते — (1) ईश्वरविलासमहाकाव्यम् ,[3] (2) पद्यमुक्तावलिः[4] सुन्दरीस्तवराजः,[5] (3) वेदान्तपञ्चविंशतिः ."

(*Continued from previous page*)

वंशीकृतो येन गुणैरुदारै
बुन्दीपति श्री बुधसिंहरूपः ॥ ९९ ॥

मीमांसापरिशीलने पटुमतिः सांख्याब्धिपारंगमो
न्यायानर्गलवाक्प्रपञ्चचतुरो वेदान्तसिद्धान्तधीः ।
काव्यव्याकृतिभृत्तकोशकुशलोऽलङ्कारसर्वस्ववि —
च्छ्रीकृष्णः कविपण्डितो विजयते वाणीविलासालयः ॥ १०० ॥

हरिहर इव कविराजो धनयशसां मण्डलेश इव कोषः ।
श्रीकृष्णभट्ट एष हि चिरमुर्वी मण्डले जीव्यात् ॥ १०१ ॥

1. *KP*. 102. — " तेषु श्रीरामकृष्णः प्रकटितविभवो राजराजोर्जितश्रीः ।
दारिद्र्यद्राविविद्या वशितनृपजनः सन्मनः संश्रितोऽभूत्
यस्यावश्यायशुभ्रभ्रमितसितयशोभासितो भूमिभागः
शिष्याणामप्यमेयाऽगणितगुणगणैर्गौणभूतो गणेशः ॥ १०२ ॥ "

2. Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha appears to have MSS of many of them :— " लब्धान्यपि पुस्तकानि प्रायो जीर्णानि अपूर्णानि च सन्ति " (*S. Vaibhavam*, p. 568).

3. Vide Aufrecht C C I, 61 — " Peters. 3-393 " — No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Government MS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha appears to have a copy of this kāvya (Vide p. 568 of *Sāhityavaibhava*).

4. Vide Aufrecht C C I, 324 — " पद्यमुक्तावली, erotic verses quoted and perhaps composed by घासीराम in रसचन्द्र. " On p. 494 (CC I) Aufrecht states that घासीराम composed रसचन्द्र (alaṁk.) in A.D. 1696.

5. Vide Aufrecht CC III, 150 — " सुन्दरीस्तवराज — by कृष्णभट्ट

(*Continued on the next page*)

According to Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha Kṛṣṇa Kavi was born in *Saṁvat* 1725 = A. D. *1669* and died after *Saṁvat 1800* = A. D. 1744. If these dates are correct Kṛṣṇa Kavi was about 75 years old in A. D. 1744 ; but as he was patronized by Īśvara Sing and Madho Sing he may have reached a fair old age. Madho Sing came to the throne of Jaipur about A. D. 1751 after the struggle for the throne lasting for 5-6 years and after the suicide under tragic circumstances by Iśvara Sing. The B. O. R. I. copy of the work *Sundarīstavarāja* is dated *Saṁvat 1816 i.e.* A.D. *1769*. If Kṛṣṇa Kavi died after A. D. 1744–45, the above copy was made about 15 years after this date in A. D. 1760 when the age of Kṛṣṇa Kavi would have been 91 years. Perhaps he died a little earlier than A. D. 1760, the date of the B. O. R. I. MS of the *Sundarīstavarāja* in which he is called " कविकोविदकलानिधि. " Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha states on the authority of a Hindi work[1] that the title काव्यकलानिधि[2] was conferred on Kṛṣṇa Kavi by Sevai Jaising.

An account of the Hindi works of Kṛṣṇa Kavi may have already been given in the histories of Hindi literature but as I am not conversant with them I would like to note here only some MSS of

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

AK 597. " This MS is the same as No. 597 of 1891–95 at the B. O. R. Institute. It consists of 17 folios. It begins :— " शिवः शुद्धोबुद्धः शमित-गुणवृंदव्यतिकरः। etc. " and ends as follows :— " इति श्री ॥ १०८ ॥ श्रीदेवऋषि परमगुरु श्री कृष्णभट्टकविकोविदकलानिधिविरचितः सुन्दरीस्तवराजः समाप्तिमगात् ॥ ॥ संवत् १८१६ ॥ वर्षे मार्गशीर्षे शुक्लपक्षे ॥ १३ ॥ संपूर्णः ॥ श्रीमत्रिपुरसुंदरीचरणकमलाभ्यां नमः ॥ ६ ॥ "

Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha quotes some verses of this work on pp. 572 to 575. These verses are found in the above MS.

1. Vide p. 562 of *Sāhityavaibhavam* — " रावलचरित्रकाव्ये ".

" द्विजकुलकविश्रीकृष्णभयपंचद्रविडतैलंग
रामायन जिनने कियो रामरास परसंग ॥
विद्वत्कुले मुकुटमणि, ' काव्यकलानिधि ' दच्छ
दिय किताब जयसाहने सब भुविमें परतच्छ ॥ "

2. Vide p. 407 of *Report on Hindi MSS* by S. B. Miśra. Allahabad (1914), where a MS of Kṛṣṇa Kavi's सांभरयुद्ध is described, — (MS No. 301). In the first two lines of the MS the words " सुकविकला-

(*Continued on the next page*)

Kṛṣṇa Kavi's Hindi works[1] as found recorded in the Catalogues of Hindi MSS available to me.

(1) सांभरयुद्ध[2]—*MS No. 301* in Miśra's Report 1914, referred to above.

(2) अलंकारकलानिधि—*MS 179* (a) in Miśra's Report on Hindi MSS, 1924, p. 226—" Śrī Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa was a poet in the Jaipur Darbār but he seems to have subsequently shifted to the Bundī Darbār where he composed his शृंगाररसमाधुरी in 1712 A. D. under the patronage of Mahārāo Rājā *Budhsiṁha* who *sat on the gādi in 1707 A. D.*—MS is dated *1868 A. D.*—The colophon reads :—

" इति श्रीमन्महाराजा श्रीभोगीलालभूपालवचनाज्ञासकविकोविदचूडामनि श्रीकृष्णभट्टकविलालकलानिधिविरचिते अलंकारकलानिधौ etc.

(3) नखशिख — *MS No. 179*(*b*) (215 ślokas).
Begins :— " अथ श्री कृष्णभट्टकृत नषाशिषलिष्यते "

(4) शृंगाररसमाधुरी[3] —*MS No. 179* (c) Date of Composition *1712 A. D.*—Ends as follows :—

(*Continued from the previous page*)

निधिराय " with reference to the author are used by himself. Again the Colophon reads :— " इति श्री कबिकलानिधि श्रीकृष्णभट्टविरचितं संभरि जुद्ध-वर्णनं संपूर्णम्. Śrī Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the " Sambhara Juddha " or the account of the battle of Sambhara between the Saiyad Brothers (king-makers) of Delhi and Sewai Jaya Singh II (1699-1743) of Jaipur. He attended the Jaipur Court and flourished *early in the 18th Century.* "

1. *Report on Hindi MSS* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Allahabad, 1929, p. 279, describes a MS of a work " धर्म संवाद " by कृष्णकवि composed in Saṁvat 1775 — A. D. 1718. Then again a MS of विदुरप्रजागर by कवि-कृष्ण is described on p. 187 of Shyam Sunder Das : *Report on Hindi MSS* (1912). I cannot say if these authors have any connection with कृष्णकवि of Jaipur.

2. Vide p, 313 of *Cata. of Indic MSS* in *U. S. A. and Canada* by H. Poleman, 1938.

MSS No. 6004 — संभरयुद्ध by कृष्णभट्ट, 5 folios. *Saṁ. 1910 — A. D. 1854* copied by Gaṅgādhara. " An account of the battle of Sambhara between the Saiyad Brothers of Delhi and Sewai Jai Singh II (1699-1743) of Jaipur. H. 360. "

3. Ibid *MS No. 6003* — शृंङ्गाररसमाधुरी by कृष्णभट्ट, 91 folios. *Saṁvat 1842, A. D. 1786.* Copied by देवचंद्र. H. 1330.

" इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजरावराजेन्द्रश्रीबुद्धसिंहजीदेवाज्ञाप्रवर्तकविकोविद-चूडामणिसकलकलानिधिश्रीकृष्णभट्टदेवऋषिविरचितायां शृंगाररसमाधुर्यां षोडशोऽस्वादः ॥ "

Kṛṣṇa Kavi makes a reference to his deceased father लक्ष्मण in the following extract of his *Padyamuktāvali* :—

(*Sāhityavaibhavam* p. 557)—

" सहैव सर्वविद्याभिः सहैव श्रुतिभूषणैः
सहैव सकलैः शास्त्रैः लक्ष्मणाख्यो दिवंगतः ॥ २ ॥
गच्छत्यान्वीक्षिकीयं क्षयमथविशतिव्याकृतिर्वह्निमध्ये
मीमांसामूर्छिताभूदनिशमुपनिषत्खेदिता वेदनाभिः ।
मग्ना सा कापिली गीर्गुरुविरहगता योगगीर्भंग्नयोगा
याते निर्वाणमाते जितसुकृतफले श्रीगुरौ लक्ष्मणाख्ये ॥ ३ ॥ "

Besides the title " कविकलानिधि " conferred on Kṛṣṇa Kavi by Sevai Jai sing he also obtained the title रामरासाचार्य from this King in appreciation of the poet's work " रामरासा." Madhosing gave Kṛṣṇa Kavi one village[1] (1) कर्मपुर and (2) in हथरोही village, land measuring 100 bighas. In the पद्यमुक्तावली Kṛṣṇa Kavi expresses his gratitude to Madhosing in the following verse :—

(*Śāhityavaibhavam*, p. 564)—

" श्रीमद्राजाधिराजे सतिसमुपकृतं भूरि रामायणेन
प्रारब्धादीश्वरेऽभूत्कविविबुधगुणग्राहितैवोपकर्त्री ।
भाति प्रोच्चैररातिप्रकरहरकरः कोविदानां कवीनां
भाग्यैः श्रीमाधवाख्यो नरपतिरघुनाऽनाकारि केनोपकारः "

Kṛṣṇa Kavi appears to have wandered in different parts of India. His contact with Malwa is echoed in some parts of his *Padyamuktāvali*.[2] In his poem *Īśvaravilāsa* he describes the foundation of Brahmapuri by Sevai Jai sing and the god Gaṇeśa at Ganeśagadh in Brahmapuri.[3] He also refers to the foundation

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1. In the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* Kṛṣṇa Kavi refers to the grant of a village to him by Īśvara Sing as a reward for the composition of this Kāvya at the time of his coronation.

2. This collection of verses contains verses devoted to a description of Malwa ladies, God Mahā Kāla, river Narmadā etc. (*S. Vaibhava*, p. 565).

3. Ibid p. 566— येन ब्रह्मपुरी कृताऽतिधवलैः etc. and " श्रियं धत्ते यस्यामधिगिरिशिर श्री गणपतेः "

of modern Jaipur by Sevai Jai sing in A. D. 1728[1] in his *Padyamuktāvali*, which appears to have been composed after A. D. 1751, when Madho Sing came to the throne. Kṛṣṇa Kavi's work *Durgābhakatitaraṅgiṇi* may have been composed at Bharatpur before his contact with King Budha Simha of Bundi, who came to the throne in A. D. 1707. An echo of this contact of our poet with Bharatpur is found in the *Padyamuktāvali*[2] which refers to king Sūryamalla of Bharatpur. One Audumbarabhaṭṭa was a rival of Kṛṣṇa Kavi as we find from a contemptuous reference to him in one of his verses.[3] Elsewhere we find a reflection of our poet's sense of self-confidence and self-respect, which was characteristic of the poet Bhavabhūti of old.[4] In fact the poet was determined to pass his last days at Vṛndāvana after the tragic suicide of Īśvara Sing in A. D. 1751 but on account of the pressing request of Madho Sing he remained at the Jaipur Court.[5]

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1. Ibid, p. 566 — " जाग्रत्कामाधिराज्या जयति जयपुराख्या नवा राजधानी. "

2. Ibid p. 568 — There is a reference to King सूर्यमल्ल of Bharatapur in the following verse of *Padyamuktāvali*.

" इतो हैन्दवीं सृष्टिमानन्दयन् स्वै —
गुणौघैस्ततो यावनीं सृष्टिमुच्चैः ।
महेन्द्रास्पदे श्रीयुतः सूर्यमल्ल —
स्तटद्वन्द्वसंयत्तरङ्गसमुद्रः ॥ "

" उद्यन् दोषाकरस्याप्यथ निजचरणैकाश्रयस्य प्रभावं
तन्वानः किंकराणां किमुत गुणवतां रज्यतामम्बुजानाम् ।
भाति ख्यातप्रभातोदयगिरिगतितोद्दामविद्योतरश्मि —
प्रोदञ्चन्मण्डलाग्रप्रचुरतररुचिः श्रीयुतः सूर्यमल्लः ॥ "

In view of the reference to the contemporary life and events in the *Padyamuktāvali*, this collection of verses by Kṛṣṇa Kavi deserves publication.

3. *S. Vaibh.* p. 567 — " गुणवद्वाणितोऽगुणिनां शृणुयादेवैष सुमधुरा वाचः ॥
यद्यस्य कर्णलग्नो नस्यादौदुम्बरो मशकः ॥ "

4. *S. Vaibh.* —567— *Padyamuktāvali* has the following verse:—

" ज्वलतु जलधिक्रोडक्रीडत्कृपीटभवप्रभा —
प्रतिभटपटुज्वालामालाकुलोजठरानलः ।
तृणमपि वयं सार्यं संफुल्लमल्लिमतल्लिका
परिमलमुचा वाचा याचामहे न महेश्वरान् ॥ "

5. *S. Vaibh.* p. 567 — *Padyamuktāvali*.

" कालिन्दीतटनिकटस्फुटकुटजकुटीनिवाससौख्याय ।
व्यरचि मृषाभाषणमपि, न तदजनि हृदि महत्कष्टम् ।

(*Continued on the next page*)

An accurate estimate[1] of our poet's learning and poetic abilities has already been given by Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha who is himself a Sanskrit poet of no mean order and hence I need not enter into this aspect of my study, which is merely confined to Kṛṣṇa Kavi's life and works as disclosed by his own works and contemporary history.

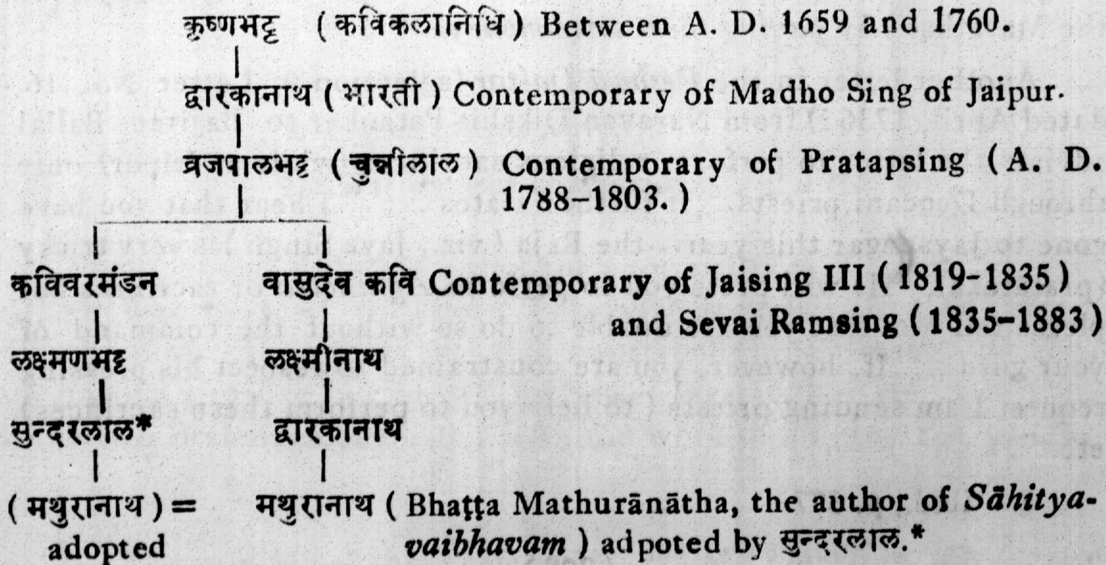
So far I have dealt with the ancestry of our poet as rocorded in the *Kulaprabandha* of Harihara Kavi, a cousin of the poet. Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha has given us the genealogy of Kṛṣṇa Kavi's descendants and their lives in the *Vaṁśavīthi* which closes with an account of his own life up to date.[2] We need not, therefore, deal with it here.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

राज्ञां सदस्सु गमनं कविताकरणं मृषाऽऽकलनम् ।
वृन्दावनवासार्थं व्यरचि विधे किं न तदपि संपन्नम् ।
मिथ्याकथनदुरत्यय नृपवरकृतरक्षणव्यथादुष्टः ।
हा वृंदावन भवता संप्रति दुराद्विमुक्तोऽस्मि ॥''

1. *S. Vaibh.* pp. 569–581.

2. Vide pp. 582 to 648 of the *Sāhityavaibhavam*. — I note below a fragment of the genealogy which links up Kṛṣṇa Kavi to Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha :—



37. Some contemporary Evidence regarding the Aśvamedha Sacrifice performed by Sevai Jayasing of Amber (1699-1744 A. D.)*

In an article[1] on "*Sewai Jayasingh* of Amber, A. D. *1699-1743*" Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar states :—

" I am going to show that Sewai Jaising most probably did not celebrate any Aśvamèdha and that he was certainly not a vassal[2] of the Mughal emperors of Delhi during the later years of his reign."[3]

He further concludes his article with the remarks: "We therefore, hold that the suggestions that Sewai Jayasing of Amber performed a horse sacrifice and that he was a feudatory of the Mughal emperors all through his life (or at the time of celebrating

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* *Journal of Indian History* (Madras), Vol. XV, pp. 364-367.

1. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 376-379.

2. Vide *Peshwā Daftar Selection* No. 14 (Maratha Conquests in the North) Letter No. 39, dated *21st October*, 1735 — This is a news letter received at Satara from the Maratha agent, Mayaram at Delhi and communicated to the Peshwa. It mentions the Plans of the Emperor to oppose the encroachments of the Marathas. It states further :— " *The Mogul Emperor* (*pātashah*) *is displeased with Jaya Singh because he made an alliance with the troops of the enemy* (i.e. the Marathas) *by paying them some money*.

Another letter in the *Peshwā Daftar* (selection 9, Letter No. 16, dated April, 1736 ?) from Narayan Dikshit Patankar to Bajirao Ballal advises the latter to perform religious sacrifices (while at Jaipur) only through Deccani priests. It further states :— " I hear that you have gone to Jayanagar this year...the Raja (viz., Jaya Singh) is very tricky (pratāraka). He will press you to perform *Agnihotra* or sacrifices but please tell him that you are unable to do so without the command of your guru......If, however, you are constrained to respect his pressing request I am sending priests (to help you to perform these sacrifices) etc. ".

3. Ibid., p. 377.

the supposed Aśvamédha) are both inadmissible. (Some points in this note were suggested to the author by Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhari). "

It is for students of history proper to see how far the conclusion reached by Mr. Sircar regarding the Aśvamedha sacrifice is tenable. I shall, however, record here the following evidence which definitely contradicts Mr. Sircar's conclusion that Sewai Jayasingh did not perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

I think the testimony of a court-poet of the Jaipur State will have to be considered with some respect to decide the point at issue. Such testimony is fortunately available in a historical poem called the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya*,[1] which was written by order of Īśvara Singh, the son of Sewai Jayasingh of Jaypur, the subject of Mr. Sircar's note referred to above. The following verse 13 of Chapter I of the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya*, supports my statement :—

" आज्ञातः श्रीसवाईश्वरधरणिपतेः ज्ञातभूरिप्रमोदः
संप्राप्तोत्साहकश्रीहरिहरसुकवे संशयं संशयघ्नं ।
काव्यं नव्यं सुभव्यं भुवि रचयति यः प्रीतये पंडितानां
सोऽयं श्री कृष्णशर्मा कृतमति नमति श्री गुरोरंघ्रिपद्मं ॥ १३ ॥ "

It is, therefore, clear that Kṛṣṇa Kavi was the court-poet of the Jaypur State about A. D. 1743–44 and even earlier. He composed the poem under reference at the time of the coronation of Īśvara Singh under an express order from this prince as stated in verse 34 of chapter X which reads as follows :—

" तत्रैव राज्यतिलकोत्सव एष राजा
श्री कृष्णभट्टकवये कुरु काव्यमेकं ।
अस्मत्कुलक्रमकथाकथनाभिरामं
इत्याज्ञया सह ददौ सुमहाप्रसादं ॥ ३४ ॥ "

The poet was duly rewarded for composing this poem and a village was granted to him. This village was situated near Hiraṇyapura. It appears that this court-poet was present at the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Sewai Jayasingh. He was one of the two Brahmans entrusted with the work of singing the praise

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1. The only MS of this poem is No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

of the *Yajamāna* who was no other than Sewai Jayasingh himself as stated in verse 22 of chapter V which deals with अश्वमेधवर्णन or description of the Aśvamedha sacrifice :—

" द्वौ वीणागायिनौ विप्रौ श्रीकृष्णकविलक्ष्मणौ ।
राजर्षिभिः समं तत्र यजमानमगायताम् ॥ २२ ॥ "

Chapter IV of this poem deals with वाजिमेधारंभ or the preparations of this Aśvamedha sacrifice while the next chapter V deals with the detailed description of the sacrifice. Brahmans wearing red turbans stalked in the sacrifical *maṇḍapa* distributing blessings to the *Yajamāna* :—

" विरेजुर्लोहितोष्णीषाः प्रचरंतो मखे द्विजाः ।
राज्ञेऽस्मै यजमानाय दायमानाः शुभाशिषः ॥ २८ ॥ "

A beautiful picture of the *Yajamāna*, Sewai Jayasingh, is given by the poet in the following lines :—

" तत्र धौततमे सूक्ष्मे वाससी विमले वहन् ।
कृष्णाजिनधरः स्कंधे मृगशृंगं करे दधत् ॥ ३७ ॥
अश्वमेधमखे दीक्षां बिभ्रत्परमदुर्लभां ।
महाभाग्यवतामीशो पारपौरुषसारभृत् ॥ ३८ ॥
शिखासूत्रधरोदारं दीप्तिराजर्षिसंस्तुतः ।
साक्षाद्धर्मावतारोऽसौ यजमानोऽभ्यराजत ॥ ३९ ॥ "

The Yajamāna had his sacrificial bath in the waters of the Mānasāgara lake :—

" नानातीर्थशतानीता नीरनिक्षेपभासुरे ।
मानसागरतोयेषु चकारावभृथं नृपः ॥ ५१ ॥ "

In verse 8 of chapter III Sewai Jayasingh is called " वाजिमखयाजिभूपति. " In verse 23 of chapter IV we are told that Sewai Jayasingh announced his intention of performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice " अतः परं कर्त्तुमनाः किलास्मि भवत्प्रसादादहमश्वमेधं " and sent letters to learned Brahmans of Benares to that effect " चक्रेऽधिवाराणसिपत्रलेखं महामहापंडितराजचक्रे " (verse 28). The sacrificial *maṇḍapa* was erected on the banks of the lake Mānasāgara as stated in the closing verse of the chapter called वाजिमेधारंभ :—

" पूर्वं मानक्षितिपतिकृतेः सागरस्य प्रतीरे ।
राज्ञा तेन व्यरचि विभवैर्मंडितो यज्ञवाटः ॥ "

The date of Sewai Jayasingh's death is recorded by Kṛṣṇa Kavi in verse 11 of chapter X :—

" वर्षे सोष्टादशशततमे विक्रमार्कस्य शाके
मासे चैवाश्विननिगदिते शुक्लभूतादिने च ।
प्रातःकाले हृदयकमलानीतगोविंददेवो
देवो देवोपमगतिरसून्प्रोग्यतस्मिन्विलिल्ये ॥ २१ ॥ "

The date recorded in the above verse tallies in material particulars with the date of Sewai Jayasingh's death as given in *Vīra-vinoda*[1] viz., *14th* day of the *bright half* of *Aśvina*, 1800 *Vikrama Saṁvat* " which corresponds to *Tuesday, 9th October*, 1744 *A. D.*[2]

In view of Kṛṣṇa Kavi's testimony regarding the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice I find it difficult to agree in the opinion expressed by Mr. Dines Chandra Sirkar that Sewai Jayasingh did not perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice. Mr. Sircar states: " If he (Sewai Jayasingh) performed any Aśvamedha at all he might have done it after 1739 and before 1743. " Presuming this statement to be correct I would like to point out that the difference between the date of composition of the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* and the date of the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice would not be greater than 5 years and consequently the testimony of Kṛṣṇa Kavi regarding the performance of the Aśvamédha sacrifice and its graphic description as indicated above, will have to be regarded with some respect as it is a contemporary piece of evidence. Secondly, Kṛṣṇa Kavi was himself present at the sacrifice as stated by him.

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1. I am indebted for this information to my friend, Mr. Bishewarnath Reu, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.

2. Indian Ephemeris, Vol. VI, p. 29.

38. The Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jayasing of Amber (1699 - 1744 A. D.) *

In my article published in the *Journal of Indian History*,[1] Madras, I produced contemporary evidence to contradict the suggestion of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sarkar that "*Sevai Jayasing most probably did not celebrate any Aśvamedha.*" Since the publication of my paper I have come across some more documentary evidence of an anthology called the *Padyataraṅgiṇī*, 3 MSS[2] of which are available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This evidence corroborates the evidence already recorded by me proving beyond all doubt the performance of the Aśvamedha by Sevai Jayasing. I shall refer in this paper to the MS of the *Padyataraṅgiṇī* viz. No. 725 of 1886-92 acquired by Peterson[3] for the Govt. of Bombay. The work was composed by

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* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, pp. 166-180.

1. Vol. XV, pp. 364-367.

2. There are in all three MSS of this anthology recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. They are identical with the following MSS in the Government MSS Library :—

(i) *No. 725 of 1886-92* — Text with author's own commentary on the 102 *anyokti* verses of the text. The commentary is called "अन्योक्तिपद्यभावप्रकाश" in the colophon on folio 23 of the MS. The MS contains 37 verses styled as "नृपतिवंशवर्णन" plus an additional verse recording the date of composition viz. the year 1809 (Saṁvat) — folios 28.

(ii) *No. 724 of 1886-92* — Same as above — folios 25.

(iii) *No. 421 of 1887-91* — Contains text and commentary but does not contain the verse of the chronogram as also the 37 verses regarding "नृपातिवंशवर्णन." It ends as follows :— "मीती मार्गसीरसु शुक्ल ॥ १३ ॥ संवत् ॥ १८५१ ॥ पुस्तक लालामथुराकिशोरजीने लिषी आत्मपठनार्थं जयनगरमध्ये श्रीबिजेगोविंदमंदिरे"

I am thankful to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma, M.A., Ph.D., for drawing my attention to the references to हयमेध in the above anthology.

3. Vide *Fourth Report* (1894), pp. 26-32.

Vrajanātha[1] to please Mādhava or Madhosing, son of Sevai Jayasing,[2] on *Sunday*, *Ekādaśī*, month of *Pauṣa* of the year 1809 which corresponds to *14th January 1753*.[3] Verses 1 to 37 at the end of the work are devoted to the praise of Jayasing and his son Madhosing = Mādhava. In particular verses 1 to 10 deal directly with Sevai Jayasing and the sacrifice performed by him. I shall, therefore, reproduce them here to acquaint the reader with their contents and their bearing on the question at issue viz. the Aśvamedha sacrifice commonly attributed to Sevai Jayasing. These verses read as under :—

" यस्तीक्ष्णांशुकुले बभूव विमले श्रीमान्धराधीश्वरः
पृथ्वीराज इति प्रभावमहितः प्रत्यर्थि जेता रणे ।
श्री कूर्मान्वयभूषणं नरहरिप्रेमैकपात्रं श्रियो
लीलासद्मगुणैकधाम सकलक्षोणीशचूडामणिः ॥ १ ॥

तद्वंशे सततावदातचरितः प्रौढप्रतापानल-
ज्वालाजालविदीपितारिनिवहः सच्छास्त्रनिष्णातधीः ।
देवब्राह्मणपूजकोतियशसा कुर्वन्सितं भूतलं
जातः श्रीजयसिंह इत्यभिधया ख्यातो धराधीश्वरः ॥ २ ॥

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1. Vrajanātha edited a work called वैदिकवैष्णवसदाचार composed by हरिकृष्णमिश्र by order of Sevai Jayasing (See MS No. 443 of 1891-95— B. O. R. I. Govt. MSS Library, folio 22 — " ग्रंथोयं वैष्णवैर्ग्राह्यो व्रजनाथेन संस्कृतः । व्रजनाथमयेनाहो काविना यज्ञकारिणा."

हरिकृष्णमिश्र mentions जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम (Composed in A. D. 1713) on folio 21 of the MS of वैदिकवैष्णवसदाचार. He appears to be identical with हरिकृष्णशर्मा, a Karnāṭaka Brahmin who attended the Aśvamedha of Sevai Jayasing as stated by कृष्ण कवि in Chap. IV (वाजिमेधारंभ) verse 41 of ईश्वरविलासकाव्य (MS No. 273 of 1884-86). This verse reads as follows :—

" कर्णाटदेश्यद्विजवंशदीपश्श्रराचरे यश्चयनीप्रसिद्धः ।
सोत्रागतः श्रीहरिकृष्णशर्मा पुरस्कृतो गोकुलवासिवर्यैः ॥ ४१ ॥"

2. Ibid, p. 29, verse 11 and p. 32, verse 36 which reads :—
" तत्तुष्ट्यै व्रजनाथेन रम्या पद्यतरंगिणि ।
निबद्धा शोधनीयेयं सद्भिः सारानुरागिभिः ॥ ३६ ॥"

3. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 308 — The chronogram is recorded by the author in the following verse at the end of the MS —

" नंदाभ्रवसुशीतांशु १८०९ मितेऽब्दे मासि पौषके ।
एकादश्यां रविदिने ग्रंथः संपूर्णतामगात् ॥ "

केनाभवन्नृपतयो बत विक्रमाद्याः
केनाथकारि न हि तेषु तुरंगमेधः ।
अस्मिन्युगे निखिलभूपतिसार्वभौम-
तद्यज्ञकृद्विजयते जयसिंह एकः ॥ ३ ॥

पारीक्षितोपि विदधे हयमेधमुच्च-
स्तत्रापशापमयमुत्तमपूरुषोपि ।
राजाधिराज[1]जयसिंह नृपश्चकार
निर्विघ्नमेनमधुना भगवत्प्रसादात् ॥ ४ ॥

योदाद्वनीपककुलेषु सुवर्णपूगा-
नंभःकणानिव नभःस्थितवारिवाहः ।
वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधमुच्चै-
श्चक्रे तथा क्रतुशतानि महाधनानि ॥ ५ ॥

आसन्पूर्वं मानसिंहादयोषे
भास्वद्वंश्याः क्षोणिपाजाः केयतः ।
चक्रुर्भूमिं भूमिपालान्वशेते
श्रौते मार्गे नैव निष्ठामवापुः ॥ ६ ॥

राजाधिराजो जयसिंह येक-
स्तद्वंशजः प्राक्तनपुण्यपुंजात् ।
संभावितो दक्षिणदिग्द्विजेन्द्रैः
श्रद्धालुरासीच्छ्रुतिधर्म्म एव ॥ ७ ॥

पपाठ वेदं विदधेग्निहोत्रं
चकार यज्ञान्विविधान्सदैव ।
धनं ददौ ब्राह्मणपुंगवेभ्यो
ग्रामान् गजांश्चापि तुरंगमांश्च ॥ ८ ॥

बभौ स तस्य क्रतुराट् तदानीं
महेंद्रसंस्पर्द्धि समृद्धिभाजः ।
अत्रागतश्चेत्रकुलः सदैवा-
स्स्वर्णार्द्धपार्श्वोथ भविष्यदेव ॥ ९ ॥

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1. Compare *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* of Kṛṣṇa Kavi, B. O. R. Insti. MS No. 273 of 1884–86 folio 8 :—

" यस्यावलोक्य धरणीवलये समंतात्
सर्वेषु राजसु विशिष्टतरानुभावं ।
दिल्लीश्वरः सपदिजातमनःप्रसादो-
राजाधिराजपदमार्पितवान्प्रकामं ॥ २२ ॥ "

See also Irvin : *Later Moguls*, Vol. II, pp. 124. The title राजाधि-राज was conferred on Sevai Jayasing on *12 June 1723*.

वेदव्यासतनुः पुराणमनने तर्कागमे गौतमो
वेदांतार्थविवेचने विधिसुतः काव्येषु काव्योपरः ।
शेषो व्याकरणे कलासु कुशलो गर्गस्तथा ज्यौतिषे
नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणो जयहारिः क्षोणीशमुख्योभवत् ॥ १० ॥ ”

The mention of तुरंगमेध (v. 3) and of हयमेध (verses 4 and 5) by Vrajanātha in A. D. 1753 will settle once for all the doubts of historians regarding the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Sevai Jayasing. The explicit statement of Vrajanātha that Jayasiṁha performed the *hayamedha* according to Vedic injunctions (" वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधम्...चक्रे ") is another direct contemporary testimony of a writer connected with the Jaipur court in 1753 A.D. and it would be worthwhile recording in this paper some information about this writer furnished by contemporary records.

A poem in praise of King Mādhava Siṁha = Madhosing, son of Sevai Jayasing, was composed by one Śyāma Laṭṭū in Śaka 1677 (= A. D. 1755) *i.e.* two years after the composition of Vrajanātha's *Padyataraṅgiṇī*. The title of this poem is *Mādhavasiṁhāryā-Śataka.*[1] It mentions the names of several learned men who flourished at Jaipur during the reign of Madho Sing. They are :— *Gaṅgārāma* (v. 122), *Rāmeśvara* (v. 123), *Gopīnātha* (v. 124), *Viśvanātha* (v. 124), *Vrajanātha* (v. 125), *Sudhākara Śarmā* (v. 126), *Yamunākara Śarmā* (v. 127), *Haridatta Śarmā* (v. 128), *Kevalarāma* (v. 129); *Sadāśiva Śarmā* (v. 130), *Ravidatta Śarmā* (v. 131), and *Śaṁkaradatta* (v. 132), who was perhaps a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin (महाराष्ट्री ज्ञातिर्यस्येषासर्वविख्याता — " v. 133). The verse which describes व्रजनाथ reads as follows :—

" जयति श्रीव्रजनाथः कविरिह सततं व्रजाधीशे ।
सुकलितदृढतरभक्तिर्जयपुरनगरे पुराधीशे ॥ १२५ ॥ "

The statement made in the above verse that Vrajanātha was strongly attached to Madhosing[2] is proved by the composition of

1. Vide note on this poem by Mr. M. M. Patkar in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 34-37.

2. Vide *Peshwa Dafter* XXI — Letter.No. 38 dated *25th January, 1751* — Govind Ballal reports to the Peshwa that Jayaji Scindia and Malharrao Holkar left Jaipur *ofter seating Madhosing on the Jaipur throne*. Vide also *Peshwa Dafter II*, Letter No. 31, dated *21st February, 1751*, which mentions the " horrid murders perpetrated

(*Continued on the next page*)

he *Padyataraṅgiṇī* by Vrajanātha with a view to pleasing (तत्तुष्ट्यै) his patron.

More information about the family of Vrajanātha is supplied to us by Kṛṣṇakavi the author of the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya*, only one MS of which is available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona viz. No. 273 of 1883-84. In chapter X of this historical kāvya we get the following verses regarding Vrajanātha Śarmā and other members of his family :—

Folio 37 —

" धुरंधरे राज्यधुरं समस्तं पुत्रे निधायेश्वरसिंघनाम्नि ।
क्रमान्निवृत्ताखिलभोगतृष्णः कृष्णाद्वयप्रेमभरं बभार ॥ ५ ॥

विधाय सम्यक् सुकृतात्मकानि कार्याणि विज्ञातपरात्मतत्त्वः ।
गोविंददेवस्य पदारविंदे प्रमाणमेकांतमनन्यमूहे ॥ ६ ॥

तस्याखिले पंडितराजचक्रे मान्यो गुरुभ्रातृसुतोतिविद्वान् ।
श्रीपौंडरीकाध्वरयाज[1]योभून्नित्यं समीपे व्रजनाथशर्मा ॥ ८ ॥

ऋग्वेदिविप्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।
प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥ ८ ॥

तदात्मजः श्रीव्रजनाथनामा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
तौ भ्रातरौ संनिहितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने ॥ ९ ॥

प्राज्ञोत्तमश्रीव्रजनाथवक्त्रविनिर्गतां शास्त्रकथामजस्रं ।
शृण्वन्सविद्वन्समुदायमध्ये धर्मेण कालं सकलं निनाय ॥ १० ॥ "

The above verses explicitly tell us that Sevai Jayasing entrusted the administration of the state to his son Īśvarasingh (v. 5). He then spent his time in devotional duties towards God Govinda (v. 6). In the whole assembly of pandits at his Court there was always by his side one *Vrajanātha Śarmā*, who was the son of the brother of his *guru* and who was very much respected on account of his deep learning. *Vrajanātha* had performed a Pauṇ-

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

upon the Maratha forces by orders of Madhosing." In an earlier letter (No. 29 dated 15 Feb. 1751) Madhosing is styled "दुर्बुद्धि" or wicked and "विश्वासघातकी" or treacherous.

1. In the colophons of the MSS of *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* compiled by Ratnākara, the author is called "देवभट्टात्मजपौंडरीकयाजि-रत्नाकर" (See MS No. 253 of 1887-91, folio 193).

ḍarīka sacrifice. *Ratnākara* was the guru of the King (Jayasingh). He was an ornament to the line of *Ṛgvedi brahmins.* He had a brother by name *Prabhākara*, who always resided at *Mathurā* (v. 8). One of his sons was *Vrajanātha* while the other was called *Gokulanātha.* These two brothers were always at the side of the King expounding to him the meaning of the *Śāstras* (v. 9). *Vrajanātha*, who was the wisest among the brahmins personally expounded the *Śāstras* to the King almost without a break and in this manner the King passed his entire time in the company of the learned, listenting to the Śāstras and acting according to *dharma* (v. 10).

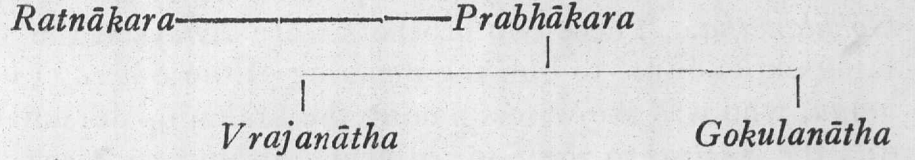
After the tragic end of Īśvarasingh,[1] *Vrajanātha* appears to have transferred his loyalty and attachment from Sevai Jayasing to his other son Madhosingh as evidenced by the composition of the work *Padyataraṅgiṇī* referred to above which was definitely

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1. Vide *Peshwa Dafter* II, (p. 53) Letter No. 31 dated *21st February 1751*. This is an important news letter addressed to *Govindpant Bundele* by his accountant *Baburao Vishnu*, from the camp of *Malharrao Holkar* and *Jayapa Scinde* in the vicinity of Jaipur. This letter of five pages gives a detailed account of the circumstances which resulted in the suicide of *Īśvarasing* and the treacherous conduct of Madhosing against the Maratha forces led by *Subhedar Malharrao Holkar* and *Jayapa Scinde.*

The old administrators of the State viz. *Hargovind* and *Vidyādhara* reported to *Īśvarsing* that the troops of Holkar had arrived at the gate of Jaipur. *Īśvarsing* asked them to negotiate for peace but they refused to approach *Holkar* whereupon feeling helpless and desperate *Īśvarsing* ordered his page to get a live cobra as also some *somalkhār* (= arsenic). He then took some of this poison himself and got the cobra to bite him. He died early at dawn. His three wives and one mistress also poisoned themselves and fell dead in the palace rooms. *Har Govind* and *Vidyādhara* reported this tragic occurrence to Holkar, who kept a guard at the palace and later cremated the body of *Īśvarsing* with due honour along with the bodies of three wives and one mistress. After successful negotiations carried on by *Har Govind* and *Vidyādhar*, *Holkar* withdrew his forces from the town of Jaipur. One queen and twenty mistresses of *Īśvarsing* burnt themselves as *Sati.* Madhosing returned to Jaipur after a fortnight and rode into the town on elephant's back together with Holkar. Jayapa Scinde came to Jaipur eight days after Madhosing's arrival.

composed to please his new patron. From the verses quoted above from the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* we get the following genealogy of Vrajanātha's family :—



Ratnākara mentioned in the above genealogy given by Kṛṣṇakavi in his *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* is identical with Ratnākara, the author of the Dharmaśāstra compendium called the *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma* composed at the request of Sevai Jayasing. Ratnākara belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gotra and was the son of a Brahmin, Devabhaṭṭa, a resident of Benares.[1] The *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* has given us the name only of one brother of Ratnākara viz. Prabhākara. It appears, however, from Ratnākara's reference to his brothers in the *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma* that he had two brothers.[2]

Ratnākara completed his *Jayasiṁha Kalpadruma* in A. D. 1713 Saṁvat 1770, in the month of *nabhas* i.e. Bhādrapada) as stated in verse 5 of the colophon.[3] Further information about the descendants of Ratnākara is luckily available and my attention

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1. Vide the following verses at the beginning of *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* (MS No. 253 of 1887-91) fol. 4 —

> "तेन श्रीजयसिंहेन सर्वशास्त्रार्थसंविदा ।
> संप्रार्थितं तिथेः कृत्यं कुरुतेति सुसंग्रहम् ॥ २६ ॥
>
> रामांघ्रिप्रवणः सुकर्मनिरतः शांडिल्यगोत्रोद्भवः
> काशिस्थाद्विजदेवभट्टतनयः सम्राट् सुविद्यान्वितः ।
> संलब्धैर्धनसंचयैर्बहुविधैः सर्वान् क्रतूनाचरन्
> तत्प्रीत्यै व्रतकल्पशाखिनमसुं निर्माति रत्नाकरः ॥ २७ ॥"

2. Ibid, fol. 1, verse 2 —

> "श्रीजानकीशं शरणागतैका । दुःखापहं श्रीगिरिजाधवं च ।
> स्मृत्वाथ पूज्यौ पितरौ गुरूंश्च । श्रीभ्रातरौसूर्यसमौ नमामि ।"

The two brothers to whom Ratnākara bows in the above verse may have been older than himself and it is possible to conclude that Prabhākara was one of them.

3. Ibid, p. 894,— The exact Christian equivalent of these details is *Saturday, 25th of July, 1713*, which is the date of completion of this work.

was drawn to it by Dr. Hara Datta Sharma.[1] His study of a work on Dharmaśāstra composed by the great grandson of Ratnākara gives us some more details not recorded in the *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma* or the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya.* This great-grandson is none other than Viśveśvara, who wrote a work called *Nirṇaya-Kaustubha*[2] between A.D. 1788 and 1803 according to Dr. Sharma. Viśveśvara's surname was *Mahāśabda.*[3] In another work composed by Viśveśvara and called *Pratāpārka*[4] he states that his surname was *Mahāśabda* (महाशब्दोपनामा) and that he was the great grandson of Ratnākara-bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma,*[5] grandson of Gaṅgārāma[6] and son of Rāmeśvara.[7] We have already seen that Ratnākara mentions his *gotra* viz. *Śāṇḍilya* in his Jayasimha-Kalpadruma. Viśveśvara also has mentioned this *Śāṇḍilya* gotra in his *Pratāpārka.*[8] The genealogy of Ratnākara's family gathered from the work *Pratāpārka* may now be presented as follows :—

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1. Dr. Sharma has submitted to the Ninth Oriental Conference an article on " *Nirṇaya-Kaustubha* or *Laghunirṇaya-Kaustubha of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa — Its date and Contents.* " I am thankful to Dr. Sharma for allowing me the use of this article to make my account of Ratnākara's family as complete as possible.

2. Only one MS of this work is available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, viz. No. 350 of 1875–76 (45 folios) dated Saṁvat 1863 = *A. D. 1807.*

3. Ibid, verse 1 at the beginning :—

" प्रणम्य जानकीजानिं महाशब्दोपनामकः ।
विश्वेश्वरः सुबालानामवबोधार्थमादरात् । " etc.

" महाशब्दे " is a surname current among the Maharashtra Brahmanas. It is possible to conclude that Ratnākara's family came from the Deccan and resided at Benares.

4. Vide pp. 129–30 of Peterson's Cata. of Ulwar MSS.

5. Ibid verse 9 of the Extract from *Pratāpārka* quoted by Peterson.

6. Ibid verse 10.

7. Ibid verse 11.

8. Ibid, verse 7. — " श्रीशांडिल्यमुनेः कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि । "

देवभट्ट (of Śāṇḍilya gotra), (resident of Kāśī or Benares).
|
रत्नाकर (author of Jayasiṁhakalpadruma)
|
गंगाराम } These two persons were at the court of Mādhavasing,
| son of Sevai Jayasing.[1]
रामेश्वर }
|
विश्वेश्वर

If we now consolidate the above genealogy with that given by Kṛṣṇakavi's *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* we get the following result :—

देवभट्ट महाशब्द of *Śāṇḍilya gotra*

- रत्नाकर (A.D. 1713)
  - गंगाराम } A. D. 1755
    - रामेश्वर }
      - विश्वेश्वर (after A. D. 1788)
- प्रभाकर
  - व्रजनाथ (A.D. 1755)
  - गोकुलनाथ

Besides the contemporary evidence of Vrajanātha's work composed in A. D. 1753 regarding the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by

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1. Vide Mr. M. M. Patkar's article on *Mādhavasiṁhāryā-śataka* of Śyāma Laṭṭu composed in A. D. 1755 published in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 35. Among the learned pandits at the court of Madhosing two pandits viz. गंगाराम and रामेश्वर are mentioned in the following verses quoted by Mr. Patkar :—

"श्रीपौण्डरीकयाजी गंगारामाभिधः सूरिः ।
ऋषिरिव बभूव चास्यां पुर्यां भूदेववर्योयं ॥ १२२ ॥

तत्सूनुर्द्विजराजः श्रीरामेश्वराभिधः सूरिः ।
श्रीपौण्डरीकयाजी विराजते ब्रह्मपुर्यां यः ॥ १२३ ॥"

In the colophons of जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम its author is styled "पौण्डरीकयाजि रत्नाकर." In verse 3 at the end of the जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम the performance of पौण्डरीक sacrifice is attributed to रत्नाकर (श्रेष्ठं सर्वक्रतुभ्यो विविधविधियुतं पौण्डरीकं च युतं etc.). I have no doubt that गङ्गाराम and his son रामेश्वर mentioned in 1755 A. D. are identical with their namesakes mentioned later in the प्रतापार्क of विश्वेश्वर.

Sevai Jayasing we have also the testimony of a pandit at the court of Mādhavasing in A. D. 1755. He is described by Śyāma Laṭṭu,[1] the author of *Mādhavasiṁhāryā Śataka* as follows :—

" जयति सदाशिवशर्मा मुनिजनधर्मा सुधर्माग्र्यः ।
माधवसिंहसुधर्मा सदसि सुधर्मः स्वधर्माग्र्यः ॥ १३० ॥ "

The Sadāśivaśarmā mentioned in the above verse in a work composed in A. D. 1755 is possibly identical with the author of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Ācārasmṛticandrikā*[2] by name Sadāśiva. This work begins as follows :—

" ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमन्महागणाधिपतये नमः ॥
उमाकटितटस्फुरत्करिवराननालोकन-
प्रसन्नहृदयं धिया सदयमिन्दुचूडं मृडम् ।
नमामि गिरिजाधवं भजनमात्रदत्तेप्सितं ॥
स्मिताननमनामयं प्रियमुमासहायं मुदा ॥ १ ॥
धामाशेषबुधाशिषां शुभगुणग्रामाभिरामाकृतिः
कामावाप्तिकृतिं सतामवतरन्भूमाविवस्वर्द्रुमः ।

1. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 36.

2. MS No. 236 of 1887-91 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Vide P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 754 where we have the following information about Sadāśiva and his works :—

"सदाशिव, son of गदाधर of the दशपुत्र family. *First quarter of the 18th century ;* author of आचारस्मृतिचान्द्रिका (composed for king जयसिंह of जयनगर), लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका. "

The B. O. R. I. MS mentioned above is the only MS of *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* recorded by Aufrecht (Vide Cata. Catalo. III, p. 9.)

Vide also *Peshwa Daftar* No. II — Letter No. 7 dated *A. D. 1747* — This is a news-letter addressed to the Peshwa from the Maratha camp near Jaipur. It describes the great terror and anxiety created by the presence of the Maratha forces in the mind of *Madhosing*. The letter contains a reference to " भट राजे सदाशिवजी " who is also called " भटजी " and whom Madhosing consulted in his embarrassing situation. Most probably, this सदाशिवभटजी is identical with सदाशिवशर्मा mentioned by Śyāma Laṭṭu in 1755 as associated with the court of Madhosing. A person whom Madhosing consulted in his troubles in 1747 may have attained some influence at his court later after the enthronement of Madhosing on the *gādī* of Jaipur in A. D. 1751.

भूपायस्तनुमानशेषतपसां श्रीविष्णुसिंहप्रभोः
सूनुः श्रीजयसिंहभूपति पतिर्वर्वर्द्धिकीर्त्यां भुवि ॥ २ ॥

यश्चामीकरवृष्टिभिः सुमनसां दारिद्र्यदावानलो-
द्भूतं तापमपाचकारकरणाकल्लोलिनीवल्लभः ।
न्याये वर्त्मनि च प्रजामिव निजां शश्वत्प्रजाः पालयन्
श्रीरामस्य यशो जगाम विपुलं भूपालचूडामणिः ॥ ३ ॥

काशीजनपदनिलयास्तुरगमेधं सर्वमेधं च निर्माय ।
अंगदिनः कुण्डलिनः कंकणिनो येन विरचितावु(वि)बुधाः ॥ ४ ॥

वंशेऽस्मिन्दशपुत्रनामनि महान् विष्णुर्द्विजाग्रयस्त्वभूत्
सूनुस्तस्य सुधीर्गदाधर इति ख्यातो जगत्याख्यया ।
तत्पुत्रेण सदाशिवेन कृपया श्रीविश्वनाथप्रभो-
राचारस्मृतिचंद्रिका विरचिता विद्वच्चकोरष्टदा ॥ ५ ॥"

In the above extract verse 4 is very important as it mentions the performance of तुरगमेध or Aśvamedha by Sevai Jayasing and the attendance of Benares pandits on the occasion, not to say the numerous presents given by the king to these Brahmins.

We shall now quote a few verses at the end of the work which contain a reference to Jayasing by our author. These verses read as follows :—

" मीमांसानयमांसलातिविमला प्रज्ञा तया भूयसी
दृष्टिः श्रौतनिबंधचारचतुरा येषां सदाचारिणां ।
तेषां दृष्टिपथं प्रयातु सुहृदां संदर्भ एषस्थितः
किंचान्यैर्निजदोषदुष्टमतिभिः प्राज्ञेतरैः प्रार्थितैः ॥

प्राज्ञश्रीजयसिंहनामनृपतेस्तोषाय या निर्मिता
साचारस्मृतिचंद्रिकाऽतिविमला विद्वच्छकोरेष्टदा ।
तां पश्यंतु परीक्षकाः सहृदयाः निःपक्षपातं बुधा-
स्तेनेयं गुणवत्तराहि भविता गौरीपतेस्तुष्टये ॥

इति श्रीमद्दशपुत्रकुलावतंसेन विरचिता सदाशिव-
पंडितेनऽपस्तंबाचारस्मृतिचंद्रिका समाप्ता । "

In the foregoing extract the author Sadāśiva definitely states that the work was composed to please his patron Jayasing (जयसिंह-नामनृपतेस्तोषाय या निर्मिता). We must, therefore, presume that this work on *dharmaśāstra* was composed during the life-time of Jayasing i.e. before A. D. 1744, the date of Jayasing's death. As this work refers to तुरगमेध (or अश्वमेध) it must have been composed after the performance of the Aśvamedha. We must, therefore,

attach the highest evidential value to Sadāśiva's reference to तुरगमेध as it is a piece of contemporary evidence coming from a person in direct contact with his patron Jayasing. We also find that Ratnākara, the author of the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma*, though he refers to the other kinds of sacrifice in which Jayasing was interested, does not make any reference to Aśvamedha—an omission which may enable us to fix the probable limits for the date of the performance of the Aśvamedha viz. A. D. 1713, the date of completion of the *Jayasiṁha-Kalpadruma* and say about 1742 A. D. presuming that Sadāśiva must have taken at least two years for the composition of his work *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* and shown it to his patron some time before his death. In addition to the references about the Aśvamedha found in contemporary and subsequent works of the 18th century as pointed out by me above I have found a reference to it in a still later work called the *Dharmasaṁgraha*[1] composed by *Hariścandra* by order of *Rāmasiṁha* of the Jaipur dynasty. Hariścandra records in the beginning of his work some genealogy[2] of his patron and in doing so he refers to Sevai Jayasing

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1. Only one MS of this work is recorded by Aufrecht (C C II, 58) viz. "Peters 4.8". It is the same as No. 223 of 1886-92 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

2. Ibid, folios. 1-3 — verses 2 to 22 read as follows :—

"प्रणम्य श्रीगुरूनादौ ज्ञानानंदसस्वतीं ।
प्रकाशानंदनाथेन धर्मामृतमहं ब्रुवे ॥ २ ॥
राज्ञाभाज्ञां समादाय धर्मकामार्थहेतवे ।
लोकानामुपकाराय धर्मामृतमहं ब्रुवे ॥ ३ ॥

कूर्मवंशेतिविख्यातो मानसिंहो महीधरः ।
धीरः सुधी सुविज्ञश्च दानी शूरो जितेंद्रियः ॥ ४ ॥

विजित्य सकलां भूमिं स्वकीयखड्गधारया ।
आसमुद्रक्षितीशानां शत्रूणां दमनं कृतम् ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य वंशे समुद्भूतो जयसिंहो प्रतापवान् ।
देवाः संतोषिता येन चाश्वमेधेन कर्मणा ॥ ६ ॥

पंचाश्वमेधी विख्यातो स्मार्तधर्मपरायणः ।
राजनीत्या धर्मनीत्या लोकाः सर्वे वशीकृताः ॥ ७ ॥
यादृशो नगरो येन स्वबुध्या परिकल्पित—
स्तादृशो नैव भूलोके विख्याताहि जनश्रुतिः ॥ ८ ॥
तस्य पुत्रो समुत्पन्नो माधवेशः प्रतापवान् ।
तपस्वी धर्मसंपन्नो दयावांश्च जितेंद्रियः ॥ ९ ॥

(*Continued on the next page*)

and his Aśvamedha in verse 6 (देवा : संतोषिता येन चाश्वमेधेना कर्मणा). The genealogy recorded by Hariścandra is of the princes from Sevai Jayasing onwards. It is as follows :—

(Sevai) *Jayasiṁha—Mādhavasiṁha-Pratāpasiṁha - Jagatsiṁha -Jayasiṁha-Rāmasiṁha.*

The above genealogy appears to be substantially correct.[1]

(*Continued from the previous page*)

माननीयो नृपाणां च भाग्यवान् समुपस्थितः ।
अनायासेन लब्धौ वै रणस्तंभगिरिर्वरः ॥ १० ॥
यादृशो हि वरो दुर्गस्तादृशो नगरः कृतः ।
स्वसामंतबलेनैव व्रजराजो रणे जितः ॥ ११ ॥
तस्य पुत्रः समुत्पन्नः प्रतापेशो विचक्षणः ।
दयावान्धर्मशीलश्च चातुर्ये चातिविश्रुतः ॥ १२ ॥
मालवाधिपतेर्युद्धे पराजयमुपागतः ।
पुत्रस्तस्य समुत्पन्नो जगतेशो भुविश्रुतः ॥ १३ ॥
दयावान् श्रद्धया युक्तो भोगैश्वर्ये सदारत —।
स्तस्य पुत्रः समुत्पन्नो जयसिंहो महाभुजः ॥ १४ ॥
तपस्वी सत्यसंपन्नो दयावांश्च जितेंद्रियः ।
तस्य पुत्रः समुत्पन्नो रामसिंहो नृपोत्तमः ॥ १५ ॥
दयावान्शीलसंपन्नो शिवभक्तो महामतिः ।
धर्ममार्गेण दमनं कृतं कुपथगामिनां ॥ १६ ॥
निगमागमसंप्रोक्तो ख्यातो धर्मः सनातनः ।
तस्मिन्धर्मे सर्वलोकास्थापिताश्च महीभुजा ॥ १७ ॥
अस्मिन्कलियुगे घोरे विवेकी समदर्शनः ।
रामसिंहसमो राजा न भूतो न भविष्यति ॥ १८ ॥
राजराज्येंद्रवर्येण रामसिंहेन श्रीमता ।
निर्णयार्थं कृताः प्रश्नाः धर्मरक्षणहेतवे ॥ १९ ॥
वशिष्टगोत्रोत्पन्नो यो ज्ञात्यादवरविश्रुतः ।
उपाध्यायो हरिश्चंद्रः प्रश्नानां उत्तरं ददौ ॥ २० ॥"

1. Vide article on Jaipur State in the *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa* by Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Vol, 13 (Poona, 1925 , pp. 119-124. It is stated in this volume (p. 122) that *Sevai Jaising ruled for 40 years and died in A. D. 1734.* This statement is absolutely wrong as Sevai Jayasing

(*Continued on the next page*)

with the exception of the omission of the names of Īśvarasiṁha and Pṛthvīsiṁha, whose careers were not apparently very important or prosperous in the opinion of Hariścandra.

I have recorded the testimony of Hariścandra regarding the Aśvamedha of Sevai Jayasing even though it belongs to the middle of the 19th century to make my list of references to Aśvamedha as comprehensive as possible.

I shall now sum up in brief the evidence about the Aśvamedha as recorded in this paper as also in my previous paper on the subject published in the *Journal of Indian History, Madras* (Vol. XV):—

1. *Evidence of Sadāśiva Daśaputra* recorded in his work called the *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* composed to please Sevai Jayasing. This evidence has the highest evidential value as it is recorded *during the life-time of his patron i.e. before A. D. 1744.*
2. *Evidence of Kṛṣṇakavi* recorded in his work called the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* composed sometime after the death of Sevai Jayasing *i.e.* at the coronation of his son Īśvarasing *say about 1744–5 A.D.*
3. *Evidence of Vrajanātha* recorded in his work called the *Padyataraṅgiṇī composed in A. D. 1753.* The personal

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

died in A. D. 1744 and ruled from A. D. 1699 to 1744 — a period of 45 years. The chronology of the Jaipur rulers as given in this volume of the Jñānakośa may be briefly indicated here :—

1. Sevai Jaising (1699–1744).
2. Īshvarsing (poisoned himself).
3. Mādhavasing (ruled for 17 years.)
4. Pṛthvīsing II and his mother.
5. Pratāpsing (ruled for 15 years) (1788 to 1803.)
6. Jagatsing — (1803 to 1818.)
7. Jayasing III—(1819 to 1835.)
8. *Rāmasing (Savai) 1835–1883.*

Savai Rāmasing, the patron of Hariścandra, was a very learned ruler. He assisted the English with 7000 troops in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He constructed roads and railway line and founded schools in his state. He was a member of Legislative Council of the Govt. of India (1869–1875.)

contact of this author with Sevai Jayasing has been amply proved in this paper.

4. *Evidence recorded* by Viśveśvara in his work called the *Pratāpārka composed between 1788 and 1803.*

5. *Evidence recorded by Hariścandra* about the *middle of the 19th Century* in his work called *the Dharmasaṁgraha.*

The foregoing references to the *Aśvamedha* performed by Sevai Jayasing made by pandits patronized by the Jaipur line of princes are conclusive so far as they go. The echo of this epoch-making religious event which then caught the imagination of the citizens of the Jaipur State must have reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the Hindu India and hence it is possible to collect more references to this Aśvamedha in Rajputana records which unfortunately are not at present accessible to me. Perhaps in the Peshwa Daftar recently published by the Govt. of Bombay a few contemporary references to this event are likely to be traced. I shall, however, conclude this paper by reproducing a reference to this *Aśvamedha* made by a Maharashtra Brahmin in 1782 A. D. This reference as found in the *Sources of Maratha History*[1] published by the Maharashtra historian V. K. Rajwade is as follows :—

Letter No. 436 — dated *Śaka 1704, Māgha vadya 5* (= *Sunday 3rd February 1782*) Mādhavrao Anant Vedānti writes to the young Peshwa a long letter of advice in which he deplores the decay of Hinduism in general and notes the special efforts made by certain Hindu kings to revive it. One such effort was made by the king of Jaipur by the performance of *Aśvamedha*. In the opinion of the writer all these efforts were disconcerted and hence not quite effective. He then refers to the incarnation of God Śiva on this earth in the form of the Maratha king Shivaji the Great and his life-long efforts to preserve Hindu literature and culture.

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1. *Khanda* VI, p. 514 — " हिंदु राजे कित्येक होते जाले. त्यासही हितोपदेशकर्ते लोक निर्माण जाले. त्याणीं नानाप्रकारें सांगून धर्मवांछा धरविली. परंतु जनाची प्रवृत्ति लावणें जाहलें नाहीं. जैयपुरवाले यागीं अश्वमेध केला. "

39. The Description of the Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jayasing of Jaipur (1699-1744 A. D.) as given in the Īsvaravilāsakāvya of Kṛṣṇakavi *

Fitz-Edward Hall in his preface to the Edition of the *Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya*[1] observes :—" An anecdote, which I have heard from several pandits, synchronizes Nāgeśa (Nāgojibhaṭṭa) with Jayasiṁha, Raja of Jaypur, who, as is known from the *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma*—by Ratnākarabhatta, son of Devabhaṭṭa—was reigning as late as the Saṁvat year 1770 or A. D. 1713." This anecdote is identical with the tradition[2] current at Jaipur, which refers to an invitation for a horse sacrifice (Aśvamedha) received in 1714 A. D. by Nāgojibhaṭṭa from Sevai Jaysing (1699-1744 A. D.) but which Nāgojibhaṭṭa refused on the ground that he had taken kṣetrasanyāsa and hence could not leave Benares to attend the ceremony. James Todd[3] (1782-1835) refers to the Aśvamedha as follows :—

" Amongst the vanities of the founder of Amber it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the Aswaméda yúga or sacrifice of the horse."[4] Perhaps the vague nature of these references was responsible for the theory recently postulated by Dr. Dinesh Candra Sarkar[5] that " Sevai Jayasing most probably did not celebrate any Aśvamedha." I controverted this theory on

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* *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa*, Vol. II, pp. 43-46.

1. Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1856, p. 32, Footnote.

2. Vide Belvalkar : *Systems of Sans. Grammar*, Poona, 1915, p. 49, Dr. Belvalkar has recorded this tradition from the Introduction to the Rasagaṅgādhara (Kāvyamālā edn.).

3. *Dictionary of Indian Biography* by C. E. Buckland, London, 1906, p. 425.

4. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 1832, (Popular Edition in 2 volumes), London, Vol. II. p. 297.

5. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 376-379.

the strength of contemporary evidence[1] furnished by a historical poem called the Īśvaravilāsakāvya. This poem was composed by one Kṛṣṇa Kavi, a court-poet who wrote this poem to commemorate the coronation of Īśvarasing, the son of Sevai Jayasing of Jaipur. Kṛṣṇa Kavi states that he and another fellow-poet (Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kavi-Laksmaṇau) were assigned the parts of singing the praise of the Yajamāna at this horse-sacrifice or Aśvamedha, to the description of which he devotes two chapters viz. Chapters IV and V of his poem. As the Government Ms Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, possesses the only known copy of this poem (No. 273 of 1884-1886) and as Kṛṣṇa Kavi's description of the sacrifice appears to me to be an eye-witness's account of this epoch-making religious event, I have thought it advisable to reproduce the text of these two chapters about the Aśvamedha of Sevai Jayasing as it is found in the Ms. I have recorded additional evidence regarding this Aśvamedha from contemporary and subsequent sources in a recent paper contributed to the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II. That evidence combined with the description of the sacrifice contained in the chapters reproduced below will satisfy all historical curiosity about this event. I may, however, note here the names of persons who were present at this sacrifice as stated by Kṛṣṇakavi :—

(1) Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the author of the Īsvaravilāsa Kāvya.

(2) Lakṣmaṇa.

(3) Rāmacandra Ayācita.

(4) Rāmacandra Draviḍa.

(5) Vyāsa Śarmā

(6) Guṇākara.

(7) Hari Kṛṣṇa Śarmā, a Karnāṭaka Brahmin. He appears to be identical with हरिकृष्णमिश्र who composed a work वैदिक-वैष्णवसदाचार by order of Sevai Jayasing (Ms No. 443 of 1891-95-B. O. R. Inst.).

It may be possible to identify some of these names from contemporary and other sources.

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1. *Jour. of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. XV, pp. 364-367.

(श्रीमत्कविश्रीकृष्णविरचितेश्वरविलासगतचतुर्थपञ्चम-सर्गरूपमश्वमेधवर्णनम्)

जजागार द्विजागारं विकीर्णस्वर्णसंचयः।
श्रीमान् राजाधिराजोऽसौ धन्यो धरणिमंडले ॥ १ ॥

अत्यर्थं वृद्धिमाप्तैस्तुलतरतपोदानदीक्षाप्रकार-
प्राप्तेष्टापूर्त्तपुण्यप्रकरसमुदितज्ञानभक्तिप्रकारैः।
साक्षान्निस्तक्ष्य टंकैरिव विमलतरैरात्मनः क्षात्रदेहं
विश्वामित्रोधिको यः सुकृतभरनिधिर्ब्राह्मणं प्रोच्चकार ॥ २ ॥

(निर्जित्य) वीरः स्वबलैर्दिशोष्टौ पदप्रणम्राखिलभूमिपालः।
धर्माय धर्मात्मजवद्धुरीणः प्रभूतमुच्चैर्वसुसंचिकाय ॥ ३ ॥

धर्मेण भूयः स्वभुजार्जितं तद्विसुप्रभूतं विनियोक्तुकामः।
श्रीवल्लभाचार्यमतानुवर्त्ती श्रुत्युक्तकर्मण्यनिशं रतोऽभूत् ॥ ४ ॥

धीरस्त्रिरग्नेश्चयनं चकार शुद्धावशुद्धाखिलकर्मतत्त्वः।
तद्दक्षिणाभिर्ववृते द्विजानां दारिद्रदुःखं श्रुतिमात्रशेषं ॥ ५ ॥

अभूदधिब्रह्मपुरि द्विजानां तद्दक्षिणा भूरि समृद्धिभाजां।
गृहेषु सम्यग्विततान्ध्वरेषु सुरेश्वराह्वानमजस्रमेव ॥ ६ ॥

अहर्निशं तेन वितायमानेषूच्चैः कृताह्वानतयाध्वरेषु।
पुरंदरो नित्यमभूत्प्रवासी पुलोमजालिंगनसाभिलाषः ॥ ७ ॥

तस्यैव यज्ञोत्सवजातहर्षाः......धनप्रकर्षाः।
प्राज्ञा द्विजाः श्रीविनिवृत्त(?)तर्षाः कार्शीश्रयंते धृतमोदवर्षाः ॥ ८ ॥

स वाजपेयाध्वरदीक्षयाप्तसम्राट्पदः शुद्धतमोऽभिषेकात्।
शीर्षे सितच्छत्रमुवाह भूयो राज्याभिषेकावसरेऽनुभूतं ॥ ९ ॥

स वाजपेयावभृथे प्रभूतचंद्रामलच्छत्रविराजिशीर्षः।
द्विजावलिप्रेरितवारिधारामिषादधौ चामरवीजितानि ॥ १० ॥

नित्यं वितानेषु वितायमानेषूच्चैर्द्विजेभ्यः प्रददौ यथैषः।
तथैव संपद्ववृधे वितीर्णात्प्रसारितं कोटिगुणां वहन्तीं ॥ ११ ॥

संपद्विवृध्यैव विवृद्धहर्षः श्रद्धालुतां कर्मविधौ दधानः।
स वाजिमेधेन महामखेन विद्वत्सभां यष्टुमनाश्चकार ॥ १२ ॥

समंततः श्रीजुषि तत्सभायां महामणिस्तम्भविभूषितायां।
चतुर्दिगंते च उपेत्य नित्यं समे समेता विबुधा बभूवुः ॥ १३ ॥

श्रीमत्सवाईजयसिंघविद्वन्महामहाराजसभांतरालं।
विभूषयंति स्म बुधा गुणौघैर्गीर्वाणगुर्वंतरगर्वभाजः ॥ १४ ॥

सर्वावनीचक्रपुरंदरस्य महाश्रियः श्रीजयसिंहनाम्नः ।
सभावपुः प्राज्ञगुरुद्विजेंद्रैर्युक्तां सुधर्मामपि निर्जगाय ।। १५ ॥

तस्यां स विद्वद्वरचक्रवर्त्ती समस्तभूमीपतिचक्रवर्त्ती ।
उवाच राजा महता स्वरेण सुधापयोदं सहसानुकुर्वन् ॥ १६ ॥

समस्तशास्त्रार्थविवेचनोद्यत्प्रज्ञावितानां सुसमूहभाजः ।
यूयं भवे भास्करतुल्यरूपास्तमो विहन्तुं भ्रमसंशयाख्यं ।। १७ ॥

कृष्णावतारे सुचरित्रसारे तिरोहिते तुर्ययुगं प्रवर्त्यां ।
संवत्सराः पंचसहस्रसंख्या व्यतीयुरस्यां भुवि किंचिदूनाः ।। १८ ।।

धर्मस्तथा ज्ञानमथापि सर्वे भावाः सुनिर्णीतशुभस्वभावाः ।
तिरोहिताकारतया बभूवुः क्षिताविदानीं श्रुतिमात्रशेषाः ।। १९ ॥

एवंविधे घोरतमोमयेस्मिन्कलित्रियामावसरे प्रवृत्ते ।
क्व दृश्यते धर्ममयः प्रकाशः सतां(तां) मनः पद्मविकासशाली ॥ २० ॥

अहं पुनः प्राज्ञवरास्ततेस्मिन्कलौ भवत्पादतलं प्रपन्नः ।
करोमि कर्माणि भवन्मुखेभ्यः श्रुतानि नित्यं हरिभक्तिसिद्ध्यै ॥ २१ ॥

कृतं त्रिरग्नेश्चयनं यथावत्कृताश्च सोमाः प्रणयेन भूयः ।
बृहस्पतेश्चापि स वाजपेयाः सर्वाः सहस्रं विहिता हिताय ।। २२ ॥

अतः परं कर्त्तुमनाः किलास्मि भवत्प्रसादादहमश्वमेधं ।
जवेन तन्मामनुमंतमर्हाः सर्वे बुधाः शास्त्रदृशो भवंतः ।। २३ ॥

इत्युक्तिवत्युक्तिविचक्षणेस्मिन्-
सभ्राजि सर्वाजिजयैकभाजि ।
यथा मरुत्वज्जनमेजयोत्था कथा
तथा तां स्म बुधा हृदि स्फुटन्ति ॥ २४ ॥

अथोचिरे तेऽञ्जलिबन्धपूर्वं समस्तशास्त्रार्थविवेकदक्षाः ।
महान्पदार्थोऽयमिहाश्वमेधस्त्वयैव कर्त्तुं पृथिवीन्द्रशक्यः ।। २५ ॥

परं तु राज्ञो जनमेजयाख्यादनन्तरं देव महीतलेऽस्मिन् ।
केनापि नैवाहृत एष यज्ञः क्षितीश्वरेण श्रुतिबोधितोऽपि ।। २६ ॥

अतः परं देव भवान्प्रमाणं श्रुतिस्मृतिज्ञातसमस्ततत्त्व ।
अहो तवैवाविदितं हि (?) किञ्चिद्यदस्ति यन्नास्ति च कर्मयोग्यं ॥ २७ ॥

ततः किलास्मिन्विषयेत्यनल्पे स संशयानो धरणीमहेन्द्रः ।
चक्रेऽधिवाराणसिपत्रलेखं महामहापण्डितराज चक्रे ।। २८ ॥

तत्रैकमत्यं विबुधैर्विधाय सम(स्त)शास्त्रार्थकृतान्तविद्भिः ।
महीभुजे प्रैष्यत निश्चितार्थो दूतो गरीयानिव पत्रलेखः ।। २९ ॥

स्वस्तिश्रियालंकृतसर्वलोकातिक्रान्तकान्तप्रसरद्गुणौघे ।
त्रिरग्निचिद्दीक्षितवर्यसम्राड् भवाधुना त्वं हयमेधयाजी ।। ३० ॥

यावद्भवे(त्) विष्णुपदीप्रवाहो यावच्च वेदस्य भ्रमन्ति शाखाः ।
यावच्च वर्णाश्रमसंविभागस्तावत्कलापय्ययमश्वमेधः ॥ ३१ ॥

परं त्वदन्यो न कलौ प्रभूतः श्रद्धालुतासद्गुणवारिराशिः ।
समस्तदिग्जैत्रतया च वारो राजाश्वमेधं किल योकरिष्यत् ॥ ३२ ॥

एवं तादृशोर्द्विजलोकभाग्यैः श्रीविष्णुसिंघक्षितिपालमौलेः ।
सद्धर्मपत्न्यां नृपतेऽवतीर्णो मताविवानन्दभरो बुधस्य ॥ ३३ ॥

अज...यज्ञैर्वितुनुष्व दानं मनुष्ववेदान्विचिनुष्व सारं ।
सुनुष्व सोमं प्रहिणुष्व विष्णोर्मिनुष्व भक्तिं स्वकृतार्थतायै ॥ ३४ ॥

एवं विधेन श्रुतिमार्गभाजा तत्पत्रलेखेन हृदि प्रसन्नः ।
आकारयामास स तान्समस्तान्विधातव्रः श्रौतपटून्द्विजाग्र्यान् ॥ ३५ ॥

अथाययौ ज्ञातसकल्पसूत्रश्रुतिस्मृतिज्यौतिषशास्त्रतत्त्वः ।
अयाचितोपाख्यतया प्रसिद्धः श्रीमान्द्विजेन्द्रः किल रामचन्द्रः ॥३६॥

तत्राययौ श्रौतपटुर्द्वितीयः स रामचन्द्रो द्रविडद्विजेन्द्रः ।
काश्यामुपाध्यायतया प्रसिद्धिं यः प्राप्तवान्पण्डितमण्डलेषु ॥ ३७ ॥

आगात्पुनः श्रौतकलावतंसः सर्वक्रियातन्त्रसुधाब्धिहंसः ।
यः सोमयागैः प्रतिवर्षं यज्वा स व्यासशर्मा मुकुटो द्विजानां ॥ ३८ ॥

भूयः स तत्राभ्यगमद्द्विजन्मा यः केवलं यज्ञ(क)रः प्रसिद्धः ।
करस्थ एवाजनि तस्य यज्ञस्ततो बभूवैष यथार्थनामा ॥ ३९ ॥

गुणाकरोत्रागमदंगयुक्तत्रयीविलासीलयकण्ठपीठः ।
यः कर्मविद्यानिधिरग्रजन्मा शिष्टोऽधिवाराणसि सुप्रसिद्धः ॥ ४० ॥

कार्णाटदेशद्विजवंशदीपश्चराचरेयश्चयनीप्रसिद्धः ।
सोत्रागतः श्रीहरिकृष्णशर्मा पुरस्कृतो गोकुलवासिवर्यैः ॥ ४१ ॥

अथासमुद्रं किल ये वसन्ति द्विजोत्तमाः श्रौतविधिप्रवीणाः ।
परः सतास्ते समुपाययुस्तं राजाधिराजस्य समाजमध्ये ॥ ४२ ॥

अहर्निशं यज्ञविधानदीक्षा यशोमये वाद्यति दुंदुभौ ते ।
स्वस्त्यादराकारितवद्द्विजौघाः स्वयं समेता अभवन्दिशाभ्यः ॥ ४३ ॥

राजाधिराजो नृपतिर्धृतश्रीस्तन्मण्डलस्थः शुशुभेतरांसः ।
समस्ततराग्रहचक्रमध्ये प्रसारितज्योत्स्न इव क्षपेशः ॥ ४४ ॥

उत्कण्ठितो वाजिमखं विधातुं दिलीपमांधातृतुलाप्रयातुं ।
ससार संभारगणं पुरस्ताच्चकार सत्कारनियुक्तभृत्यैः ॥ ४५ ॥

जलजा स्थलजा वनेचराः पशवः पक्षिगणाश्च संभृताः ।
हयमेधविधानकोविदैर्द्विजवर्यैः श्रुतितो निवेदिताः ॥ ४६ ॥

तिलमुद्गतंदुलयवाज्यशर्करामणिरूप्यकाञ्चनदुकूलसञ्चयाः ।
हिमशैलमेरुमलयाद्रिसंनिभाः शनकैरकारिपत तेन तत्क्षणात् ॥ ४७ ॥

गव्यूत्यर्धोपरि जयपुरादुत्तरत्र प्रदेशे
श्रीगोविन्दालयविलसितोद्यद्ध्वजच्छायजुष्टे ।
पूर्वं मानक्षितिपतिकृतेः सागरस्य प्रतीरे
राज्ञा तेन व्यरचि विभवैर्मण्डितो यज्ञवाटः ॥ ४८ ॥

यत्प्राचीरं कनकरजतोत्तुङ्गमित्युत्परत्नं
यत्र स्तम्भाः खचितमणयोन्योन्यदत्तानुबिम्बाः ।
पत्नीशालाध्वरमुखहविर्गेहवेदीसभाद्यै-
र्योन्तःकारुप्रवररचितैः स्थानभेदैश्चकाशे ॥ ४९ ॥

शीर्षः साक्षात्त्रिवृत्ते विलसति नयनं छन्दसां मुख्यमुच्चै-
र्गायत्रं नाम पक्षद्वितयमपि बृहत्सामराथ्यंतरं च ।
निर्णीतस्तोम आत्मात्रवपतगपतेन्यानि चाङ्गानि सर्व-
च्छन्दास्येवं यजूंषि प्रसरति भवतो नाम नानाविधानि ॥ ५० ॥

ननूः साते वामदेव्यं प्रसिद्धं सुपर्णोऽसि सत्त्वं गरीयान् गरुत्मान् ।
इति स्तूयते या भृशं वेद शब्दैरभूत्सा शुभा वेदिका यज्ञवाटे ॥ ५१ ॥

तत्र ब्रह्माध्वर्युरुद्गातृवर्यौ होता पोता नेष्टतायां प्रवीणः ।
ऋत्विग्वर्गं कर्मणीत्थं नियुज्य साक्षादीजे वाजिमेधेधे(?)भूपः ॥ ५२ ॥

इति श्रीमदीश्वरचरित्रे कविश्रीकृष्णकृतो वाजिमेधारंभो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥ ४ ॥

पञ्चमः सर्गः ।

तत्र ब्रह्मा भवत्कश्चिद्द्विजराजस्त्रयीपटुः ।
वितानकर्मसन्दोहवितानविचक्षणः ॥ १ ॥

सर्वऋत्विग्गणाधीनकर्मतन्त्रविधानविर् ।
कृताकृतविधिज्ञाता मुख्यः सर्वक्रियासु यः ॥ २ ॥

आसीददासीममहीमण्डलाखण्डलाद्दतः ।
आसीद्यज्ञकरोऽध्वर्युः काशीवासी द्विजोत्तमः ॥ ३ ॥

माध्यंदिनमहाशाखां यजुः कल्पमहीरुहः ।
धत्ते यज्ञमधुशब्दमारुह्य सवनप्रियः ॥ ४ ॥

तत्र होत्रक्रियामात्रपात्रतामात्मना दधत् ।
ऋग्वेदकोविदः कश्चिद्द्विजः पा(प्रा)वर्त्तयन्मखं ॥ ५ ॥

कण्ठस्वरपराभूतगन्धर्ववरधोरणिः ।
औद्गात्रबिभ्रदभ्रान्तं बभ्राजे ब्राह्मणोत्तमः ॥ ६ ॥

सर्वे स्वस्वगणोपेता देवा इव दिवस्पतेः ।
श्रीमद्राजाधिराजस्य विप्राः प्रावर्त्तयन्मखं ॥ ७ ॥

यावत्तुरङ्ग उत्सृष्टः कृतरक्षो धनुर्धरैः ।
तावदङ्गाहुतीरग्नौ सायं प्रातर्ददौ द्विजाः ॥ ८ ॥

द्वौ वीणागायिनौ विप्रौ तत्र दक्षिणतोऽध्वरात् ।
जगतुर्यजमानस्य यज्ञदानोद्भवं यशः ॥ ९ ॥

सायं संग्रामविजयप्रभूतममलं यशः ।
श्रावयामासतुर्नित्यं सम्राजस्तस्य भूपतेः ॥ १० ॥

अवगाह्य महीकृत्स्नां प्रत्यावृत्तो यदा हयः ।
यजमानयुताः सर्वे यज्ञवाटं तदा ययुः ॥ ११ ॥

आरेभिरेभितो विप्रास्तत्र सर्वाङ्गसंभृतं ।
अश्वमेधं महायज्ञमिन्द्रस्येव महीपतेः ॥ १२ ॥

वास्तोष्पतिरिहाहूतेः सुब्रह्मण्यद्विजन्मना ।
अहल्याजारमात्मानमाकर्ण्यान्तस्त्रपां दधौ ॥ १३ ॥

सर्वस्वर्णमयाकारस्तत्रोच्छ्रायं दधद्दिवि ।
रेजे यूपावलीमध्ये महाभूपो मनोहरः ॥ १४ ॥

यथा भूपावलीमध्ये महाभूपो विराजते ।
अम्बावतीपुरश्रेष्ठ परिव्रढिमकीर्त्तितः ॥ १५ ॥

मिष्टान्नभोजनैर्विप्रा विश्राणास्तृप्तिमध्वरे ।
प्रत्यक्षं कथयांचक्रुः सन्तोष(षं) हृदिमध्वरे ॥ १६ ॥

दीनानाथजनैर्लब्धा इष्टामिष्टान्नभुक्तयः ।
यजतां राजशार्दूलो नित्यमित्थमवादयन् ॥ १७ ॥

समानयत संदत्त तथा पचत भुञ्जता ।
एका प्रवर्त्तिता तत्र क्रिया वादतमोदता ॥ १८ ॥

प्रातः पर्वतसङ्काशाः प्रकाशंतेन्नराशयः ।
सायं शुद्धधराशेषा दृश्यंते प्रतिवासरं ॥ १९ ॥

सुदेश्यानि दुकूलानि मिष्टान्नानि च भूरिशः ।
अयाचितोपपन्नानि सर्वैर्लब्धानि भूपतेः ॥ २० ॥

दीप्ताभिरग्नेर्ज्वालाभिराननैश्च द्विजन्मनां ।
दत्ता आहुतयो यज्ञे गृहीतास्मितिवर्जिताः ॥ २१ ॥

द्वौ वीणागायिनौ विप्रौ श्रीकृष्णकविलक्ष्मणौ ।
राजर्षिभिः समं तत्र यजमानमगायतां ॥ २२ ॥

पृथुमांधातृसगरदिलीपनहुषादयः ।
तस्यस्तुर्विधेस्तत्र हस्तलेखा इवाबभुः ॥ २३ ॥

जायमानासु सुत्यासु तायमाने ततोऽध्वरे ।
महेन्द्रेण समं भूयो यजमानमगायतां ॥ २४ ॥

महेन्द्रः सम्यगाहूतः सुब्रह्मण्यप्रयोगिभिः ।
विलोक्य राजशार्दूलं स्वद्वितीयमपन्यत ॥ २५ ॥

वितायमाने विप्रौघैर्वितानेऽस्मिन्विशेषतः ।
प्रजापतिसमं (?) विप्रौ यजमानमगायतां ॥ २६ ॥

एवं सर्वाङ्गसंपन्नः सोऽश्वमेधो महामखः ।
लब्धो राजाधिराजेन श्रेयसः प्रतिभूरिव ॥ २७ ॥

विरेजुर्लोहितोष्णीषाः प्रचरन्तो मखे द्विजाः ।
राज्ञेऽस्मै यजमानाय दायमानाः शुभाशिषः ॥ २८ ॥

अस्मिन्यज्ञे जायमाने यावद्यद्येन याचितं ।
तावत्तत्तेन विप्रेण क्षिप्रमस्मादलभ्यत ॥ २९ ॥

लेभे प्राच्यादिदिग्देशं प्राज्य राज्योद्भवं धनं ।
रि(ऋ)त्विग्भिर्दक्षिणात्वेन श्रीमद्राजाधिराजतः ॥ ३० ॥

रेजेसौवर्णयूपेन मानसागरतीरभूः ।
जयस्तम्भेन महता यथासागरतीरभूः ॥ ३१ ॥

अहर्दिवबहद्भिर्व्यप्राज्यसाराज्यधारय ।
सप्तजिह्वः परिप्राप्तसंतृप्तिर्दीप्तिमान्बभौ ॥ ३२ ॥

निश्चलम्नाज्यधाराभिर्भग्नावयवतानवं ।
पश्यंतीपतिमग्नायी प्रेममग्नामुदं दधौ ॥ ३३ ॥

विताने विततानेकभाजनोच्छूनविग्रहं ।
दृष्ट्वा पुलोमजाकान्तमन्तःसन्तोषमातनोत् ॥ ३३ ॥

कृतराजाधिराजेन हयमेधं महामखं ।
जगुर्गन्धर्वपतयः स्वयम्भूसदनान्तरे ॥ ३५ ॥

अमुं राजाधिराजस्य विततं सुमहाक्रतुं ।
शृण्वतां सर्वदेवानामश्लाघ्यत बृहस्पतिः ॥ ३६ ॥

तत्र धौततमे सूक्ष्मे वाससी विमले वहन् ।
कृष्णाजिनधरः स्कन्धे मृगशृंगं करे दधत् ॥ ३७ ॥

अश्वमेधमखे दीक्षां बिभ्रत्परमदुर्लभां ।
महाभाग्यवतामीशो पारपौरुषसारभृत् ॥ ३८ ॥

शिखासूत्रधरोदारं दीप्तिराजर्षिसंस्तुतः ।
साक्षाद्धर्मावतारोऽसौ यजमानो व्यराजत ॥ ३९ ॥ त्रिभिः कुलकं

भयेनालोकितो राजा नयेनाढ्यो युधिष्ठिरः ।
मयेन वह्निनिर्दिष्टं स एनमवलोकतां ॥ ४० ॥

यज्ञवाटस्य परितो वापीः पुष्करिणीः कति ।
चक्रे स राजशार्दूलो कूलस्थांभोजकाननाः ॥ ४१ ॥

उन्मीलकमलामोदकमलामोदधारिणीः ।
कलहंसकुलाकाण्डकेलिकूजितधारिणीः ॥ ४२ ॥

फुल्लारविन्दकोशान्तर्वेश्मनित्यविलासिभिः ।
आरब्धतारझंकारसङ्गीताभृङ्गकिन्नरैः ॥ ४३ ॥

तीरभूविलसद्दिव्यविष्णुवेश्मविराजिताः ।
उपनीरस्वर्णहीरनिःश्रेणिश्रेणिशालिनीः ॥ ४४ ॥

अविश्रान्ततमैकान्तस्वाध्यायाध्ययनोद्धुरैः ।
द्विजैः सेवितपर्यन्ताः प्रत्यब्दं सोमयाजिभिः ॥ ४५ ॥

अश्वमेधमखोत्सृष्टैः कैश्चित्स्वैरविहारिभिः ।
पशुभिः पक्षिभिश्चैव जीवनीकृतजीवना ॥ ४६ ॥
विप्रैरवारितद्वारमन्नसत्रमुपाश्रितैः ।
भोजनाच्छादनस्वस्थैः सेवितोत्तीरभूमिकाः ॥ ४७ ॥ सप्तभिः कुलकं ॥

अथ स्वनिर्मितोद्धारनिश्रेणिश्रोणिशोभितं ।
स राजावभृथं कर्तुं मानसागरमागमत् ॥ ४८ ॥

यज्ञपत्नी चतुष्केन सहितः सहितः सतां ।
रराज राजशार्दूल ऋत्विङ्मण्डलमण्डितः ॥ ४९ ॥

यथैव रोहिणी ज्योत्स्ना राकाकैरविणीपतिः ।
तारकामण्डलोदारशोभाढ्यः शारदः शशी ॥ ५० ॥
नानातीर्थशतानीता नीरनिक्षेपभासुरे ।
मानसागरतोयेषु चकारावभृथं नृपः ॥ ५१ ॥

एवं स दक्षिणाभारं स भूरिब्रह्मभोजनैः ।
साङ्गं स वाजिमेधानां चक्रे पञ्चोत्तरं शतं ॥ ५२ ॥

विस्फूर्जद्वाजपेयाध्वरविशदतरच्छत्रसच्छायशीर्षः
प्रोद्यच्चामरश्रीरुचिररुचिलसत्तीर्थतोयैः समन्तात् ।
विप्रैर्दत्ताभिषेकः समुचितचतुराम्नाय मंत्रान्यवीरे
रेजे राजाधिराजो विमलतरतनुर्वाजिमेधाध्वरीणः ॥ ५३ ॥

इति श्रीमदीश्वरचरित्रे कविश्रीकृष्णकृतावश्वमेधवर्णनं ना(म) पंचमस्सर्गः ॥ ५ ॥

40. Varadarāja, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his Works — Between A. D. 1600 and 1650*

Dr. BELVALKAR in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*[1] mentions an author of the name Varadarāja in three places but does not record any information regarding his date. Dr. A. B. KEITH also refers to the school grammar of Varadarāja in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*[2] but does not record any chronology for this author and his works. Pandit Ganesh Dutt SHASTRI in his Edition of Varadarāja's *Madhyakaumudī*[3] has no remarks to offer about this author's chronology. Pandit Uddhavaji Raṇachoḍjī SHASTRI in his edition of the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*[4] does not deal with Varadarāja's chronology. He, however, records the opinion of some scholars that Varadarāja, the author of *Laghukaumudī* was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and hence his contemporary. It is not, how-

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* *Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane*, (1941), pp. 188–199.

1. Poona, 1915 — Pages 51, 62, 104. Varadarāja is the author of abridgments of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. These abridgments are represented by three editions : (1) *Madhya°*, (2) *Laghu°* and (3) *Sāra-Siddhānta Kaumudī*. The major abridgment was commented upon by Rāmaśarman at the request of one Śivānanda and the middle one by a Jayakṛṣṇa, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhanabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family. — Varadarāja's *Laghu-Kaumudī* corresponds in treatment and subject-matter to the recast called *Bālāvabodha* of the *Cāndra* grammar by a Ceylonese Buddhist priest about A. D. 1200 — In later times no attempt was made to improve or supplement the *Sārasvata* grammar and the abridgments of Varadarāja and other works ousted the *Sārasvata* from the field.

2. Vide p. 430 of *HSL*, Oxford, 1928. — " Ed. and trans. J. R. BALLANTYNE, Benares, 1867. "

3. Published by Meherchand Lachhmandas, Lahore, 1899.

4. Ed. Bombay, 1905, with the editor's commentary *Sārabodhinī* together with a short English Introduction and an elaborate *Prastāvanā* of 25 pp.

ever, possible to find from any source an account of Varadarāja's life.[1]

In view of these remarks of the editor[2] of Varadarāja's works I propose to record in this paper some data regarding the works of Varadarāja with the intention of clarifying to some extent at least the chronology of this author left in a nebulous state by previous scholars in the field.

Owing to the popularity of Varadarāja's works we find numerous MSS of them recorded by AUFRECHT in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* under the titles of the following works attributed to him :—

CC I, 551 — " वरदराज — son of Durgā-tanaya
—गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी[3] grammar
—मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[4]
—लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी or लघुकौमुदी[5]

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1. Ibid pp. 24–25 — 'लघुकौमुदीकारो वरदराजो भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य शिष्य इति केचिद्वदन्ति। भट्टोजिदीक्षितसमयेऽयमासीदित्यनुमीयते। लघुकौमुदीसमाप्तावयं श्लोक :—

" शास्त्रान्तरेऽप्रविष्टानां बालानां चोपकारिका
कृता वरदराजेन लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥ १ ॥
........वरदराजस्येतिवृत्तं न सम्यक्त्वेन कुतोऽपि समुपलब्धुम् ॥ "

2. In the *Preface* to the *Laghu Kaumudī* Edition (1849) of Dr. J. R. BALLANTYNE we find no information regarding Varadarāja's chronology. He merely states that *Laghu Kaumudī* of Varadarāja is an abridgment of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

3. *CC I*, 154 — " गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी gr. by Varadarāja. L. 2167, Audh XVIII, 26 ".

One Dhuṇḍirājakavi composed at Benares a work called, " गीर्वाणवाङ्मञ्जरी " which appears to be similar to Varadarāja's गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी. It may have been an imitation of Varadarāja's work but I have not studied the chronology of Dhuṇḍirāja Kavi and hence cannot determine his indebtedness or otherwise to Varadarāja.

4. *CC* I, 428. — Many MSS of the text and of मध्यमनोरमा comm. by Rāma Śarman, written by request of Śivānanda Bhaṭṭa. See also *CC* II, 97 where मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीविलास by Jayakṛṣṇa (Peterson 4. 18) is recorded. — *CC* III, 92 — MSS of मध्यकौमुदी.

5. *CC* I, 541; *CC* II, 127; *CC* III, 115.

—सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी or सारकौमुदी[1]

Now let us try to put some limits to Varadarāja's chronology.

As Varadarāja has abridged Bhaṭṭoji's work *Siddhānta-kaumudī* with a view to popularising it we shall put about A. D. 1620 as one limit to Varadarāja's date. I have proved elsewhere[2] that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita flourished between A. D. 1560 and A. D. 1620 and the above limit for Varadarāja's date harmonises with Bhaṭṭoji's date fixed by me. The other limit to Varadarāja's date is furnished by a dated MS[3] of his work *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* available in the Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute, Poona). It is dated Saṁvat 1739 = A. D. 1683. On looking to the other dated MSS of our author's works at the B.O.R. Institute I find that the above MS of A.D. 1683 is the *earliest dated MS of Varadarāja's works* at least among MSS of his works available at the B. O. R. Institute. In

1. *CC* I, 714; *CC* II, 170; *CC* III, 714.

2. *Annals* of S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 117-127.

3. MS *No. 539 of 1886-92* — Colophon records the date of the MS :— "संवत् १७३९ ज्येष्ठमासे कृष्णपक्षे अष्टमी शुक्रवासरे प्रयागतः लिषितं नरोत्तम-कायस्थेन लिषापितं etc." This is in harmony with other dated MSS of Varadarāja's works at the B. O. R. Institute :—

A.D.	Saṁvat	Śaka	MS No.	Name of Manuscript
1785	1841	...	671 of 1891-95	सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
1850	1906	...	517 of 1886-92	मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्या
1889	1945	...	516 of 1886-92	मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
1764	...	1686	637 of 1891-95	Do.
1791	...	1713	334 of A 1881-82	Do.
1804	...	1726	656 of 1883-84	Do.
1749	...	1671	655 of "	Do.
1778	...	1700	640 of 1882-83	Do.
1797	1853	...	228 of 1892-95	लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
Dates of India Office MSS and Tanjore Library MS				
1806	...	1728	No. 667	मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी
1725	1781	1647	No. 668	Do.
1847	1903	1768	No. 669	Do.
1693	1749	...	Burnell's Catalogue p. 40^b	Do. (in Tanjore MSS Library)

view of this MS may we may fix Varadarāja's date between A. D. 1620 and A. D. 1683.

With a view to narrowing down the limits given above we have to examine the tradition recorded by Pandit Uddhavaji that Varadarāja was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji and hence his contemporary. It appears to me that this tradition does not conflict with the limits for Vardarāja's date given by me above viz., A. D. 1620 and 1683. In fact Varadarāja bows to his guru Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita at the beginning of his *Madhyakaumudī* as follows in the Lahore Edition of the work (1899):—

" नत्वा वरदराजः श्रीगुरून्भट्टोजिदीक्षितान् ।
करोति पाणिनीयानां मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदीम् ॥ १ ॥ "

If this verse is a genuine part[1] of the text of Varadarāja's work the traditional statement[2] that our author was the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji

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1. The B. O. R. Institute MS of *Madhya-Siddhānta-Kaumudī No. 564 of 1887–91* begins as follows :—

" येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ १ ॥
येन धौता गिरः पुंसां निर्मलैः शब्दवारिभिः ।
तमश्चाज्ञानजं भिन्नं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ २ ॥
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ।
पाणिनिं सूत्रकारं च प्रणतोस्मि मुनित्रयम् ॥ ३ ॥
नत्वा वरदराजः श्रीगुरून्भट्टोजिदीक्षितान् ।
करोति पाणिनीयानाम् मध्यसिद्धां (न्त) त कौमुदीम् ॥ ४ ॥ "

In the above extract the fourth verse containing a reference to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is preceded by 3 verses while the India Office MS of the work No. 667 (p. 178 of *I. O. MSS Cata.* Part II, 1889) begins with the verse "नत्वा वरदराजः...कौमुदीम्" as in the Lahore Edn. of 1899.

2. M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri accepts this tradition (Vide pp. cix of Preface to *Des. Cata. of Vyākaraṇa MSS*. Vol. VI, 1931 — R. A. S. Bengal) — " *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita had a disciple named Varadarāja* who made three abridgments of his works........ " Speaking of मध्यमनोरमा the comm. on मध्यकौमुदी of Varadarāja M. M. Śāstri says :— " It is simply abridgment of the *Prauḍhamanoramā* as far as it relates to the Sūtras of the Madhya. The commentary is by Rāmacandra Śarmā who wrote it at the request of Śivānandabhaṭṭa or Śivānanda Gosvāmī and it was dedicated to *Vidyānivāsa* the most prominent Pandit of Bengal at the time of Akbar and *who was perhaps the guru of the author* " (p. cx).

Dīkṣita is directly borne out by the text. Towards the close of the *Madhyakaumudī* or *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī* Varadarāja refers to this work as his own production.[1] It appears to me that both the verses i.e., the verse at the beginning referring to Bhaṭṭoji and the verse at the close mentioning Varadarāja's authorship of the work are Varadarāja's own composition as these verses have one line in common.[2] The statement of Aufrecht that Varadarāja was the son of Durgātanaya is evidently based on the following verse at the end of the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* (MS No. 539 of 1886-92 dated A.D. 1683, folio 33):—

" कृता वरदभट्टश्रीदुर्गातनयसूनुना ।
वेदवेदप्रवेशाय सारसिद्धांतकौमुदी ॥ "

At the close of his *Laghusiddhānta Kaumudī*[3] Varadarāja refers to the *Śabdakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji as follows:—

" शास्त्रांतरे प्रविष्टानां बालानां चोपकारिका ।
कृता वरदराजेन लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥
सिद्धान्तकौमुदीशब्दकौस्तुभाभोगभोगतः ।
चक्रे वरदराजश्रीलघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी "

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1. *Madhya Kaumūdī* Lahore, 1899, p. 285—

" एषा वरदराजेन बालानामुपकारिका ।
अकारि पाणिनीयानां मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥
कृतिर्वरदराजस्य मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ।
तस्याः संख्या तु विज्ञेया खबाणकरवह्निभिः ॥
इति श्रीचविटकंविटवरदराजकृता मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी समाप्ता ॥ "

2. Beginning of *Madhya-Kaumudī* —

" करोति पाणिनीयानां मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी "

End of the *Madhya Kaumudī* —

" अकारि पाणिनीयानां मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी "

The following MSS of Varadarāja's works refer to Bhaṭṭoji as his guru:— *No 641 of 1882-83* (म. सि. कौमुदी); *No. 640 of 1882-83* (म. सि. कौ); *No. 637 of 1891-95* (म. सि. कौ); *No. 636 of 1891-95* (म. सि. कौ); *No. 329 of Vishram I* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 564 of 1887-91* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 334 of A 1881-82* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 656 of 1883-84* (म. सि. कौ.); *No. 655 of 1883-84* (म. सि. कौ.) *dated A. D.* 1749 (Śaka 1671).

3. B. O. R. Institute *MS No. 645 of 1891-95.*

Varadarāja in his *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*[1] refers to several works which ought to be studied by a Pandit. In this list[2] he refers to some works on grammar in which we find the following works :—

(1) मनोरमासहितसिद्धांतकौमुदी, (2) मध्यसिद्धांतकौमुदी, (3) लघुसिद्धान्त-कौमुदी, (4) शब्दकौस्तुभ, and (5) लिंगानुशासनवृत्ति.

Out of the five works on grammar mentioned by Varadarāja three belong to Bhaṭṭoji while the other two viz :—(1) मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी and (2) लघुसिद्धान्तकौमुदी are the works of Varadarāja himself as we have seen above. As Varadarāja refers to two of his works in the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी composed by him we have to presume that they were composed by him earlier than the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी and by putting them side by side with his guru's work viz. सिद्धान्तकौमुदी with मनोरमा and शब्दकौस्तुभ and others in the course of grammatical works he has apparently tried to give them a status and popularity which these abridgments of Bhaṭṭoji's works have ever since enjoyed in schools of Sanskrit learning throughout India.

In the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* we find incidentally a list of some

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1. B. O. R. I. *MS No. 395 of 1899-1915* — This MS ends as follows :—

" कृता वरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ।
गणेशप्रीतये चैव वैदिकप्रीतये भवेत् ॥ "

2. Varadarāja emphasizes the importance of grammar in the following lines (folios 10-11 of MS No. 395 of 1899-1915 — गीर्वाण-पदमञ्जरी) :—

" व्याकरणं आयाति चेत्सर्वशास्त्रेषु सिंहसदृशभवंति वैयाकरणाः। तत्कथमिति चेत् श्रृणु भाष्योच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमिति प्रसिद्धेः। व्यासोच्छिष्टं जगत्त्रयमित्यपि श्रूयते स्वामिनः। सत्यं। श्लोकांशे तत्। स्वामिनः। कस्मिन्कस्मिन् शास्त्रे श्रीमद्भिः पाठितं। मया सर्वत्र पाठितं। क सर्वत्र महाभाष्यं मया पाठिषमहं। कैय्यटमहं अपाठिषं। काशिका पुस्तकमहं अपाठिषं। पदमंजरीमपाठिषं। अनुन्यासमपाठिषमहं। धातुवृत्तिपुस्तकानि अपाठिषमहं। परिभाषा-पुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहं। धातुवृत्तिपुस्तकानि अपाठिषमहं। परिभाषापुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहं। उणादिवृत्तिपुस्तकान्यपाठिषमहं। कित्सू(?)त्रवृत्तिपुस्तका(न्यपाठिषमहं) लिंग(गा)नुशासन-वृत्तिपुस्तकानपाठिषमहं। उपसर्गवृत्तिमपाठिषमहं। निपातवृत्तिपुस्तकानपाठितमहे। मनोरमा-सहितासिद्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषं मध्यसे(सि)द्धान्तकौमुदीमपाठिषं। लघुसिद्धांतकौमुदीम-पाठिषं। शब्दकौस्तुभमपाठिषमहं। अन्यान्यपि व्याकरणे (बहूनि) वहनि पुस्तकानि सन्ति तानि सर्वाण्यपाठिषमहं "

Folio 16 — " प्रौढमनोरमा " and " शब्दकौस्तुभ " are again referred to,

of the Ghāṭs[1] of Benares. This contemporary list of Ghāṭs would be useful for the history of Benares topography. In this list we find a place called *Kedāreśvara-Ghaṭṭa.* In the account of Bhaṭṭoji's life recorded by Rao Bahadur W. A. BAMBARDEKAR[2] we are told that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita built a house for himself at *Kedār-Ghāṭa* in Benares and settled there permanently. It would be worthwhile examining this statement on the strength of contemporary topography and settling the exact location of Bhaṭṭoji's house at Kedarghat.

Varadarāja refers to the houses of some contemporary Brahmins[3] but the names of these Brahmins recorded by him may be imaginary names mentioned for purposes of illustration only. We also find in this work a list of holy places or *tīrthas* on *folio* 6 of the MS as follows :—

1. Folio 2a — "कुत्र स्थीयते भवता। काश्यां स्थीयते मया। काश्यामपि क्व स्थीयते त्वया। त्वया (1) राजघट्टे स्थीयते etc. Then follows the list of other Ghaṭṭas etc. — (2) त्रिलोचनघट्ट, (3) ब्रह्मघट्ट, (4) दुर्गाघट्ट, (5) बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (6) मंगलागौरीघट्ट, (7) रामघट्ट, (8) अग्नीश्वरघट्ट, (9) नागेश्वरघट्ट, (10) वीरेश्वरघट्ट, (11) सिद्धिविनायकघट्ट, (12) स्वर्गद्वारप्रवेश, (13) मोक्षद्वारप्रवेश, (14) गंगाकेशवपार्श्व, (15) जरासंधघट्ट, (16) वृद्धादित्यघट्ट, (17) सोमेश्वरघट्ट, (18) रामेश्वर, (19) लोलार्क, (20) असीसंगमं, (21) वरुणासंगमं, (22) लक्ष्मीनृसिंह on the बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (23) पंचगंगेश्वर on the बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (24) आदिविश्वेश्वर, on the बिंदुमाधवघट्ट, (25) दक्षेश्वर, (26) दुग्धविनायक, (27) कालभैरव, (28) दशाश्वमेध(घट्ट), (29) चतुष्षष्टियोगिनीघट्ट, (30) सर्वेश्वरघट्ट, (31) मानससरोवर, (32) केदारेश्वरघट्ट.

2. Vide p. 351 of "*Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita — Jñātiviveka*", Bombay, 1939.

3. Folio 3 of MS No. 395 of 1899-1915 of गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी :—

"दुग्धविनायकनिकटे कस्य गृहे वर्तसे त्वं। तिमाभट्टगृहे वर्तसे त्वं। रामभट्टगृहे वा वर्तसे त्वं। नारायणभट्टगृहे त्वं वर्तसे। भैरवभट्टगृहे वर्तसे त्वं। शिवभट्टगृहे अहं वर्ते। शिवभट्टगृहेऽपि पूर्वशालायां त्वं विद्यसे। अथवा दक्षिणशालायां विद्यसे। पश्चिमशालायां विद्यसे। प्रासादे वा विद्यसे। उत्तरशालायां तिष्ठामो वयं स्वामिनः।"

Can any scholar at Benares verify the names recorded in the above extract and see if they are imaginary or otherwise? In case they turn out to be real names of owners of houses at Benares we shall have to identify these names, if possible, in contemporary sources. We know that नागोजीभट्ट was the son of one शिवभट्ट but it is difficult to connect this शिवभट्ट with the शिवभट्टगृह near दुग्धविनायक in Benares referred to in the above extract.

(1) सेतुबंधरामेश्वर, (2) कन्याकुमारी, (3) अनंतसेनक्षेत्र, (4) जनार्दनक्षेत्र, (5) गोकर्णक्षेत्र, (6) महाबलेश्वरतीर्थ, (7) पुंडरीकपुरक्षेत्र, (8) त्रियंबकक्षेत्र, (9) नासिकक्षेत्र, (10) धर्मपुरीक्षेत्र, (11) गोदावरीसंगम, (12) श्रीशैलक्षेत्र, (13) कांचीक्षेत्र, (14) सुब्रह्मण्य-तीर्थ, (15) शंकरनारायणक्षेत्र, (16) वेंकटाचलक्षेत्र, (17) **कालहस्तिक्षेत्र**.

Besides these tīrthas of the South we get a list of *tīrthas* of the North of India on *folio 13* —

(1) कुरुक्षेत्र, (2) संनिहत्यातीर्थ, (3) पृथूदकतर्थि, (4) इन्द्रप्रस्थपुरे निगमगोचरतीर्थ, (5) मथुराक्षेत्र, (6) गोकुलम्, (7) गोवर्धनम्, (8) वृंदावनम्, (9) पुष्करतीर्थ, (10) नर्मदा-नघ (?), (11) अमरकंटकक्षेत्र ओंकारेश्वर, (12) चर्मण्वती नदी, (13) ताप नदी, (14) अवंतिकाक्षेत्र, (15) महाकालेश्वर, (16) नर्मदासंगम, (17) गुप्तप्रयाग, (18) सरस्वतीतीरे प्रभासक्षेत्र, (19) गोमती, (20) पंचद्वारकाः, (21) सिंधुसंगमः, (22) हिंगुलादेवीक्षेत्र, (23) सिंधुनदः, (24) चंद्रभागा, (25) काश्मीर सोमेश्वर, (26) संध्यावर्द्धनी, (27) व्यासगंगा, (28) वसिष्ठाश्रम, (29) मनमहेशपर्वत, (30) त्रिलोकनाथक्षेत्र, (31) मानःसरःतीर्थम्, (32) तप्तमणिकर्णिका, (33) नागकोटक्षेत्र, (34) ज्वालामुखीक्षेत्र, (35) इरावती नदी, (36) शरा-वती नदी, (37) पुष्पभद्रायमुनासंगम, (38) यमुना नदी, (39) गंगोत्तरा, (40) मंदाकिनी-तीरे केदारक्षेत्र, (41) अलकनंदातीरे बदरिकाश्रम, (42) मंदाकिनी–अलकनंदा–संगमे रुद्र-प्रयागः, (43) धवलगंगाअल(क)गंगासंगमे स्कंदप्रयागः, (44) भागीरथी–अलकनंदासंगमे देवयागः, (45) हरिद्वारक्षेत्र, (46) कनकलाक्षेत्र, (47) संमलाग्रामः, (48) सूकरक्षेत्र, (49) नैमिषारण्य, (50) उत्तरगोकर्ण, (51) सरयु नदी, (52) अयोध्याक्षेत्र, (53) नंदिग्रामक्षेत्र, (54) गंगायमुनासंगमे वटप्रयागः, (55) काशीक्षेत्र–विश्वेश्वरः, (56) गयातीर्थ, (57) फल्गु नदी, (58) पुना नदी, (59) शोणभद्रनद, (60) अवनाश्रमः, (61) राजगृहवनं, (62) वैद्य-नाथक्षेत्र, (63) गंगासागरसंगमतीर्थ, (64) गंडकी नदी, (65) चैत्रतीर्थ, (66) मुक्तिक्षेत्र, (67) नेपाले नीलकंठतीर्थम्, (68) कामरूपे कामाख्यादेवी.

I have recorded above the lists of Southern and Northern holy places in India which Varadarāja has taken care to record incidentally in his *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*, which appears to have been composed say between A. D. 1600 and 1650. In this list the reference to कालहस्तिक्षेत्र is important as the presiding deity of this place i.e. कालहस्तीश was the family deity of रङ्गोजिभट्ट, the brother of भट्टोजिदीक्षित.[1] In my present analysis of Varadarāja's *Gīrvāṇa-*

1. Vide pp. 298-299 of *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita* by BAMBARDEKAR. Kālāhasti is a railway station in the Chittur Districit of the Madras Presidency. Near this station there is a village of the name *Kāla-hasti*, where on the bank of a river is situated a temple of God Mahā-deva with five faces. This God is called कालहस्तीश. Rao Bahadur

(*Continued on the next page*)

padamañjarī I have used only the MS of this work at the B. O. R. Institute. The *India Office Catalogue*[1] describes a MS of this work as follows :—

" *Saṁskṛtamañjarī* (or *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*) being courses of elementary conversational questions and answers on everyday occurrences, on literary, devotional and other subjects ; by *Varadarāja Dīkṣita.* " Though in the Colophons of this MS the work is called संस्कृतमञ्जरी, its correct title is गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी as stated in the body of the work.[2] Rajendralal MITRA[3] describes a MS of this work as follows :—

" An elementary grammar of Sanskrit language, in the form of a dialogue interspersed with moral tales. "

The colophon of this MS calls the work by the name गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी and not संस्कृतमञ्जरी as stated in the Colophon of the India Office MS of the work.[4] The Ujjain MSS Library has also a copy of गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी. From the data recorded above we are able to establish the following conclusions :—

(1) Varadarāja (= *VR*) was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (= *BD*).

(Continued from the previous page)

BAMBARDEKAR is of opinion that the native place of Raṅgojibhaṭṭa must have been somewhere in the territory adjoining this temple in the country of Telaṅgaṇa. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that both Raṅgoji and his brother Bhaṭṭoji were *Tailaṅga* Brahmins, and not Sārasvatas as claimed by some writers.

1. *I. O. MSS Cata.* VII (1904), p. 1574, MS No. 4108.

2. Ibid — " इति संस्कृतमंजरी वरदराजदीक्षितकृता समाप्ता "

" कृता वरदभट्टेन गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी ।
गणेशप्रीतये चैवं वैदिकप्रीतये भवेत् ॥
इतिश्रीसंस्कृतमञ्जरी वरदराजदीक्षितकृता समाप्तिमगमत् "

The B. O. R. Institute MS of the work No. 395 of 1899–1915 ends as follows :—

" कृतां वरदभट्टेन........भवेत् ॥ इतिश्रीगीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी समाप्ता (folio 19)

3. *Notices,* Vol. VI, 1882 (Calcutta), MS No. 2167 —

" विषयः । संस्कृतप्रवेशाय प्रश्नोत्तरक्रमेण संस्कृतवाक्यरचनाप्रकारकीर्त्तनं । क्वचिदुपन्यासावतारेण च हितोपदेशकथनञ्च । "

4. *Cata.* of *Ujjain MSS*, 1936, p. 41 — MS No. 1081.

(2) *VR* appears to have been a Southerner as his name *Varadarāja* suggests. He should be distinguished from his namesake, the author of a dharmaśāstra work called the व्यवहारनिर्णय, which was composed before A. D. 1350.[1]

(3) As *VR* has abridged Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī* and as he mentions Bhaṭṭoji's works like सिद्धांतकौमुदी with प्रौढमनोरमा and शब्दकौस्तुभ in his own work गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी we may say that he flourished later than A.D. 1620 about which time Bhaṭṭoji's literary career appears to have come to an end. This fact coupled with the fact that Bhaṭṭoji was the *guru* of Varadarāja, enables us to fix about A. D. 1600 as the earlier limit to Varadarāja's date. The later limit for the date of *VR* may be fixed at about A. D. 1650 as we have a copy of *VR*'s work dated A. D. 1683.

(4) *VR* appears to have been a contemporary of another pupil of Bhaṭṭoji viz. Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, who composed his *Śabdaśobhā* in A. D. 1637 and a small poem called the *Cimanīcarita* in A. D. 1656.[2]

(5) *VR* does not record any biographical information regarding himself in his four works known to us except the name of his father who is called दुर्गातनय in the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* (MS of A. D. 1683). At the end of the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी he says "गीर्वाणपद्-मञ्जरी ... गणेशप्रीतये भवेत्." It is possible to suppose that गणेश was the name of *VR*'s father and दुर्गा the name of *VR*'s grandmother? As god Gaṇeśa is the son of Durgā or Pārvatī *VR* may have used the name दुर्गातनय to suggest: (1) गणेश the name of his father, and (2) दुर्गा the name of his father's mother i.e. *VR*'s grandmother.

(6) As regards the relative chronology of *VR*'s four works we

1. Vide my paper on the Date of *Vyavahāranirṇaya* (*Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa*, Poona, Vol. III, pp. 15–18). Pandit Jvālāprasad MIŚRA in his edition of the *Laghu-Siddhānta-Kaumudī* (with Hindi comm.) 1927, pp. 18–20, states that Varadarāja composed this work in A. D. 1593. He further states (1) that this Varadarāja composed the व्यवहार-निर्णय and (2) that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was contemporary of श्रीहर्ष the author of the नैषधचरित— This mixture of anachronism and dogmatism has been severely criticized by Rao Bahadur BAMBARDEKAR (Vide pp. 180–188 of *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita — Jñātiviveka*, 1939).

2. I shall prove in a special paper that Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, the author of the *Śabda-Śobhā* and Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, the author of the

(*Continued on the next page*)

are able to state that his मध्यसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[1] and लघुसिद्धांतकौमुदी were composed earlier than गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी. Perhaps सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी may have been composed later than the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी, which though it mentions मध्य°कौमुदी and लघु°कौमुदी does not refer to the सार°कौमुदी. This omission appears to me significant in the case of Varadarāja who has put his own abridgments side by side with Bhaṭṭoji's works referred to in the गीर्वाणपदमञ्जरी.

(7) The earliest dated MS of *VR*'s work so far as I know is dated A. D. 1683.[2] This MS is at the B. O. R. Institute. It supplies to us a sure later limit to *VR*'s date as we have seen above.

(8) *VR* shows a close knowledge of the City of Benares in the first half on the 17th Century as will be seen from the list of Ghaṭṭas of Benares incidentally recorded by him in the गीर्वाण-पदमञ्जरी.

(9) *VR*'s works were commented on by two commentators रामशर्मन् and जयकृष्ण. Perhaps an examination of these commentaries and their chronology may throw some more light on *VR*'s works and personality.

(10) *VR* appears to have been a contemporary of the celebrated Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī who was successful in persuading Emperor Shah Jahan to abolish the Pilgrim Tax on pilgrims visiting Benares and Prayāga and who lived between A. D. 1600 and

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

Cimanī-Carita are identical, though there is a difference of about 20 years between the dates of composition of these two works. See also my paper on the date of the *Cimanī-Carita* in the *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. IX, pp. 331–332.

1. Vide p. 146 of *British Museum MSS* Cata. by BENDALL, 1902 — BENDALL gives "in or about the 16th century" as the date for Bhaṭṭoji's pupils and their works while describing a MS of मध्य-सिद्धांतकौमुदी.

2. There is a MS of *Laghu-Siddhānta-Kaumudī* described by H. POLEMAN on p. 130 of his *Catalogue of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada* (1938). It is dated *Saṁvat 1680* = A. D. 1624. If this date is correct this is the earliest dated MS of Varadarāja's work and hence most important for his chronology.

1670.[1] In the collection of addresses presented to Kavīndācārya we find a small *praśasti* of Kavīndra attributed to an author of the name तिलभाण्डेश्वर,[2] who remains unidentified. In the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* of Varadarāja (MS No. 395 of 1899–1915) there is a reference to a place or locality called तिलभाण्डेश्वर.[3] The connection of the author तिलभाण्डेश्वर with a locality of the same name cannot be definitely determined at present. Perhaps the author in question may have been named after the place-name तिलभाण्डेश्वर or vice versa.

11. A MS of *Laghusiddhānta-Kaumudī* in America is dated A. D. 1624.[4] Presuming this date to be correct we have to consider the effect of this date on the chronology of Bhaṭṭoji as also that of Varadarāja. In my paper on Bhaṭṭoji's date I had noted a MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabdakaustubha* (R. A. S. Bengal) dated A. D. 1633 and on the strength of this date and other evidence I had suggested that Bhaṭṭoji's career may have ended in about A. D. 1620. This inference gets strengthened by the date A. D. 1624 of a MS of *Laghusiddhānta-Kaumudī*, which is an abridgment of Bhaṭṭoji's own work *Siddhāntakaumudī*. If the abridgment of a work is represented by its copy in A. D. 1624 we must presume that the original work must have been composed some years earlier[5] than the abridgment.

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1. See my paper on *Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court* (*Annals* of the S. V. Ori. Institute, Tirupati), Vol. I, Part 4.

2. Vide कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय Ed. by H. D. SHARMA and M. M. PATKAR, Poona, 1939. — *Page 29* :—

" श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकत्वाद्यनेककल्याणगुणविधानेषु......श्रीपादवर्यश्रीकवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वतीपूज्यचरणेषु " तिलभाण्डेश्वरस्य ॥ "

The editors have not been able to identify this author of the name तिलभाण्डेश्वर (Vide *Preface* p. ix.)

3. Folios 16–17 of *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* (MS No. 395 of 1899–1915) —

" कुत्रस्थीयते भवद्भिः। तिलाभांडेश्वरे स्थीयते मया। लकाराकारस्य दीर्घः केन अवैय्याकरणसंगतिवशाद्दीर्घः। "

4. H. POLEMAN : *Indic MSS in U. S. A.* etc. p. 130 — MS No. "2635. *Laghu-Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, 49 ff. 9. 5 × 4. 12 lines *Saṁ. 1680* (= A. D. 1624). M 3 (case 20)."

5. WINTERNITZ's statement that Bhaṭṭoji composed the

(*Continued on the next page*)

As the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* mentions (1) *Madhya° Kaumudī* and (2) *Laghu° Kaumudī* composed before A.D. 1624, I am inclined to hold the view that these two abridgments of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* may have been composed before A. D. 1620 and they may have received the benefit of Bhaṭṭoji's guidance during the last decade of his literary career.

I shall now close this paper with the following chronological table showing at a glance the dates of Bhaṭṭoji's guru Nṛsiṁhāśrama and his own pupils (1) Varadarāja and (2) Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla:—

Bhaṭṭoji and his guru	A. D.	Bhaṭṭoji's Pupils and others
Date of Nṛsiṁhāśrama (according to Das Gupta)	1500	
Nṛsiṁhā° composed his *Tattvaviveka*	1547	
Nṛsiṁhā° composed another work	1558	
	......	Annambhaṭṭa (before A. D. 1585) refers to Nṛsiṁhāśrama in his Comm. on *Brahmasūtra* (Vide Prof. Devasthali's paper in this Volume)
MS of *Tattvaviveka*	1615	
MS of *Tattvaviveka-dīpana* by Nārāyaṇāśrama	1618	
	1624	MS of *Laghu° Kaumudī* of Varadarāja
(R. A. S. B.) MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabda-Kaustubha*	1633	
	1637	Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed *Śabdaśobhā*

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Siddhānta-Kaumudī about A. D. 1625 (*Geschichte der ind. Litt.* III, 1922, p. 394) conflicts with the date A. D. 1624 of a MS of the abridgment of the *Sidhhānta-Kaumudī*. We cannot imagine the composition of the abridgment of a work before A. D. 1624 if the work itself was composed in A. D. 1625.

Bhaṭṭoji and his Guru	A. D.	Bhaṭṭoji's Pupils ond others
	1642	Vatsarāja refers to Bhaṭṭoji
B. O. R. I. MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Prauḍhamanoramā*	1652	
	1656	Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed *Cimanī-Carita*
B. O. R. I. MS of *Pr. Manoramā*	1657	
	1663	Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita refers to *Śabda-Kaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji
American MS of *Āśauca-prakaraṇa*[1] of Bhaṭṭoji	1664	
B. O. R. I. MS of Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhānta Kaumudī*	1671	
MS of *Āśaucanirṇaya* (referred to by Hall)	1676	
(American) MS of *Āś. Nirṇaya*	1677	
	1683	B. O. R. I. MS of Varadarāja's *Sāra-Siddhānta Kaumudī*

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1. I have discovered a MS of a Marathi translation of the *Āśaucaprakaraṇa* of Bhaṭṭoji. It appears to have been composed during the 18th century. I am not so far aware of any early vernacular translations of Bhaṭṭoji's works.

41. The Historical Background of the Cimanī–Carita*

A ROMANTIC LOVE-POEM BY A PUPIL OF BHAṬṬOJI DĪKṢITA DEALING WITH THE LOVE OF THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF ALLĀH VARDĪ KHĀN TURKMĀN (BETWEEN A. D. 1606–1659)

Mr. Q. M. Moneer[1] has recently published three Persian inscriptions[2] of Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān from the ancient hill-forts in the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency. They are engraved on rocks in the Sātmāla ranges on which are erected the ancient forts of Indrā'ī, Chāndor and Dhodap. They were inscribed in the name of and very probably at the instance of Allāh Vardī Khān himself, who conquered not only the forts on which they are carved, but thirteen other forts in the same area, which are mentioned by name in two of these three inscriptions. Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān of the inscription claimed descent from a Sovereign of Central Asia of the name Sultān Sanjar (A. D. 1086–1157). The chronology of Allāh Vardī Khān's life as recorded by Mr. Moneer (on p. 9) is as follows :—

A. D.	Particulars. *AVK* = Allāh Vardī Khān
1606–1627	—*AVK* came to India. Through his brother Mukhliṣ Khān, already companion to Prince Parviz *AVK* was presented at the Court of Emperor Jahangir.
1626	—*AVK*, appointed Superintendent of hunting excursions.

* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VI, pp. 149–158.

1. *Epi. Indo — Moslemica* (1937–38), pp. 7–13.

2. Ibid. Vide plate IV — (*a*) at Chandor, dated *20th March 1636*, (*b*) at Indrā'ī (in the Chandor Taluka) dated *24th March 1636*, V (*a*) — at Dhodap (in Kālvān Taluka) dated *29th June 1636*. Mr.

(*Continued on the next page*)

A. D.	Particulars. *A VK* = Allāh Vardī Khān
1627	—*A VK*, attached to Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān for active service in the field.
1636	—*A VK* appointed Warden of Lucknow, Muttra, and Delhi in succession.
1653	—*A VK*, accompanied Dārā Shukoh for the capture of Qandhār from the King of Persia.
	—Shah Jahān deprives *A VK* of his title and rank but assigns to him the revenues of Shankarpur paragana as pension.
	—*A VK* re-employed in charge of Elichpur and later made Governor of Berar.
	—*A VK*, involved in a misunderstanding and recalled and confined in his own house at Delhi.
	—Re-employed as administrator of Jaunpūr and later made Governor of Bihar.
1657	—*A VK*, unwilling to oppose Shāh Shujā, retired to Benares, where Shujā persuaded him to join his cause. When Shujā set out from Benares *A VK* changed his mind and with all his adherents returned to Benares and shut himself up in his house. Shujā returned and by false means got hold of *A VK* and his son Saifullāh. The father and the son were then paraded on elephant's back through the City of Benares and put to death.

The above history of *A VK*'s career at the Mughal Court as recorded by Mr. Moneer shows *A VK*'s importance at the Imperial Court, though unfortunately it had a sad end. This history is based on contemporary Persian Chronicles. I propose to record

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Moneer states (p. 13) that "barring a few minor variations the details embodied in them (inscriptions) are faithfully corroborated by the relevent contemporary Chronicles of the reign of Shah Jahān, which were being registered at a great distance from the scene of the occurrences mentioned in these inscriptions."

in this paper some interesting information about the household affairs of *A VK* as revealed in a Sanskrit poem called the *Cimanī-Carita*,[1] composed by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla in A. D. *1656*. I shall prove in a special paper, that this author is identical with Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, who composed a grammatical work called the *Śabda-Śobhā* in A. D. *1637*.[2] From these dates of the works of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla it is clear that he was a contemporary of *A VK*. This contemporaneity coupled with the contact of *A VK* between A. D. 1656 and 1657 with the City of Benares, where *A VK* and his son met their sad end, leads me to infer that Benares Pandits must have been well aware of the life-history of *A VK* then current in Benares academic circles which were in the favour of Dārā Shukoh, who met his death almost in the same manner in which *A VK* and his son were put to death by Dārā's brother Shujā. My inference further gets support from the contact of Dārā with *A VK* in A. D. *1653*, in which year *A VK* accompanied Dārā to Qandhār to capture that city from the king of Persia. It is thus possible to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla residing at Benares and composing his works in A. D. 1637 and 1656 must have been fully aware of the personal history of *A VK* through some Pandits of Benares in direct contact with Dārā Shukoh. If this position is accepted we can easily explain how Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed his poem *Cimanī-Carita* (in A. D. 1656 *i.e.* one year before the death of *A VK* at Benares) in which a Muslim noble of the name "अलह-विर्दीखान" is actually mentioned. In fact this romantic poem is based on a contemporary scandal developed in the harem of Alaha Virdī Khān mentioned in the poem. I am of opinion that the Muslim noble "अलह-विर्दीखान" of *Cimanī-Carita* is identical with Allāh Vardī Khān of the inscriptions dated A. D. 1636, in which year Nīlakaṇṭha composed his work at Benares called the *Śabdaśobhā*. Before I mention my points of identity it is necessary to give the reader an idea of the contents of this short poem called the *Cīmanī-Carita* in which *Cimanī*[3] is the heroine belonging to the harem of this

1. Vide my paper on the date of *Cimanī-carita* in *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. IX, pp. 331-332.

2. Vide *Annals* (Tirupati Institute) Vol. I, Pt. 2, page 122 of my paper on the date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

3. The name *Cimaṇī* is often found in the Deccan as the name of a woman. Perhaps the heroine *Cimaṇī* may have been a Hindu

(*Continued on the next page*)

Muslim noble. Her relation to Allāh Virdī Khān is clear from the following stanza (52) of the poem :—

"यासावासीदलहविरदीज्येष्ठबंधोस्तनूजा
भार्यात्वं चालहविरदीज्येष्ठसूनोरयासीत् ।
याता ख्यातिं जगति चिमनीत्याख्यया या गवाक्षे
देवादेशात्कचिदथ दयादेवमेषा ददर्श ॥ ५२ ॥"

Cimanī was, therefore, the daughter of the elder brother of *Alaha Virdī Khān* and at the same time his daughter-in-law, being the wife of his eldest son. Her romantic love with *Dayādeva* mentioned in the above stanza is the theme of the poem. In Stanza 1 *Dayādeva Śarmā* is introduced as a handsome youth. In St. 2 his beauty and youth are described as bewitching to the ladies of the harem of *Alaha Virdī Khān*. Dayādeva approached the *Khān* for some employment and was appointed as a tutor to the ladies of his harem (St. 3). The *Khān* ordered an old lady of the name *Mānikā* to attend during the time of instruction imparted to the young ladies (St. 4). Further as a precaution against the possibility of any workings of the Cupid in the harem, consequent upon such factors as the beauty and youth of the ladies, the presence of a Brahmin *guru* of a youthful age and the privacy of the harem, the *Khān* appointed a Chamberlain of the name *Anīśa* to keep a watch during the time of the lessons (St. 5-6). But these arrangements of the *Khān* proved futile and the Chamberlain *Anīśa* proved of no avail in preventing the mischievous activities of the God of Love (St. 7). The poet then describes these workings of the Cupid in a charming manner. In Stanza 52 we are introduced to the heroine of the poem viz. *Cimanī*, the daughter of the elder brother of *Alaha Virdī Khān*, who was at the same time the wife the eldest son of this *Khān*. *Cimanī* falls in love with *Dayādeva Śarmā* and the poet describes their course of love in the latter half of the poem. In St. 67 we find two names मुखलिस and झाफरीय आलय or the house of Jāfar

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

lady or may have been the daughter of a Hindu lady admitted into the Muslim harem and then converted to Muslim faith. The sojourn of Allāh Vardī Khān in the Deccan in A. D. 1636 for conquering the forts in the Nasīk District may explain the Marāṭhā name "*Cimaṇī*" of our heroine. "*Cimaṇī*" means a sparrow and by metaphor is applied to young ladies as a pet name.

(Khān). *Mukhalis*[1] was the elder brother of *Alaha Virdī Khān* while *Jāfar*[2] was the name of *Cimanī's* husband. *Mukhlis* is again referred to in St. 71 by the poet.

Jāfar mentioned in the *Cimanī-carita* (St. 67) must be distinguished from *Jāfar Khān* (mentioned by Bernier)[3] who was the Prime minister of Aurangzeb. Bernier[4] referes to the perfidy of one *Allah-verdī-khān* with *Sultan Sujah.* This Khān may be identical with *AVK* of the *Cimanī-carita* and of Mr. Moneer's inscriptions of A. D. 1636.

The love between *Cimanī* and *Dayādeva* developed intensely in course of time but *Cimanī* was curious to know if *Dayādeva* was really a *Hindu* :—

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1. In the account of *AVK* given by Mr. Moneer :we are told that *Mukhliṣ Khān* was the brother of *AVK.* This brother was companion to Prince Parviz between A. D. 1606 and 1627. Through *Mukhlis* Khān *AVK* was presented at the court of Jahangir. It seems that *Cimanī*, the heroine of the *Cimanīcarita*, was the daughter of this *Mukhlis Khān* mentioned by our poet.

2. Vide p. 186 of *Bernier's Travels* (1656-1668) Constable, London, 1891 — Among partisans of Aurangzeb Bernier mentions "the son of that *Allah-verdikan*, whose advice cost *Sultan Sujāh* the battle of *Kadjoue*, was made Governor of Scimdy." The Editor remarks : "*Jāfar Khān*, appointed Subadar of Allahabad, where he died in 1669 (Beale)" and identifies the son of *AVK* with Jāfar Khān. If this identification is correct the *Jāfar* of *Cimanī-carita* was the son of *AVK*, husband of *Cimanī* and the son-in-law of *AVK*'s brother of *Mukhliṣ Khān.* The love of *Cimanī* with a Brahmin youth *Dayādeva* was of course an extra-marital affair.

3. Vide *Bernier's Travels*, p. 271 — foot-note 4 — "*Jāfar Khān* entitled Umdat-ul-mulk was appointed Prime Minister by Aurangzeb (Alamgir) in 1662 and died in 1670 at Delhi. He was the son of Sádik Khán a cousin of Nūr Jahán's who had married one of her sisters hence his kinship to Aurangzeb."

4. Ibid, p. 77 — footnote 1—" Aliwardi Khán Governor of Patna, who espoused the cause of Sultán Sujah, whom he followed to Bengal, where he was killed in July 1659." Cf. Mr.: Moneer's account of *AVK's* life where *AVK* is said to have been put to death in A. D. 1657 at Benares (Epi. *Ind. Moslemica* — 1937-38, p. 9. Did *AVK* die in A. D. *1657* or *1659* ?

" हिंदु काद्य व्रजसि हृदयं कुत्र मे चोरयित्वा
लब्धोऽसि त्वं कथमपि मया मृग्यमाणश्चिरेण ॥ ८७ ॥ "

Dayādeva replied that he was Brahmin and showed her his *Yajñopavīta* (sacred thread)

" विप्रोऽहं तत् प्रणयपदवीं तेऽधिगन्तुं न योग्यो "

Cimanī said :—

" मेवं ब्रूयाः पुनरपि सखे योग्य एवासि यस्मात् । "

Dayādeva :—

" त्वन्मायुध यदवधि मनोमग्नमासीन्ममासं
विप्रोऽहं तत् प्रभृति पुरतः पश्य यज्ञोपवीतं ॥ ८८ ॥ "

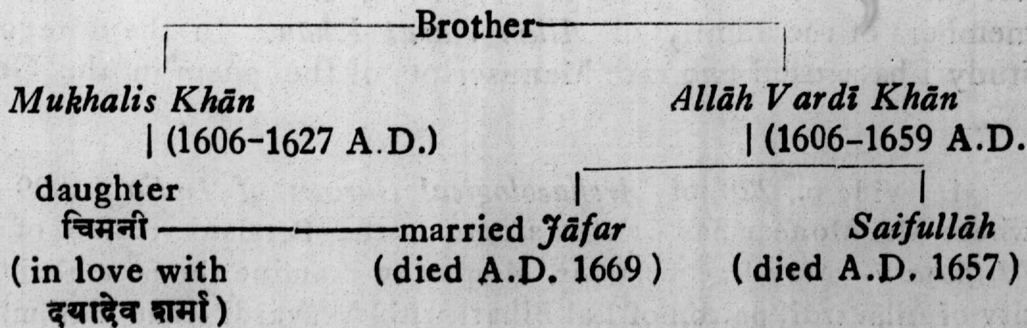
The two lovers passed their time happily as stated in St. 101 which concludes the romantic poem :—

" अनुनिशमवशिष्टं कर्त्तुमासीन्न किंचित्
किमपि न कृतमेव प्रत्यभानुप्रभाते ।
यवनिपतितनूजे प्रोषिते भाग्यभाजो-
रिति विविधविलासैर्वासराणि व्यतीयुः ॥ १०१ ॥ "

The poet is conscious of the beauty of this romantic poem as depicted by him :—

" रस एव स ईश्वरः श्रुताविति निर्णीतमतोऽभिधीयते ।
चिमनीचरिते रसाश्रितं वचनं चेन्न मम श्रमः श्रमः ॥ १०२ ॥ "

The poem seems to be a true story based on a contemporary love affair developed in the harem of *Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān*. Whether any echo of this love story is found in Persian Sources, I cannot say at present as I am not conversant with these sources. With a view to helping further investigation of this story I represent its historical back-ground with the persons concerned in it as follows :—



The following table will show persons indentified by me on the strength of *Cimanī-carita* and other sources :—

Cimanī-carita = CC (A.D. 1656)	Persian Sources (= P) and Nasik Inscriptions (= N)
(1) *Alaha Virdī Khān* called म्लेच्छाधीश, यवनपति in CC.	(1) *Allāh Virdī Khān Turkmān* (N and P)
(2) *Cimanī* is called "अलहबिरदीज्येष्ठबंधोः तनूजा" & "अलहबिरदीज्येष्ठसूनोः भार्या" (in CC. St. 52)	
(3) *Mukhalisa* (mentioned in CC, Stanzas 67, 71)	(3) *Mukhàlis Khan* (P) companion to Prince Parviz (1606–1629 A.D.)
(4) *Jāfar* (mentioned in CC St. 67)	(4) *Jāfar Khān*, son of *AVK* (Beale). Bernier refers to Jāfar but not by name.

The occurrence of the names *Alaha Virdī Khān*, *Mukhlis*, and *Jāfar* in the *Cimanī-carita* composed in A. D. 1656 by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and their indentification in other sources dealing with the life-history of *Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān* is not a mere coincidence. We are, therefore, fully justified in presuming that the author of this romantic poem was in full knowledge of the love affair of the daughter-in-law of the celebrated Muslim noble of Shah Jahān's court. It appears that this noble , who employed a Brahmin tutor for the ladies of his household, may have patronised another Pandit of the name *Lal Bihari*[1] who is the author of a Persian version of *Mitākṣara* composed in A. D. 1657 or so.

As the poem *Camanī-carita* is not a historical Kāvya we cannot expect any history in it pertaining to the careers of the members of the family of *Allāh Vardī Khān*. In the foregoing study I have used two rare Manuscripts of the poem in the Govt.

1. Vide p. 228 of *Archaeological Survey of India* (1929–30) where Mr. Moneer has written a note on the Persian version of the *Mitākṣarā*. May I request Mr. Moneer to examine the possible identity of Allāvardi, patron of Lal Bihari with Allāvardi Khān Turkmān ?

MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz. *No. 357 of 1884-87* and *No. 698 of 1886-92*. One of these MSS is dated *Saṁvat 1764* = A. D. *1708* while the other is dated *Saṁvat 1800* = A. D. *1744*. I propose to publish the text of this poem after some time in collaboration with my friend Dr. Har Datta Sharma. I read the Mss of this poem about 15 years ago but I could not then determine with certainty its historical background. Contemporary *Kāvyas*, though not exactly of the historical type have a value of their own in giving to the history of a period that colour which is sometimes lacking in the dynastic and political history of the same period. Poetry as a reflection of contemporary life cannot fail to enrich the cultural history of a period, provided we are able to penetrate the gossamer of the poet's idealized narration and plant our feet on the *terra firma* of historical truth. I feel confident that close students of the Persian sources of the Mughal period will throw more light on the subject of this paper than what I have been able to do by presenting some new material regarding the household affairs of *Allāh Vardī Khān* Turkmān.

The *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale (London, 1894), p. 47 contains biographies of three persons of the name *Alahwirdi Khan* (or more correctly *Ilahwirdi Khan*). Two of these persons are mentioned in *Cimanī-carita* as *Alaha Viradī Khān* and *Jāfar* respectively. Their biographies as given by Beal may be recorded here :—

(1) " *Alahwirdi Khān* — a nobleman of the reign of Emperor *Jahangir*. He was raised to the rank of 5000 in the time of *Shah Jahan* and held several offices of importance. He was appointed Governor of Patna and espoused the cause of Sultan Shujā, brother of Aurangzeb A. D. **1658** (A. H. 1068) and after the defeat of Shujā accompained him to Bengal where he was slain together with his son Saif-ullah, by order of that prince in July A. D. 1659 (Zil-qa'da A. H. 1069). "

(2) " *Alahwirdi Khān* or more correctly Ilahwirdi Khān, *title* of *Jāfar Khān*, the son of Ilawirdi Khān the first. He was raised to the rank of an Amir by ' Alamgir ' with the title of Ilahwirdi Khān ' Alamgir-Shāhi '. He was appointed Subadar of Allahabad where he died in A. D. **1669** (A. H. 1079). He was an excellent poet and has left a Diwān. "

The date recorded in this paper amply proves that the poem *Cimanī-caritą* is based on a true story of the love affair of the daughter-in-law of Allāvardi Khān Turkmān. The chronology pertaining to the author of the poem and the historical persons

connected with the poem may be represented as follows to enable the students of Persian sources of the Mughal history to trace, if possible, any references to this love affair in these sources say between A. D. 1620 and 1660 :—

A. D.	Particulars
	AVK = Allāh Vardi Khān.
	NS = Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla.
1606-1627	*AVK* came to India and was presented to the Mughal Court through his brother *Mukhliskhān*
1626	*AKV* made Superintendent of hunting excursions.
1627	*AVK* attached to Mahābat Khān for service in the field.
1636	*AVK* conquers Nasik forts acccording to inscriptions.
1637	*NS* composed his work on grammar called the *Śabdaśobhā*.
1653	*AVK* accompained Dārā Shukoh to Persia for the capture of Qandhār.
1656	*NS* composed *Cimanī-carita* which mentions *Alla Vardī Khān, Mukhlis, Jāfar*.
1657	*AVK* was captured by Shujā at his house in Benares and put to death along with his son *Saifullāh* for faithlessness.
1659	According to Beal *AVK* and his son Saifullāh were slain in Bengal by order of Shujā.
C. 1659	Aurangzeb raises Jāfar Khān to the rank of an Amīr. (Beale)
1669	Death of Jāfar Khān at Allahabad, where he was Subadar.

In the present paper I have presumed that Jāfar Khān, the son of *AVK* was the husband of Cimanī, the heroine of the *Cimanī-Carita*. Jāfar Khān's brother Saifullāh and his father *AVK* were

slain by Sultan Shujā either in A. D. 1657 at Benares or in A. D. 1659 in Bengal. Jāfar died in A. D. 1669 i.e. about 10 or 12 years after the death of his father and brother. He was in the favour of Aurangzeb. The *Cimanī-carita* describes the love of Cimanī with the Brahmin[1] tutor Dayādeva Śarmā but we have no information in this romantic poem about the relation of Jāfar with Cimanī subsequent to her clandestine love with her tutor. The *Cimanī-carita* reminds us of Tennyson's *Launcelot and Guenever*.

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1. The *Cimanī-carita*, depicting the love of a Muslim girl for a Brahmin tutor, reminds us of (1) Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya and his yavanī and (2) Lolimbarāja and his Ratnakalā. Jagannātha flourished in the middle of the 17th century while Lolimbarāja lived during the last quarter of the 16th century (Vide my paper on *Lolimbarāja and his Works* — *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 327 ff.

42. Date of Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkoḷkar — Between A. D. 1625 and 1650*

The *Padyaracanā*[1] of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkolakara was published in 1908. Its editors state[2] that they have no evidence to decide the date of this author but the MSS on which their edition was besed were copied on paper which may have been older than a hundred years. They also state that Lakṣmaṇa was a poet of Mahārāṣṭra.

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding the *Padyaracanā*[3] in his catalogue of MSS :—

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* *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), Vol. XV, pp. 184-193.

1. *Kāvyamālā* No. 89, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1908.

2. "आङ्कोलकर श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्ट :—आङ्कोलकरोपनामकः श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः कदा समुत्पन्न इति प्रमाणानुपलम्भान्न शक्यते निर्णेतुम्; परं नायमेकस्माद्वर्षशतकादर्वाचीन इति शक्यते वक्तुम्। यदाधारेणास्याः पद्यरचनाया मुद्रणं जातं तत्पुस्तकद्वयमपि शताद्वर्षेभ्यः प्राचीनेषु पत्रेषु लिखितमिति। कविरयं जात्या महाराष्ट्रो भवेत्."

One of the 2 MSS used by the Editors was made available to them by the late Dr. K. B. Pathak, while the other was obtained from the collection of the late Śrī Rupadatta, the Rajaguru at Jaipur. The Editors have merely noted the names of the poets whose verses have been quoted by Lakṣmaṇa in his anthology, but they have made no attempt to fix the limits of the date of the *Padyaracanā* on the strength of these names.

The Kāvyamālā edition of the *Padyaracanā* contains lacunae in the text of some verses on pp. 5, 12, 14, 15, 62, 63, 64, 69, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 116, 117. Many of these could be filled up by using the three MSS of the *Padyaracanā* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

3. The Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute) possesses the following MSS of the work :—

(1) No, 726 of 1886-92 — पद्यरचना dated Saṁvat *1797 = A. D, 1741,*

(*Continued on the next page*)

CC I, 324 — " पद्यरचना *metrics*, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. B. 3. 62. Bhr. 148."

CC II, 72 — " पद्यरचना *metrics*, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. Peters. 4. 27."

CC III, 69 — " पद्यरचना *metrics*, by Lakṣmaṇa. Bd. 422."

A perusal of the Kāvyamālā Edition of the *Padyaracanā* will make it clear that the work is an anthology dealing with different topics in the usual style and has nothing to do with "*metrics*" as wrongly described by Aufrecht, who was evidently misled by the title पद्यरचना in giving the subject of the work.

The first 5 verses of the anthology are by the author himself as they are followed by the endorsement " ममैव लक्ष्मणस्य." In verse 1 the author salutes god Śiva (" पायान्नरो धूर्जटिः "). In verses 3 and 4

(*Continued from previous page*)

(संवत् १७७७ वर्षे मिती आसाढ सुदि द्वादशीतिथौ। एषा पुस्तिका लिपीकृता ॥ श्री सवाईजैपुर नगरमध्ये। "

After verse 93 of the Kāvyamālā Edition which appears on folio 52 of this MS, we find recorded the contents of the anthology chapter by chapter. These contents are followed by the following verses :—

" तदेतैर्व्यापारैरियमुपचिता पञ्चदशभि-
र्लसच्छ्रीः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणविरचिता पद्यरचना।
समुद्योतं धत्तां त्रिजगति शरच्चंद्रचलिता
समिद्धा ज्योत्स्नेव प्रथिततिथिभिः पञ्चदशभिः ॥ १ ॥

कौमुदी कौमुदीं जीव कामुकानिव कामिनी।
आनंदयतु मे पद्यरचना चतुरान्नरान् ॥ २ ॥

समाप्तेयं पद्यरचना ॥ "

The last 2 verses recorded above appear to be genuine though they are not to be found in the following MSS of the *Padyaracanā* which are incomplete :—

(2) *No. 148 of 1882-83* — Incomplete ; contains folios 33 to 74. Colophon of Chap. XIV appears on folio 70. Old in appearance.

(3) *No. 422 of 1887-91* — Very old and brittle ; incomplete ; about 46 folios — Colophon of Chap. XII appears on folio 44.

The MS "B, 3. 62" mentioned by Aufrecht consisted of 54 leaves and was in the possession of Acharatlal Vaidya of Ahmedabad in 1872 (Vide p. 63 of Būhler, Fasc. III — Gujarat MSS etc. 1872.)

the authorship of the work is ascribed to लक्ष्मण (" निर्मितिर्लक्ष्मणस्य" and " कृतिः लक्ष्मणीया "). Verse 3 clearly states the purpose of the anthology, *viz.* to give repose to logicians whose minds are distressed by the accumulated heat produced by logic. Lakṣmaṇa has composed this anthology which is as it were the shade of the Kalpavṛkṣa or the desire-yielding tree.

In the body of the anthology many verses are followed by the endorsement " लक्ष्मणस्य " which appears to indicate that these verses were composed by our author. The last 2 verses of the anthology are followed by the endorsement " एतौ लक्ष्मणस्य " which leaves no doubt about their authorship.

The total number of verses in the *Padyaracanā* is as follows :–

Chapter	*Verses*	*Chapter*	*Verses*	*Chapter*	*Verses*
I	47	VI	20	XI	40
II	39	VII	41	XII	41
III	74	VIII	43	XIII	68
IV	67	IX	58	XIV	90
V	25	X	23	XV	93
	252		185		332

The total number of verses as specified above comes to 769, and if we add the 2 verses found at the end of MS *No. 726 of 1886–92* (Padyaracanā) this number would be 771.

We have now to see what exact contribution Lakṣmaṇa has made to the present anthology. The following table records verses in each chapter which are followed by the endorsement " लक्ष्मणस्य " and which may, therefore, be looked upon as the composition of our author :—

Chapter I - *13* Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 17, 26, 29, 30, 34,35,42,44.

Chapter II - *12* Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 19, 27, 30, 31.

Chapter III - *7* Verses, 9, 33, 44, 45, 55, 56, 57.

Chapter IV - *14* Verses, 1, 2, 6, 7, 17, 23, 24, 32, 33, 36, 46, 50, 55, 56.

Chapter V - *3* Verses, 1, 2, 3.

Chapter VI - *3* Verses, 8, 9, 10.

Chapter VII - *2* Verses, 41, 25.

Chapter VIII - 7 Verses, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

Chapter IX - *4* Verses, 9, 17, 33, 43.

Chapter X - *4* Verses, 7, 8, 13, 18.

Chapter XI - *12* Verses, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 33, 36, 36-*a*, 37.

Chapter XII - *12* Verses, 1, 9, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36.

Chapter XIII - *25* Verses, 4, 5, 6, 15, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68.

Chapter XIV - *26* Verses, 2, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 50, 51, 57, 62, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 82.

Chapter XV - *8* Verses, 2, 28, 29, 51, 57, 70, 92, 93.

Total 152 Verses ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa.

It would be seen from the above analysis that out of the total of 769 verses of the *Padyaracanā*, Lakṣmaṇa claims no less than 152 verses *i.e.* about *one fifth* of the entire anthology. Evidently he wanted to shine among the learned of the past generations by incorporating his own compositions in this anthology of their verses. His purpose appears to have been served by the publication of the anthology in the *Kāvyamālā Series*, which has already immortalised many poets and poetasters.

With a view to fixing the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* we must record the names of authors mentioned in this anthology. These authors are as follows :—

रामचन्द्र, pp. 2, 3, 4, 10, 15, 17, 35, 40, 43, 58, 59, 62, 76, 97, 117.

भानुकर, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 92, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 112, 115, 116, 119.

भानुमिश्र, p. 6.

माघ, pp. 3, 62, 72.

महानाटक, pp. 3, 11, 13, 15, 18, 72.

कस्यापि, (anonymous author), pp. 4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 68, 71, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.

गणपति, pp. 5, 10, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 82, 116.

बाण, p. 48.
मोरिका, p. 48.
जघनचपला, p. 52.
अविलम्ब, p. 54.
बाबूमिश्र, p. 54.
अमरुक, pp. 54, 55.
वामन, p. 55.
धूर्त, p. 57.
कवीन्द्र, p. 58.
भर्तृहरेः, pp. 59, 89, 92, 98, 102, 111, 112, 115.
भोजप्रबन्ध, pp. 61, 79, 94, 95, 104, 113.
अवन्तिवर्मन्, p. 62.
अचल, p. 64.
गुणाकर, p. 65.
वासुदेव, p. 67.
कस्यापि (हरिहरस्य) p. 68
हरिहर, p. 9.
कयोरपि (रुद्रस्य) p. 69.
सर्वदास, p. 75.
रघुपति, p. 76
कविराज, pp. 77, 79, 117.
पाणिनि p. 77.
कविकङ्कण, p. 80.
भवभूतेः, p. 85.
लीलावतीकार, p. 85.
नारायण, p. 86.
कृष्णमिश्र, p. 86.
वररुचेः, मुरारेः — p. 87.
मुरारेः, p. 116.
इन्द्रकवेः, p. 87.
सोमदेव, p. 90.
महादेव, p. 95.
विकटनितम्बा, p. 96.
भोजदेव, p. 101.
आनन्दवर्धन, p. 102.
लक्ष्मणसेन, p. 103.
रङ्गनाथ, p. 104.
परिमल, p. 107.

वासिष्टात्, p. 112.
सुबन्धोः, p. 114.
राघवचैतन्यानाम्, p. 118.
गोवर्धन, p. 118.
त्रिलोचन, त्रिविक्रम, p. 118.
गणेश्वर, p. 118.

In the above list we find that Lakṣmaṇa mentions and quotes from an author called अकबरीय कालिदास[1] who was of course patronized by Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1556-1605).

In view of the references to अकबरीय कालिदास found in the *Padyaracanā* we may fix A. D. 1610 or so as the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa. The later limit to the date of this anthology may be fixed at A. D. 1710 or so in view of the dated MS of the work copied in A. D. 1741 (B. O. R. I. MS No. 726 of 1886-92).

Mr. Krishnamachariar[2] states that Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the commentator of the *Naiṣadha Kāvya* of the Śrī Harṣa "also wrote a poem *Padyaracanā*." Let us now see if this statement is correct.

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the commentary on the Naiṣadha was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa[3] but the name of the father of Lakṣmaṇa the author of the *Padyaracanā* is not traceable in the *Padyaracanā*.

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1. गदाधरभट्ट in his anthology रसिकजीवन composed about A.D. 1660 quotes verses of अकबरीय कालिदास, *viz.*,

(1) "हस्ताम्भोजाभिमाला......कृपाणी"
(2) "हेमाम्भोरुहपत्तने......शनैर्गच्छति"

(*See* Dr. H. D. Sharma's article on Hari Kavi—*I. H. Q.*, X, p. 484) Lakṣmaṇa quotes 2 verses from अकबरीयकालिदास on pp. 11 and 21, *viz.*,

(1) "तुङ्ग ब्रह्माण्डसिंहासन......यशश्चक्रवर्ती बघेल"
(2) "हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला......कृपाणः"

The verse "हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला" is common to रसिकजीवन and पद्यरचना. We have, therefore, three verses ascribed to अकबरीय-कालिदास."

2. *Classical San. Literature*, 1937, p. 183 foot-note 2.

3. Vide Stein's *Cata. of Jammu* MSS, 1894, p. 69 — "नैषधीय-

(*Continued on the next page*)

In the same manner it is difficult to identify लक्ष्मण the author of the *Padyaracanā* with लक्ष्मण the author of a work called रत्नमाला as appears to have been done by Aufrecht (*CC I*, 536). In the *Padyaracanā* the author invokes God Śiva in the first verse while in the *Ratnamālā* he bows to God Kṛṣṇa ("कृष्णं नमामि मनसा वसुदेवसूनुम्"). In the absence of any objective proofs to enable us to identify the three authors of the name लक्ष्मण[1] it is open to doubt if they are identical or otherwise. At any rate no *a priori* case for their identity has been forthcoming.

On p. 8 of the *Padyaracanā* the following verse is introduced as "लक्ष्मणस्य" in the manner of many other verses of लक्ष्मण the author of the anthology :—

"अथ गङ्गा —

इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजलरूपापि भगवती
यदीयाम्भोबिन्दुर्वितरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।
पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमघं
जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४२ ॥

—लक्ष्मणस्य"

(*Continued from the previous page*)

चरितटीका गूढार्थप्रकाशिका by लक्ष्मणभट्टशर्मा रामकृष्णभट्टसूनुः." Vide also my article on the date of this commentator in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Vol. II pp. 309-312) where I have proved that this author flourished *between A. D. 1431-1730.*

Aufrecht (CC I, 536) makes the following entry regarding the author of the *Padyaracanā* :—

" लक्ष्मणभट्ट — *Padyaracanā*
— *Ratnamālā* "

R. Mitra describes a MS of रत्नमाला (p. 286 of Vol. VI of *Notices*, 1882) as a "collection of miscellaneous verses illustrating particular rhetorical maxims, with many riddles and enigmas." In this description the name of Lakṣmaṇa's father is not found. The work consists of 354 *Ślokas*.

1. Peterson (p. 54 of *Third Report*) describes a palm-leaf MS of a work called सूक्तावली composed by लक्ष्मण ("सूक्तानां संग्रहं चक्रे लक्ष्मणो लक्षसूक्तिकम् — verse 1). This MS was in the Temple of Śāntinātha, Cambay.

In the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇi*[1] Haribhāskara composed in *A. D. 1673* we find the above verse[2] quoted as follows :—

Folio 18a of MS No. 314 of 1884–86.

" इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजलरूपापि भगवती
यदीयाम्भोबिन्दुर्वितरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।
पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमघं
जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४१ ॥
—लक्ष्मणस्य "

I am inclined to presume that Haribhāskara Agnihotri who composed nis anthology in A. D. 1673 and who quotes one of Lakṣmaṇa's verses about Gaṅgā apparently knew the *Padyaracanā* for which I have fixed the chronological limits, *viz.* "*Between A. D. 1610 and 1710.*" If this presumption is correct we must suppose, on the strength of the identification of the two verses, that the *Padyaracanā* of our Lakṣmaṇa is earlier than A. D. 1673, the date of composition of the *Pādyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī*. I am, there fore, inclined to hold the view that the date of the *Padyaracanā* must lie, say *between A. D.* 1625 *and* 1650. This view is consistent with the statement made by the editors of the *Padyaracanā* that Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkoḷkar[3] was a native of Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible to suppose that Haribhāskara, who was himself a native of Nasik in Mahārāṣṭra, knew the work of Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkoḷkar, another earlier author of an anthology similar to the *Padyaracanā*.

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1. Vide my article on this anthology in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III pp. 33–35. The exact date is *12th June* 1673. . . .

2. This verse has been quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (N. S. Press, 1911) p. 9 — verse 124.

3. Surnames ending in *Kar* current in the Mahārāṣtra generally indicate that the native place of the holder of the surname is identical with the name of the place preceding the affix *Kar*. Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkoḷ-*Kar* may have been a native of *Aṅkoḷ*. There is a village of the name *Akoḷ* in Chikodi Tālukā of the Belgaum District in the Bombay Presidency. I cannot say if *Aṇkoḷ* = *Akoḷ*.

43. Some Verses about the Kāyastha-Parabhūs composed by Keśava Paṇḍita by the Order of King Sambhāji, Son of Shivāji — c. A. D. 1675 *

In a work called the *Parabhū-prakaraṇa*[1] which contains an account of the Parabhū *grāmaṇya* of A. D. 1747 during the reign of the Maratha King Shāhu, grandson of Shivāji, some 33 verses are quoted as the composition of Śambhurāja or Sambhāji ("शंभुराजकृतश्लोकाः"). The *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* is a work of anonymous authorship[2] composed by some one after A. D. 1759 and before about A. D. 1800.[3] In view of these verses appearing in a later work removed more than 100 years from Sambhāji's death in A. D.

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XX, pp. 235-248.

1. Two Mss of this work are available to me viz. (1) No 567 of 1883-84 and (2) a Ms in the Limaye Collection of the B. O. R. Institute.

2. Verse 1 at the beginning reads :—

"श्रीसिद्धिबुद्धिसहितं प्रणम्य गणनायकं ।
केनचिद्विदुषा स्वच्या लिख्यते परभूकथा ।"

The B. O. R. I. Ms (No. 567 of 1883-84) of the परभूप्रकरण has the following closing verse :—

"इत्थं तु परभूवृत्तमभूच्छाहौ प्रशासति ।
स्मृत्यर्थं तत् फक्किकाभिरबध्नात् कोपि पंडितः ॥"

It will thus be seen that the author of the work has taken sufficient care to keep himself anonymous. Both the above verses occur in the Calcutta copy of the work made by प्रभाकर गोविंद ज्योतिषी in A. D. 1810 (Śaka 1732). Vide Mitra's *Notices*, X., p. 296.

3. The Calcutta Ms of the work is dated Śaka 1732 = A. D. *1810* (Vide p. 296 of Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. X, 1892) Ms No. 4198. The latest date mentioned in Limaye Ms of the परभूप्रकरण is Śaka 1681 (= A. D. *1759*).

1689 their authorship as mentioned in the *Parabhū-prakaraṇa*[1] is open to challenge. We must, therefore, record and discuss these verses to enable the students of the Maratha history to form their own judgment on the question of the authorship of these verses.

The text[2] of these verses based on the two Mss of the *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* available to me reads as follows :—

Folio 6 — " श्रीम(त्)[3]छंभुराजकृत श्लोका यथा ॥

आसीत् पृथिव्यां शिवभूप इंद्रो[4]
विराजमानः सचिवैर्यथेन्द्रः ।
प्रसह्य[5] यस्मै भवनस्य[6] राज्यं
दत्तं हि लोकानवितुं भवान्यः[7] ॥ १ ॥

तस्यात्मजः सकलशास्त्रविचारशीलः
श्रीशंभुराजनृपतिः[8] सुशीलः ।
आयोधनेर्जुन[9]वाखिलसत्प्रदाने
कर्णः [10]शरीरमदनश्च मनुष्यलोके ॥ २ ॥

आसीत्पांचवटे* रम्ये नगरे शिवनिर्मिते ।
बाळाजी परभूः[11] कश्चित्कायस्थो नृपलेखकः ॥ ३ ॥

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1. Cf. *Kāyastha-Parabhū-Dharmādarśa* of Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyaka Thatte composed between A.D. 1823 and 1827 (pp. 129–139 of the *Jour. of Ori. Research Madras*, Vol. XIII, part II, April–June 1939). This work was composed possibly in connection with the *Parabhū-grāmaṇya* of A. D. 1823 with which Bālājipant Natu of Poona was closely associated. (Vide चांद्रसेनीय कायस्थप्रभु अस्सल आज्ञापत्रें by T. V. Gupte, Poona, 1918 — The आज्ञापत्र of Śaṁkarācārya published here on pp. 1–21 is dated Śaka 1748 = A. D. *1826*. Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri mentioned in this आज्ञापत्र is identical with the author of the *Kāyastha-Parabhū Dharmādarśa*. On p. 21 of this आज्ञापत्र we read " पुणे मुक्कामी निलकंठ शास्त्री प्रभृती ब्राह्मणांनीं आग्रहो तंटा करून दोन वर्षे तड पाडून दुफली केली होती " etc.

2. The text in the Limaye Ms is reproduced above. Variants of this text as found in B. O. R. I. Ms No. 567 of 1883–84 will be recorded in the foot-notes.

3. श्रीमत् शंभु°. 4. ईंडयो for इन्द्रो. 5. प्रसृत्य for प्रसह्य. 6. भुवनस्य for भवनस्य. 7. भवान्ता: for भवान्यः. 8. शंभुसंज्ञो नृपतिः सुतरां for शंभुराजनृपतिः. 9. °र्जुन इवाखिलसत् for °र्जुन वा खिलंसत्. 10. शरीरी for शरीर. * जयराम कवि uses " पंचवाडपुरे " for " पांचवटे नगरे " (Vide p. 25 of पर्णालपर्वतग्रहणाख्यान ed. by. S. M. Divekar). 11. परभू for परभूः.

तत्पुत्रः खण्डनामासीत्कर्त्तुं तस्योपनायनं ।
मतिं कृत्वा शिवं प्रष्टुं बालाजी परभूर्गतः ॥ ४ ॥

बद्धांजलि[1]र्नृपस्याग्रे स्थित्वा कार्यं न्यवेदयत् ।
खण्डनाम्नो ह्युपनय[2] क्रियते श्वो मया प्रभो ॥ ५ ॥

दासे मयि दयां कृत्वा गंतव्यं मन्त्रिभिः सह ।
इति श्रुत्वा शिवो भूपः प्रत्युवाच महामतिः ॥ ६ ॥

सम्यगुक्तं तथाप्येतत् प्रष्टव्यं शंभवे भुपे[3] ।
तदाज्ञयेव[4] कर्तव्यं नोचेद्विघ्नो भविष्यति ॥ ७ ॥

इत्युक्तः शिवभूपेन बालाजी परभु[5] र्मुदा ।
शंभु[6]भूपं समायातः प्रष्टुं पुत्रोपनायनं ॥ ८ ॥

राजतं चाक्षतं[7] पात्रं स्थापितं शंभुसंन्निधौ ।
ततो राजाब्रवीद्वाक्यं कार्यं किं चास्ति त्वद्गृहे[8] ॥ ९ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा राजवाक्यं बालाजीरवदन् मुदा ।
मौंजीबंधः खंडनाम्नः क्रियते श्वो मया प्रभो ॥ १० ॥

आज्ञा देया महाराज यतस्त्वत्सेवकोस्म्यहं ।
आगंतव्यं च सचिवैः सह सेवकमंडपे ॥ ११ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा शंभुराजो धर्मज्ञः शास्त्र[9]कोविदः ।
प्रत्युवाच महाराजः[10] कायस्थं स्वीयसंसदि ॥ १२ ॥

उपनीयेत्याद्यवाक्यैर्ऋषिभिर्व्रतबंधने ।
अधिकारो द्विजस्यैव प्रोक्तो नान्यस्य कस्यचित् ॥ १३ ॥

न च श्रुतं नैव दृष्टं कायस्थस्योपनायनं ।
सम्यगुद्धा [11]दितो राज्ये त्वया धर्मविपर्यया[12] ॥ १४ ॥
विप्राणां मेखला मौंजी धनुर्ज्या क्षत्रियस्य च[13] ।
वैश्यानां मेखला चावी[14] भवतां कस्य मेखला ॥ १५ ॥
यूयं के कश्च दंडोस्ति कीदृशं चोपनायनं ।
कर्णे किमुपदिश्येत ह्यनुष्ठाता द्विजश्च कः ॥ १६ ॥
अनुष्ठानक्रमः कश्च कल्पितोस्ति तव द्विजैः ।
वक्तव्यं शास्त्रतः सर्वं पश्चात् तत्क्रीयतां[15] मुदा ॥ १७ ॥
इति भूपोदितं वाक्यं श्रुत्वा हृदयभेदकं ।
नोत्तरं प्रददौ किंचिद्बालाजी तत्र संसदि ॥ १८ ॥

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1. बद्ध्वांजलिं. 2. ह्युपनयः. 3. प्रष्टव्यं शंभुभूपतेः. 4. तदाज्ञयैव. 5. परभू. 6. शंभु. 7. चाक्षता. 8. किं कार्यं चास्ति ते गृहे. 9. सास्त्र. 10. महाप्रज्ञः. 11. सम्यगुत्पादितो. 12. धर्मविपर्ययः. 13. तु. 14. त्वावि. 15. क्रियतं.

ततः प्रोवाच मतिमान् शंभू[1] भूपो महायशाः ।
श्रोतव्यः पंडितैः सर्वैरेषां धर्मः सनातनः ॥ १९ ॥

एते संकरकायस्थाः पंचसंस्कारसंस्कृताः ।
नमो मंत्रेणैव चोक्तं कर्मैषां क्रियते द्विजैः ॥ २० ॥

मांसाशनाः सुरापाना निर्दया लोकपीडकाः ।
दाल्भ्यैकगोत्रेणान्योन्यं विवाहः क्रियते खिलैः ॥ २१ ॥

[व्याख्या कायस्थशब्दस्य ऋषिणोशनसा[2]दिता ।
काकात् लौल्यं यमात् क्रौर्यं स्थपतेर्दृढघातिता ॥ २२ ॥

आद्याक्षराणि संगृह्य कायस्थः केन निर्मितः ।
कायस्थेनोदरस्थेन मातृमांसं न[3] भक्षितं ॥ २३ ॥

मा जानीहि दयालुत्वं तत्र हेतुरदंतता[4] ।
एवं शार्ङ्गधरेणोक्तं कृतिना मुनिसंमतं ॥ २४ ॥]*

पुनर्भवां विवाहश्च पाटाख्यः सर्वसंमतः ।
प्रसूताया अपि पुनर्जायते[5] नात्र संशयः ॥ २५ ॥

अयं रामाजी परभू वर्तते मम सेवकः ।
एतस्य भगिनी चास्ति द्वित्रिवारं विवाहिता ॥ २६ ॥

शूद्रा अपि जलं नैव पिबन्त्यषां[6] गृहे क्वचित् ।
एवं सनातनो धर्मः कायस्थानां प्रदृश्यते ॥ २७ ॥

[सह्याद्रिखंडे परभूकायस्थोत्पत्तिरीरिता ।
अन्वर्था मुनिपुत्राय वेदव्रतविपश्चिते ॥ २८ ॥] †

मासांशिनः सुरापस्य कायस्थस्योपनायनं ।
कर्त्तव्यमिति को ब्रूयाच्छिवराजे प्रशासति ॥ २९ ॥

पंचसंस्कारातिरिक्तं कर्मैषां यः करिष्यति ।
स विप्रो राजदंड्य[7] स्यात् बहिष्कार्यश्च[8] सर्वतः ॥ ३० ॥

इतीरित शंभुनृपेण वाक्यं
श्रुत्वा सभायां द्विजमंडितायां ।
विनिर्गतोधोमुख एव तस्मात्
बालाजि नामा स्वगृहं विवेश ॥ ३१ ॥

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1. शंभु. 2. सोदिता. 3. च. 4. तदा.

* Verses 22, 23, and 24 are omitted in the B. I. S. Mandal copy of the *Parabhū-Kathā* supplied by Mr. R. K. Patankar of Rājāpur.

5. जायते. 6. पिबंत्येषां. † Verse 28 omitted in the B. I. S. Mandal copy. 7. राजदंडी. 8. बहिष्कारी च.

ततोतिदुःखिताः[1] सर्वान् मौंजीबंधार्थमागतान् ।
विससर्ज सुहृद्वर्यान् नाभू मौंजीयुतः शिशुः[2] ॥ ३२ ॥
इत्थं शंभुर्नृपो धर्मः[3] कायस्थानामथीभवत्[4] ।
नृपाज्ञया न्यबध्नातमर्थं[5] केशवपंडितः ॥ ३३ ॥

एवमन्येपि परभूकायस्थानां कुलाचारनिर्णयः श्लोका सन्ति परंतु विस्तृती[6] भयां नात्र[7] लिखिताः "

In the B. O. R. I. Ms (No. 567 of 1883–1884) of the *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* the following colophon has been written in the top-margin of folio 11[a] as an addition after verse 33 :—

"इति श्री शंभुराजाज्ञया शंभुराजसभायां विद्वज्जनसहकेशवपंडितकृत-कायस्थपरभूनिर्णयः ॥ शके १५९७ राक्षसनामसंवत्सरे तद्दिनि रामचंद्रज्योतिर्विदा कल्याणस्थेन लिखितं "

The above colophon suggests that the verses quoted above were copied from some Ms having the above colophon which states the following important particulars :—

(1) The title of the verses taken together was कायस्थपरभूनिर्णय.

(2) The verses were composed by केशवपंडित by the order of शंभुराज or Sambhāji in consultation with other learned men of the court of Sambhāji.

(3) The verses were copied by one Rāmacandra Jyotirvid or Joshi of Kalyāṇa in Śaka 1597 or A. D. *1675*.

This colophon also suggests that the Mss of कायस्थपरभूनिर्णय by Keśava Paṇḍita (from which verses were reproduced in the परभू-प्रकरण) actually existed, one such copy having been made in A. D. 1675 as proved by the above colophon.

The year of the Kalyāṇa copy of Keśava Paṇḍita's work viz. A. D. *1675* (Śaka 1597) seems to show that this copy was prepared in the very year in which the *Parabhū grāmaṇya* of *Śaka 1597* took place according to a document[8] dated A. D. *1873* which gives some

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1. दुःखितः. 2. नाभून्मौंजी यतः शिशोः.
3. धर्मं. 4. मभाषत. 5. नृपाज्ञयाथ बध्वा तमर्थं. 6. विस्तृति. 7. भयान्नात्र.
8. *Sources of Maratha History* by Rajawade, Khaṇḍa VI, p. 523 —
"(४) चवथें ग्रामण्य कल्याण प्रांतीं जालें, त्याजला रघुनाथपंडित अमात्यांची पत्रें नेऊन निराकर्ण केलें शके १५९७, "

particulars about 9 *Parabhū grāmaṇyas*, the 4th of which took place at Kalyāṇa in Śaka 1595 = A. D. *1675*. The identity of subject matter, date and place as proved by the B. O. R. I. Ms colophon and the list published by Rajawade is not a mere coincidence and hence it retains its evidential value unless contradicted by stronger contemporary evidence.

The contents of the 33 verses quoted already may be briefly indicated as follows :—

Bālāji Prabhū of the Kāyastha caste hailed from the village Pāncvaḍ founded by Shivaji. He was a scribe to Shivāji. Bālāji wanted to perform the Muñja ceremony of his son Khaṇḍa[1] and made arrangements accordingly. He went to Shivāji with an invitation for the Muñja ceremony. Shivāji directed Bālāji[2] to follow the advice of Sambhāji in this matter of the performance of the Muñja ceremony of his son. He, therefore approached Sambhāji and invited him to attend the ceremony. He also sought his order for performing the ceremony. Sambhāji refused to allow the performance of the ceremony, as according to the Śāstras the Kāyasthas could not do so. Thereupon Bālāji returned home rather disappointed and then dispersed his friends and relatives that had gathered at his house for the Muñja ceremony. — Keśava Paṇḍita composed by royal order these verses containing the substance of Sambhāji's advice to Bālāji Parabhū.

I am inclined to believe that Keśava Paṇḍita who composed the verses under discussion is identical with Keśava Paṇḍita, the author of the *Rājārāma Carita* published by Mr. V. S. Bendre. In fact the following verse 22 of Sarga IV (p. 42) of this poem composed by this Paṇḍita refers to *Khaṇḍo Ballāḷa*, who is no other than master Khaṇḍa, the Son of Bālāji Parabhū mentioned in the verses (*Circa* A. D. 1675) :—

"खण्डोबल्लाळमुख्याश्च कायस्थाश्चित्रगुप्तजाः ।
चंद्रसेनान्वयाश्चान्ये श्रीदाल्भ्यकृतगोपनाः ॥ २२ ॥"

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1. Khaṇḍo Ballāl Chitṇis died in A. D. 1726 (vide p. 263 of Marathī Riyāsat (Part II, Vol. IV, 1922) by G. S. Sardesai. His son Govind Khaṇḍo (A. D. 1716-85) was a Chitṇīs to Raja Shahu.

2. Bālāji Āvji became Chitṇīs to Shivāji in Śaka 1570 = A. D. 1648. This date is given in the Bakhar of Malhar Rāmrao and in the *Śivapratāpa* but the *Jedhe Chronology* has no mention of it (vide p. 203 of शिवचरित्रप्रदीप—S. N. Joshi's article).

This verse tells us that in the expedition of Rājārāma Chatrapati to Jinji in A. D. 1690 Khaṇḍo Ballāḷa and other men of his caste were present. This caste is specified by our author by the adjectives —

" कायस्थाः चित्रगुप्तजाः, चंद्रसेनान्वयाः " and " दाल्भ्यकृतगोपनाः "

The origin of the Cāndraseniya Kāyastha Parabhūs as specified by the above adjectives in the *Rājārāma Carita* is analogous to that mentioned in the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapūrāṇa* ; but it is difficult to assert that Keśava Paṇḍita had before him a the text of the *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* as we find it today.[1]

Now let us consider the chronology of Khaṇḍo Ballāḷa Chiṭṇīs and Keśava Paṇḍita in parallel columns :—

Keśava Paṇḍita = KP	A. D.	A. D.	Khaṇḍo Ballāḷa = KB
		1648	Khaṇḍo's father Bālāji became Chitnis to Shivāji (according to Chiṭṇis Bakhar and *Shivapratāpa*).
KP composed some verses by order of Sambhāji about the Kāystha Parabhūs.	C 1675	C 1675	Probable date of the proposed Muñja ceremony of KB
KP received 1600 laris from Sambhāji	1684	1681–89	KB was Chiṭṇis to Sambhāji.
KP's signature occurs in a document of 16-3-1686 (Rajawade *Khaṇḍa VIII*, 40)	1686		

1. Verse 22 states " सह्याद्रिखंडे परभूकायस्थोत्पत्तिरीरिता " but this verse is omitted in the Rajapur Ms of the *Kāyastha-Parabhū-Nirṇaya* which appears to me to be the oldest Ms of the work. In fact its owner Mr. R. K. Patankar calls it " जरा जर्जरवर्ष्मणः " in the versified endorsement on its copy supplied by him to the B. I. S. Mandal, Poona. The date of the *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* is still a matter for investigation though it appears to have been composed before A. D. 1700.

Keśava Paṇḍita = KP	A. D.	A. D.	Khaṇḍo Ballāḷ = KB
KP composed *Rājārāma carita* which refers to KB in IV, 22	1690	1690	KB accompanied Rājārāma to Jinji with some men of his caste.
Rāmacandra Nīlakaṇṭha asks the Havaldar of Sangmeshvar to hand over certain lands to KP (*Peshwa Daftar* 31-Letter No. 53 dated 27-3-1692)	1692		
Date of KP's death on *22nd February 1718* (*Saturday*) according to the genealogy of the Purohita family in my possession (Śaka 1640 *Phālgun Shuddha 2*) This date needs corroboration from other sources.	1718	1718	Death of KB's friend Parashurām Tryambak Pratinidhi (p. 288 of *History of Satara Pratinidhis*, Vol. I, 1924).
In a grant from Śambhu Chatrapati to KP's son Rāmachandrabhat dated *Wednesday, 26th February 1718* we read :— "केशवभट निधन पावले." (A copy of this Grant is in my possession as supplied by Devarukh court on 10th February 1931).		1726	Death of KB.

The above chronology makes it highly probable that the 33 verses[1] recorded in this paper are the geuine composition of

1. The Bharata Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, contains a copy of these verses under the designation "परभू कथा." This copy was supplied to the Mandal by Mr. Raghunātha Krishna Patankar of Rajapur (Ratnagiri Dist.). Verses 22. 23, 24 and 28 are omitted in

(*Continued on the next page*)

Keśava Paṇḍita, the author of the *Rājārāmacarita.* If this view is accepted the importance of these verses will be easily recognized especially in view of the fact that no other original work of this author except the *Rājārāmacarita* (edited by Mr. V. S. Bendre) has been so far discovered and published. As Keśava Paṇḍita was closely connected with Śrī Shivāji Mahārāja and also his sons Sambhāji and Rājārāma, an effort should be made by all interested in the Maratha history to search for more information about the life and works of this important personality who lived, moved and had his being in the personal presence of the three outstanding Chatrapatis between A. D. 1650 and 1700.

P. S. (1) Keśava Paṇḍita appears to have compiled a work on Dharmaśāstra called *Dharmakalpalatā* for King Sambhāji, son of Shivāji. A portion of this work called दंडनीतिप्रकरण is represented by a copy preserved in the Tanjore Mss Library (Ms No. 536— Vide Burnell's Catalogue p. 141 — " दण्डनीति प्रकरण from नीतिमञ्जरी of शम्भुराज). This copy was made for Shāmji Nāyaka Puṇḍe in the year 'दुन्दुभि' which corresponds to A. D. 1682. Mr. V. S. Bendre informs me that Shāmaji Nāyak Puṇḍe was appointed

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

this copy so that the *Parabhū-Kathā* contains 29 verses in all instead of the 33 verses recorded in this paper. This copy ends — इति श्री शंभुराजाज्ञया शिवराजसभायां विद्वज्जनकेशवपंडितकृत कायस्थपरभूनिर्णयः ॥ इति श्री परभूकथा समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ Then follows a Sanskrit versified endorsement by Mr. Patankar as follows :—

" विन्यस्तैषा प्रतिकृतिर्जराजर्जरवष्मर्णः ।
लिखितायाः पत्रिकायाश्चिरसंस्थितिहेतुना ॥

पाटणकरकुलोद्भूतश्रीमत्कृष्णतनूजुषा ।
रघुनाथेन विदुषां श्रीमतामनुयायिना ॥

अंगिरोवत्सरे मासे शुचौ शुक्लेऽह्नि सोमजे ।
तृतीयायां हि ग्रीष्मतौ द्युद्व संस्थे दिवाकरे ।

प्रतिमान्तरमेतर्हि विहितं हि मया पुनः ।
श्री भारतेतिहासीयमंडलार्थं तृतीयके ।

मासे शुक्ल द्वितीयायां सायाह्ने भौमवासरे ।
आकाशर्तु व भूशाकेऽब्दे बहुधान्यके ॥

रघुनाथेन वेदोक्तधर्ममार्गावलम्बिना ।
संतुष्याद् भगवांस्तेन धर्मोऽस्माकं सनातनः ॥ "

Subhedar of Karnāṭaka in A. D. 1682, the very year in which the above copy was prepared for him. The above Ms begins :—

" ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

प्रसन्नवदनं रामं निधाय हृदि केशवः ।
धर्मकल्पलतासिद्ध्यै तनुते नीतिमञ्जरीम् ॥ १ ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

जयत्यसौ शंभु म(ही)महेन्द्रः
प्रख्यातकीर्तिः प्रियधर्ममूर्तिः ।
दानेन यस्याखिल......प्रसार्थाः
शश्वत्कृता सुखिनो भवन्ति ॥ २ ॥

मन्वादि शास्त्राणि विचार्य सम्यक्
तथा निबंधांश्च मिताक्षरादीन् ।
सरि(?) समादाय ततश्च तेन
निबध्यतेस्मिन्खलु दण्डनीतिः ॥ ३ ॥"

The Ms ends :—

" इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजक्षत्रियकुलावतंससिंहासनाधीश्वरश्रीशंभुराजछत्रपतिविरचिते ग्रंथे बुधभूषणे श्रीमत्पुरोहितदामोदरभट्टात्मजकेशवपंडितविरचितधर्मकल्पलतांतर्गतनीतिमंजर्यां दंडनीतिप्रकरणम् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ शके राज्याभिषेकीये दुंदुभसंवत्सरे लिहमिदं पुस्तकम् ।

दण्डनीतिव्यवहारमञ्जरी श्रीशामजी नायक पुण्ड्योपनाम्नां ग्रन्थः पत्रसंख्या ३१ ॥ "

The above Ms is described under the title बुधभूषण in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Tanjore Mss*, Vol. XVIII (1934), p. 8665 — No. 18737. A second copy of the work is indicated as No 18738 but not described. A work called बुधभूषण is edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar for B. O. R. Institute (1926). Mr. V. S. Bendre intends to publish in the near future the दंडनीतिप्रकरण referred to above so that we shall have before us three works of Keśava Paṇḍita viz. (1) राजारामचरितम् (A. D. 1690), (2) दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (before A. D. 1682) and (3) कायस्थपरभूनिर्णय (A. D. 1675).

(2) — As the march of Rājārāma Chatrapatī to Jinji in 1690 became the subject of the poem *Rājārāmacarita* by Keśava Paṇḍita in the Marāṭhā country, the siege of Jinji (1689–1697) appears to have captured the imagination of the people in the south so as to become the subject of a Mono-Drama in Tamil called "*Seyda-K-Kādi Noṇḍi-Nāṭakam*" (Ed. with Notes and English Introduction

by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, University of Madras, *Annals of Oriental Research*, 1939, Vol. IV, Part 1). This is a drama of the lame man, who sings in honour of Seyda-K-Kādī, a generous patron of Tamil poets, both Hindu and Muslim. This patron was a great friend of Vijaya Raghunāth Tevar alias Kilvan Setupati, (1674–1710). The author of the drama appears to have been a convert to Islam. The lame man gives in the drama his autobiography in which he recounts his adventurous journey to Jinji where the war between the Mughals and the Marathas was in full blaze after the execution of Sambhāji Chatrapati in A. D. 1689. The drama contains a contemporary picture in words of the Siege of Jinji and is full of references to contemporary Mughal commanders under Zulfiqarkhān and the Maratha commanders under Rājārāma Chatrapati. He refers to Rājārāma in the following manner :— "At Jinji, great among the far-famed cities, lived the son of Shivaji Raja, the lion to his foes, at whose feet the enemies prostrate. He was a stern upholder of justice. He was gifted with a beaming face and an attractive personality. He was addicted to the pleasures of life." We must remember that this is a contemporary picture of Rājārāma's personality by a Muslim convert and hence should possess some historical value for the students of the Maratha history. This Mono-Drama in Tamil edited for the first time by Dr. Nainar with an excellent historical introduction and based on only one Ms in the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, deserves to be translated into Marathi or English for the benefit of the people of the Maharastra. May I suggest to the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, to include such a translation of this Mono-Drama in its project of the *Sources of Maratha History?* As this institution has already published some volumes of the *Canarese* and *Persian* sources of the Maratha History, the publication of this *Tamil* source in the form of a translation will enrich our knowledge of this period. As Dr. Nainar observes the author of the Drama "sends the hero to Jinji and through him has contributed in his own way some interesting materials which help us in our historical studies."

[In the *Śāhendravilāsa-Kāvya* we find a reference to the siege of Jinji (vide p. 187ff of *Indian Antiquary*, 1904). This poem was composed by Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa. Rājāram received help from the then Raja of Tanjore :—

" बलैर्महाराज भवन्निदिष्टैर्दिल्लीन्द्रसैन्यानि विदारितानि ।
स राजरामश्च तथाभिगुप्तस्तदश्नुते त्वां महती यशःश्रीः ॥ "]

APPENDIX

[I have compared the Limaye Ms (of the *Kāyastha-Parabhū Nirṇayy* of Keśava Paṇḍita — 33 verses) with the Patankar Ms of this work (copy preserved in the B. I. S. Mandal). The variants of the Patankar Ms are noted below with respect to each verse. The Patankar Ms appears to represent the contemporary * text of the work].

Limaye Ms verse No.	Patankar Ms verse No.	Variants in Patankar Ms
1	1	a — आस्त for आसीत् ; ईंड्यो for इन्द्रो b — °मानस्सचिवै° for मानः सचिवै° c — भुवनाय for भवनस्य d — °मवितु for नावितुं ; भवान्याम् for भवान्यः
2	2	b — श्रीशंभुसंज्ञ° for श्रीशंभुराज° ; Adds सुभगः before सुशीलः c — इवाखिल for वाखिल d — शरीरि for शरीर
3	3	a — अस्ति for आसात् b — शिवलेखकः for नृपलेखकः
4	4	a — °नामास्ति for °नामासीत् ; °नायक for °नायनं
6	6	a — कृपां for दयां ; °ऽऽगन्तव्यं for गन्तव्यं b — महाद्युतिः for महामतिः
7	7	a — परं त्वेतत् for तथाप्येतत् ; शंभुभूपतेः for शंभवे भूपे b — तदाज्ञयव for तदाज्ञयेव
8	8	a — परभू for परभु b — शंभुभूपं for शंभुं भूप
9	9	a — अक्षतापात्रं for अक्षतं पात्रं b — किं कार्यं क्रियते त्वया for कार्यं कि चास्ति त्वद्गृहे

* Keśava Paṇḍita has recorded in his verses the decision of Sambhāji Mahārāja about the right of the Kāyastha Parabhūs to perform the Muñja ceremony. His references to contemporary persons should, therefore, be naturally indicated by the use of the form "अस्ति" as found uniformly in the Patankar Ms (=P) instead of the form "आसीत्" as used in the Limaye Ms (=L). The following examples will make the point clear :—

Verse 1 — (P) — "अस्ति पृथिव्यां शिवभूपः" for (L) — "आसीत् पृथिव्यां etc."

(*Continued on the next page*)

Limaye Ms verse No.	Patankar Ms verse No.	Variants in Patankar Ms
10	10	a — ह्यवदत्तदा for °रवन्दमुदा
12	12	b — महाप्राज्ञः for महाराजः
13	13	b — प्रोक्ता for प्रोक्तो
14	14	a — नैव श्रुतं for न च श्रुतं
		b — °गुत्पादितो for °गुह्यादितो ; विपर्ययः for °विपर्यया
15	15	b — मेखला त्वाची for मेखला चावा ; भवतो for भवतां
16	16	a — कस्य for कश्च
17	17	b — क्रियतां सुखम् for क्रीयतां मुदा
20	20	a — कायस्थजातीयाः for संकरकायस्थाः
		b reads "एतेषां नाममंत्रेण कर्म प्रोक्तं विधीयते"
21	21	b — गोत्रतो for गोत्रेण
22...	Omitted	
23...	,,	
24...	,,	
25	22	a — विवाहोऽस्ति for विवाहश्च
26	23	a — परभूर्वर्तते ग्रामलेखकः for परभू वर्तते मम सेवकः
27	24	a — पिबंत्येषां गृहेऽधुना for पिबत्येषां गृहे क्वचित्
28	Omitted	
29	25	b — °च्छिवराजे for छिवराजे
30	26	b — स्या द्बहिष्कारीच for स्यात् बहिष्कार्यश्च
31	27	b — निजसंमतायाम् for द्विजमंडितायाम्
32	28	a — अतिदुःखितः for अतिदुःखिताः
		b — नाभू न्मौंजी यतः शिशोः for नाभू मौंजीयुतः शिशुः
33	29	a — धर्मं for धर्मः ; कायस्थानामभाषत for कायस्थानामर्थाभवत्
		b — राजाज्ञया न्यबध्नात्तम् for नृपाज्ञया न्यबध्नातम्

N. B. :—Those who are interested in the history of caste disputes about the Kāyastha Prabhus may rcad with profit (1) राजवाड्यांची गागाभट्टी by K. T. Gupte, Poona, 1919 and (2) चांद्रसेनीय कायस्थ प्रभु ग्रामण्य प्रकरणांतील पांच अस्सल आज्ञापत्रें by T. V. Gupte, Poona, 1918.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Verse 3 — (P) — "अस्ति पांचवटे रम्ये नगरे" for (L) — "आसीत् पांचवटे etc."

Verse 4 — (P) — "तत्पुत्रः खंड नामास्ति" for (L) — "°खंडनामासीत् etc."

In the Appendix to the first of these publications the author has published the following works and documents of historical value:—

(1) कायस्थधर्मदीप by गागाभट्ट (pp. 1–23).

(2) कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप by गागाभट्ट (pp. 24–31) Mr. Gupte states that the °प्रदीप is a sort of supplement to the °दीप (p. 31).

(3) *Letter* dated *A. D. 1779* from the Paṇḍits of Benares.

(4) आज्ञापत्र from Peshwa Bājīrao Raghunāthrao to the Brahmans.

(5) *Letter* from the Benares Paṇḍits dated *A. D. 1801*.

(6) *Letter* dated *A. D. 1836* from the *Karvir Jagadguru*.

(7) *Letter* dated *A. D. 1831* from the *Saṅkeśvara Jagadguru*.

(8) *Letter* dated *A. D. 1839* from the *Śṛṅgeri Jagadguru*.

(9) *Letter* dated *A. D. 1913* from the *Karvir Jagadguru*.

List of Persons, Places and works mentioned in the Kāyastha-Parabhū-Nirṇaya composed by *Keśava Paṇḍita in c. A. D. 1675 by the order of Sambhāji* :—

शिवभूप — Shivāji Mahārāja (1, 2, 6, 8, 29) died *A. D. 1680*.

शंभुराज — Sambhāji Mahāraja (2, 7, 8, 9, 12, 19, 31, 33) died *A. D. 1689*.

पांचवट नगर — Pācvad at the foot of Raigad fort, called शिवनिर्मित (3) known as Vāḍi Pācāḍ.

बालाजी परभू — Bālāji Avaji (3, 4, 10, 18, 31) became Chitnis to Shivāji c. *A. D. 1648*.

खण्ड — Son of Bālāji Āvaji, commonly known as Khaṇḍo Ballāḷ Chiṭṇīs (died in 1726) (4, 5, 10).

दाल्भ्यगोत्र — Gotra of the Kāyasthas (21).

उशनस् — Sage (22).

शार्ङ्गधर — Sage (24).

रामाजी परभू — (26) called by Sambāji as "मम सेवकः." According to Rajapur Ms he is called "ग्रामलेखकः" by Sambhāji.

सह्याद्रि खंड — Part of the *Skandapurāṇa* (28).

केशव पंडित — (38) He composed the *Kāyastha-Parabhū-Nirṇaya* verses, numbering 29 (according to the Rājāpūr MS) and 33

(according to the Limaye Ms and the B. O. R. I. Govt. Ms No. 567 of 1883-84). He is also the author of the राजारामचरित edited by Mr. V. Ṡ. Bendre. His dates range from A. D. 1675 to 1718 a period of 43 years but he must have been at least 25 years old when he composed the verses under reference in A. D. 1675. This calculation would give us a life-time of 68 years for him. His birth date may lie between A. D. 1640 and 1645 but we require evidence on this point.

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44. Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court *

Bernier[1] in his letter to Monsieur Chapelain[2] despatched from Chiras in Persia on 4th October 1667 describes " the superstitions, strange customs and doctrines of Indous or Gentiles of Hindoustan." This letter is very valuable for students of the history of Sanskrit learning[3] at Benares during the 17th century, which yet remains to be written on the strength of contemporary sources, Indian and foreign. We know from Sanskrit sources many eminent pandits of Benares and their illustrious works, but unfortunately no attempt has been made to reconstruct any biographical accounts of them from sources, other than Sanskrit works, which lack in historical materials, unlike the Persian chronicles or the Travel

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* *Annals of S. V. Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 1–16.

1. Vide *Travels* of Bernier (A. D. 1656–1668), Constable, London, 1891, pp. 301–349.

2. Jean Chapelain (A. D. 1594–1674).

3. Bernier's *Travels* deal with the following topics which would interest students of Sanskrit literature :— *P. 160* — Philosophy of the Hindoos ; *P. 325 seq* — Religious books and beliefs of the Hindoos ; *P. 341* — Nature of Hindoo Gods, Chronology etc., *P. 346–349* — Doctrines of Hindoos ; *P. 325* — Vedas (Beths) ; *P. 328* — Creation of the world ; *P. 339* — Hindoos ignorant of anatomy ; *Pp. 161–163* — Indian belief in astrology ; *P. 339* — Hindoo ideas about Astronomy ; *P. 483* — Religion of Buddha ; *Pp. 334–335* — Schools of Benares ; *P. 229–230* — Neglect of Education in India ; *P. 255* — Native Painters ; *Pp. 300–303* — Solar eclipses ; *Pp. 304–306* — Festival at Jagannath ; *Pp. 306–315* — Widow burning ; *P. 325* — Indian caste ; *Pp. 325* — Respect for cow in India ; *Pp. 344–348* — Nature of Devatas or Deities ; *P. 343* — Hindu *yugas* ; *Pp. 356–364* — Ganges water ; *P. 340* — Hindu knowledge of Geography ; *P. 284* — Temple at Mathura : *Pp. 337, 338, 341, 342* — Hindoo Pandits ; *P. 336*—Schools of Philosophy in India : *P. 338*—Hindoo books on Medicine (Physic) ; *P. 335–336* — *Purāṇas* ; *P. 330* — Study of Sanskrit by Jesuit Missionaries ; *Pp. 335–341* — Books written in Sanskrit.

books of foreign observers which are full of chronological and other details so essential for the reconstruction of history. Bernier notwithstanding his "ignorance of Sanskrit, the language of the learned and possibly that of the ancient *Brahmans*" has something[1] to say about books written in that tongue. His Agah, *Danechmend-kan* partly from Bernier's solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity took into his service one of the most celebrated Pandits in all the *Indies* who had formerly belonged to the house-hold of Dara,[2] the eldest son of king Shah Jahan. This Pandit, Bernier states, was his constant companion during a period of three[3] years and he introduced Bernier to the Society of other learned Pandits,[4] whom he attracted to his house.

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1. *Travels*, p. 323.

2. Compare the following reference to *Dara* by हीरारामकवि in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय ed. by Dr. H. D. Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar, Poona, 1939 :—

Pages 23-24 —

"येन श्री साहिजाहाँ नरपतितिलकः स्वस्यवश्यः कृतोऽभूत्।
किं चावश्यं प्रपन्नः पुनरपिविहितः शाहिदाराशकोहः।
काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहेतुः।
सोयं श्रीमान्कवीन्द्रोजयति कविगुरु स्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥ १६९ ॥
काश्मीरैराककारस्करदरदखुरासानहबशानजाता
वङ्गारब्बाःफिरङ्गास्तुरुकशकवदक्शान मुल्तानवल्काः।
खान्दाराः काविलेन्द्रा अपि धरणिभृतस्ते मगा रूमशामाः
श्रीमच्छ्रीसाहिजाहानरपति सदसि त्वां कवीन्द्रस्तुवन्ति ॥ १७० ॥"

Verse 169 refers to the influence of Kavīndra on *Shah Jehan* and his son *Dara Śako* while verse 170 states that Kavīndra was praised by princes from all provinces including *Phiraṅgas* or foreigners at the court of Shah Jahan.

3. Bernier's Travels begin with A. D. 1658, the year when Shah Jahan was made a prisoner. His son Dara Shikoh, a patron of Hindu Pandits was executed in A. D. 1659. "*One of the most celebrated pandits in all the Indies*" who was taken into the service of Bernier's patron Danishmandkhan after Dara's execution in A. D. 1659 was a constant companion to Bernier for three years. These three years must be say between A. D. 1660 and 1667 (the date of Bernier's letter to his friend).

4. Dr. H. D. Sarma and Mr. Patkar (p. XV of Intro. to

(*Continued on the next page*)

The above information given by Bernier himself in A. D. 1667 raises our curiosity to know the name of the Pandit who kept company with Bernier for three years as also the names of other Pandits who came into learned contact with this acute Frenchman between A. D. 1656 and 1668. Unfortunately Bernier does not

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

Kavīndra-Candrodaya, record a list of no less than 69 Pandits who have paid their tributes in prose and verse to Kavīndra for his services to the cause of Sanskrit learning by persuading Shah Jahan to abolish the pilgrim tax imposed by him on the Pilgrims to Benares and Allahabad. This list may be recorded here for reference :—

(1) श्रीकृष्ण उपाध्याय, (2) महाराज मिश्र or हेमराजमिश्र, (3) जयराम भट्टाचार्य, (4) माधवभट्ट, (5) रामदेव भट्टाचार्य, (6) कूर्मांचलवीरेश्वर पंडित (possibly from Kumaun), (7) खड्गमिश्र, (8) रघुनन्दनद्विवेद (9) रघुनाथदीक्षित, (10) क्षमानन्द बाजपेयिन्, (11) भैय्याभट्ट or भय्याभट्ट, (12) केशवमिश्र, (13) सिद्धेश्वरभट्ट मीमांसक, (14) चक्रपाणि पंडित, (15) गणेशभट्ट धर्माधिकारिन्, (16) नागेश son of सोमराज पंडित, (17) परमेश्वराचार्य, (18) रामकृष्णनागर, (19) विश्वंभरमैथिलोपाध्याय, (20) जगदीशजानीक, (21) रामेश्वर पञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य, (22) जयकृष्ण उपाध्याय, (23) गौरीपतिमिश्र, (24) नीलकंठ आचार्य, (25) दामोदरभट्ट काल, (26) विश्वनाथ ज्योतिर्विद्, (27) धर्मेश्वर अग्निहोत्रिन्, (28) दामोदर उपाध्याय मैथिल, (29) व्रजभूषणकवि, (30) श्रीस्वामिन्, (31) कृष्णचन्द्रभट्ट, (32) बालकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन्, (33) अनिरुद्ध मिश्र, (34) बालकृष्णज्योतिर्विद्, (35) पूर्णानन्द ब्रह्मचारिन्, (36) मुरलीधर grandson of कालीदासमिश्र, (37) कृष्णाचार्य, (38) महादेव पट्टवर्धन, (39) लीलाधरभट्ट, (40) बदरीनाथ उपाध्याय मैथिल, (41) हीराराम कवि, (42) मौनि वीरेश्वर भट्ट, (43) श्रीमहीपति उपाध्यय, (44) शिवदत्तमिश्र, (45) कविशेखर, (46) भूधर पाठक, (47) रघुनाथ उपाध्याय, (48) लक्ष्मण महापात्र, (49) श्रीस्वामिशिष्य, (50) तिलभाण्डेश्वर, (51) ब्रम्हेन्द्र सरस्वती, (52) ब्रम्हेन्द्रस्वामिन्, (53) नारायण चतुर्वेद, (54) भानभट्ट or भानुभट्ट, (55) तैलंग वैकुण्ठभट्ट, (56) गंगाराममिश्र, (57) जगन्नाथ पंचाननभट्टाचार्य, (58) मैथिलकायस्थ, (59) गुर्जर, (60) स्वामिन्, (61) दयालुमिश्र, (62) वीरेश्वरभट्ट, (63) कमलनयन दीक्षित, (64) ब्रम्हगिरि, (65) त्वरितकविराय or त्वरितगतिकवि, (66) रामभद्र बाजपेयिन्, (67) मौनिरंगनाथ भट्ट, (68) दिवाकरभट्ट, (69) रंगनाथभट्ट गुर्जर.

These Pandits of Benares were all of them contemporaies of *Kavīndra* who was held in high esteem by Shah Jahan and his son Dārā We must presume them to be living at the time Bernier visited Benares before A. D. 1667 when he wrote his letter from Shiraz in Persia. It is possible to suppose that Bernier may have come into contact at least with a few of them through the Chief of Pandits at Benares between A. D. 1656 and 1667.

record the names of these Pandits from whom he got his information about Sanskrit learning.

I am concerned in this paper with the question of the identification of the "*Chief of the Pandits*" at Benares described by Bernier in the following extract from Bernier's letter of A. D. 1667 referred to above :—

"When going down the river Ganges, I passed through *Benares* and called upon the chief[1] of the Pandits, who resides in that celebrated seat of learning. He is a *Fakire*[2] or *Devotee* so eminent for knowledge that *Chah Jehan*, partly for that consideration and partly to gratify the *Rajas*, granted him a pension[3] of two thousand *roupies* which is about one thousand crowns.

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1. Possibly this Chief of the Benares Pandits is identical with Kavīndrācārya about whom M. M. Haraprasad Shastri writes as follows :—

"He journeyed to Agra with a large following and proceeded to the Diwan-i-am and there he pleaded the cause of the Hindu Pilgrims with so much force of eloquence that all the noblemen of the Court from Irak, Iran, Badak-Shan Balkh etc., were struck with wonder Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh relented and abolished the tax (i. e. the pilgrim tax). That was a day of great rejoicing throughout Hindu India. It was on this occasion that the title of सर्वविद्यानिधान was conferred on him" —*Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 11 (Vide p. iii of Introduction to *Kavīndra-Candrodaya* ed. by Sharma and Patkar).

2. In his *Kavīndrakalpadruma* (*India Office Cata.* Part VII, No. 3947) Kavīndra refers to his asceticism :—

"अधीत्यवेदवेदाङ्गकाव्यशास्त्राणि सर्वशः ।
ततः स्वीकृत्य संन्यासं ब्रह्माभ्यासं समाश्रितः । "

3. If this grant of a pension to Kavīndra is confirmed by any other independent testimony it would prove beyond doubt our suggested identification of Kavīndra with this Pandit. Kavīndra, though a *Sanyāsin* as stated by himself in his कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम used to distribute gold to learned Brahmins as stated in the *Kavīndra-Candrodaya* :— *Page 53* — "सुरनदीतीरे सुवर्ण ददौ and *Page 41* — "देतसे कविवरासि मोहरा जो असे प्रभुवरात मोहरा (i.e. Kavīndra distributed gold *Mohors* to eminent poets). Evidently he used the royal patronage from Shah Jahan and Dara for rewarding poets and learned Brahmins though he himself was an ascetic. This reminds me of Kālidāsa's line "त्यागाय संभृतार्थानाम्."

He is a stout well-made man, and his dress consists of a white silk scarf, tied about the waist, and hanging half way down the leg. and of another tolerably large scarf of red silk, which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders. I had often seen him in this scanty dress at Delhi in the assembly[1] of the Omrahs and before the king,

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1. The following contemporary references to Kavīndra and his contact with the court of Shah Jahan as recorded in the *Kavīndra-Candrodaya* may be noted here :—

Page 3 — " प्रयागोऽपि चाऽगोपि दिल्लीन्द्रभीतेः "

Page 5 — " विद्यानिधानकृतमानबहुप्रदान दील्लीश्वराद्दत शमत्र भवत्कृपात: "

Page 8 — " भूपाला: कतिनागतास्तव गृहे किं वर्णयामोवयं।
दिल्लीशो यवनाधिपो नरवरो भाग्योदयं वाञ्छति ॥ १७॥ "

Page 16 — " दिल्लीश्वराय निगमागमु शास्त्रबुद्ध्या
संबोधयन् प्रतिदिनं त्रिजगत्कवीन्द्रः। "
— " श्रीविश्वेश्वरकाशिकासुरनदीतीरे सुवर्णं ददौ
श्रीमत्साहिजहांदीलीपकृपया विद्यानिधानाभिधः
— " इन्द्रत्वं तव मस्तके कृतवती श्रीसाहिजाहामुखात् "

Page 21 — " स्वस्ति श्री नृपसाहजाहविलसच्छ्रीराजधानीथिति-
विंद्योतद्युतिराजराजिमुकुटालङ्कारहीराङ्कुरः। "

Page 33 — " दिल्लीशानन्दसानुं पशुपतिपुरपं श्रीकवीन्द्रं नमामि "

Page 36 — " श्रीमान्धीमान्कवीन्द्रो जयति परमुदे प्रत्यहं द्वारि साहेः "

Page 44 — " दिल्लीशसंसदपि पाति कवीन्द्रधाम्ना "

Page 50 — " द्रष्टुं वाञ्छसि चेत्तदा बुधवरं दिल्लीपुरं सादरम्
गत्वा विज्ञकवीन्द्रवर्यं विबुधं दृष्ट्वा सुखी त्वं भव "

Page 57 — " दृढं योऽत्र दिल्लीपतिप्रीतिपात्रं "
— " पवित्रोरुगोत्र: सुरत्राणकारी सुरत्राण संसत्कवीन्द्रो विभाति "
— " दिल्लीप प्रीतिकारी विबुधवरविधु प्रीतिधारी कवीन्द्रः "

Page 63 — " कवीन्द्रः श्रीमद्दिल्लीपतिष्टो जयति कलिरिपूरत्नशर्मादराय "
— " आलम्ब आलभ्यतां रत्नशर्मादराय "

Page 61 — (Mss A and C) verse 18.

The foregoing contemporary tributes to *Kavīndra* establish the following points beyond doubt :—

(1) His contact with Shah Jahan's Court and other princes (भूपाला : p. 8.)

(2) Title विद्यानिधान conferred on him by Shah Jahan (p. 5.)

(3) His all-sided learning and eminence acknowledged by all contemporary Pandits of Benares.

and met him in the streets either on foot or in a *palkey*. During one year he was in the constant habit of visiting my Agah,[1] to whom he paid his court in the hope that he would exercise his influence to obtain the pension of which *Aurang-Zebe*,[2] anxious to appear a true Musulman, deprived him on coming to the throne. I formed consequently a close intimacy with this distinguished personage with whom I had long and frequent conversations; and when I visited him at *Benares* he was most kind and attentive, giving me a collation in the university library,[3] to which he invited the six[4]

1. Bernier was in the service of a learned noble with the title Danishmand Khān. This patron of Bernier was the only person who opposed the capital sentence against Dara Shikoh, passed by the Court of theologians for Dara's being a heretic (Vide pp. 415, 425 of *Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith, 2nd Edn. 1923). Dara was executed in August 1659 (p. *422.*)

2. *Ibid* p. 422 — Informal enthronement of Aurangzeb took place on *21st July 1658* but he re-entered Delhi for the second time in *May 1659* and was enthroned in *June 1659* with complete ceremonial.

3. The Editor of *Bernier's Travels* in footnote 1 on p. 341 possibly identifies this University library with the College at Benares maintained by Mirza Raja Jaisingh for the youth of good families. Tavernier travelled with Bernier from Agra to Bengal in 1665 and visited this college on *11th, 12th and 13th December 1665* (Vide pp. 234–235 of Tavernier's Travels, Vol. II). In this connection I have to point out that Kavīndra had a Library of his own (See कवीन्द्राचार्य-सूचीपत्रम् published in the G. O. Series (No. XVII), Baroda, 1921. This *Sūcī* or Catalogue was obtained from a *Maṭh* at Benares (p. V of Foreword). Dr. Ganganath Jha states that Kavīndra was a Sanyāsin and a rich man." It is surmised that this Library of Kavīndra was dispersed after the death of its owner, who being an ascetic had no heirs. Several *Kavīndrācārya Mss* are in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. These Mss can be identified as they contain an endorsement — "सर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीनां पुस्तकम्" on their covers. The B. O. R. Institute contains a Ms of तत्वालोक of जनार्दन (No. 762 of 1891–95) with the above endorsement. The date of this Ms is Saṁvat 1514 — A.D.1458. The endorsemnt reads:— "श्रीमद्विद्यानिधानकवि-आचार्यसरस्वतीनां वेदान्ततत्वालोकः"

4. It may be possible to identify these Six Pandits with some of the 69 admirers of *Kavīndra* who have contributed their *praśastis* to the *Kavīndra-Candrodaya* and who were contemporaries of both of Kavīndra and Bernier before A. D. 1667.

most learned *Pendets* in the town. Finding myself in such excellent company, I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving the *Indies* scandalised at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing." [1]

The above description by Bernier of the Chief of the Benares Pandits with whom he came into intimate contact for about three years leads me to believe that this Pandit is none else than *Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī* the object of the innumerable praśastis or addresses recorded in the *Kavīndracandrodaya*. It is, therefore necessary for me to state my reasons for this identity of Bernier's Pandit with Kavīndra and for this purpose I record below in parallel columns the chronology of the data furnished by *Bernier's Travels* and the *Kavīndracandrodaya* with respect to contemporary events :—

BERNIER'S TRAVELS = BT	KAVĪNDRACANDRODAYA = K
	A. D. 1628 — Enthronement of Shah Jahan.
	.... levy of Pilgrim Tax by Shah Jahan.
	.... abolition of this tax by Shah Jahan at the request of Kavīndra.
Bernier's Travels in India begin A. D. 1655	.... composition of K and its presentation to Kavīndra.

1. Ibid, p. 342 — The reply given by the Pandits to Bernier in defence of idol worship and which Bernier states "was so framed as to correspond with the tenets of *Christianity*" reads as follows :—

"Images are admitted in our temples because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind ; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that He only is the omnipotent Lord."

BERNIER'S TRAVELS = BT	KAVĪNDRACANDRODAYA = K
	A.D.1658 — Shah Jahan deposed and made a prisoner.
Bernier a witness to the sad procession of Dara through the streets of Delhi (as recorded in BT)...........	A.D.1659 — Execution of Dara Shikoh, the patron of Kavīndra.
The *Chief of Benares Pandits* taken into service by Bernier's Patron Danishmand Khan.	.... End of royal patronage from Dara and Shah Jahan to *Kavīndra.*
Bernier's three years contact with the Pandit.	
Bernier's letter to his friend dated *4th October* from Shiraz in Persia A.D.1667	

The above table shows that Bernier's account of the *Chief Pandit of Benares* begins with A.D. 1658 while the account of *Kavīndra* as revealed by the *Kavīndracandrodaya* pertains to a period of Shah Jahan's reign which ends with A. D. 1658. It will thus be seen that, if we accept the identity of Bernier's Chief Pandit of Benares with Kavīndra, Bernier supplies to us a sort of supplement to the information regarding Kavīndra recorded in the *Kavīndracandrodaya*, the two contemporary sources thus revealing the personality of this learned Sanyāsi in the proper historical perspective. In fact no scholar has as yet identified Kavīndra in any other contemporary historical source and so far we are required to to be content with the *Praśastis* as found in the *Kavīndracandrodaya*. We must, therefore, try to link up the two contemporary sources to enable us to form a picture of Kavīndra more full of historical details than what it is at present in spite of the attempts

of Dr. Jha and other scholars to bring this personality into historical relief.

The data collected by me in favour of my proposed identification of Bernier's Pandit with Kavīndra has been recorded by me earlier in details in the several footnotes given by me above. I shall, therefore, state below the points of identification in brief to warrant the above supposition. These points are as follows :—

BP = Bernier's Pandit at Benares	Kavīndrācārya = KC
BT = *Bernier's Travels*	K — *Kavīndracandrodaya*
(1) According to *BT*, BP belonged to the household of Dārā.	(1) According to *K* (p. 23) KC had influence with Dāra. KC in his कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम refers to Dara (महम्मद् दाराशिको कृताः......नमस्काराः).
(2) *BT* states that BP had a pension of 2000 Rs. from Shah Jahan (A. D. 1628 to 1658). *BT* contains no reference to the abodition of the Pilgrim tax which happened earlier than A. D. 1658.	(2) *K* also states (pp. 3, 5, 8, 16, 21, 33, 36, 44, 50, 57, 61, 63) that KC had much influence at Shah Jahan's Court, that he was an honoured person at this Court and that it was through KC's persuasion that Saha Jahan abolished the Pilgrim tax.
(3) *BT* states that BP was a *Faqir* or a *Devotee*.	(3) *K* also states that KC was a *Yati* (= Faqir),
(4) *BT* calls BP " one of the most celebrated Pandits in all the Indies," "Chief of the Pandits" at Benares and "distinguished personage."	(4) *K* states that KC was given the title विद्यानिधान or " repository of learning" by Shah Jahan.
(5) *BT* States that BP was the " Chief of the Pandits at Benares.	(5) *K* calls KC as " तीर्थराजाधिराजः" "विबुधवरविधुप्रीतिकारी." *K* is an anthology of ad-

BP = BERNIER'S PANDIT AT BENARES	KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA = **KC**
	dresses presented to **KC** by learned men of Benares and Prayag as stated in the following verse in *K* (p. 1) " श्रीमत्काशिविकासिभिः सुकविभि स्तद्वत्प्रयागासिभि । नाना देशनिवासिभिश्च रचिता........ पद्यावली लिख्यते."
(6) *BT* states that Bernier saw **BP** often at Delhi in the assembly of *Omrahs* and met him in the streets either on foot or in a *palkey*.	(6) *K* refers to **KC**'s contact with Delhi Court :— (p. 57) " सुरत्राणसेसत्कवीन्द्रोवि· भाति" (p. 44) " दिल्लीश संसदपि पाति कवीन्द्र" (p. 8) " भूपालाः कति नागता स्तवगृहे" (p. 57) **KC** is called " दिल्लीपतिप्रीतिपात्र."
(8) *BT* ststes that during one year **BP** paid his court to Bernier's patron *Danishmand Khān* with a view to using this patron's influence with Aurangzeb to renew the pension of Rs. 2000 stopped by Aurangzeb. *BT* also states that—*BP* was taken in service by *Danishmand Khān* through Bernier's soliciation.	(7) *K* contains no reference to **KC**'s contact with *Danishmand Khān* which was effected after A. D. **1658** when Shah Jahan was made a captive and after A. D. **1659** when his son Dārā was executed. We know from other sources that *Danishmand Khān* was sympathetic towards Dārā and Dārā's circle of Hindu Pandits must have been treated sympathetically by *Danishmand Khān*.

In the light of the above points we may reconstruct a biographical account of Kavīndra as follows :—

Kavīndra or Ācārya Kavīndra was originally an inhabitant of *Puṇyabhūmi* on the banks of the river Godāvarī. He learnt the *Veda*, the *Vedāṅgas* and other *Śāstras* and later took to asceticism

and commenced meditation on Brahman. He had studied the *Āśvalāyana Śākhā* of *Ṛgveda*. In his very childhood he lost his interest in the world and having taken Sanyāsa he made Benares his abode. When Shah Jahan levied the pilgrim tax on pilgrims to Allahabad and Benares Kavīndra, the acknowledged head of the Pandits at Benares exercised his influence effectively on the Mogol Emperor and made him abolish this tax. It was a joyous occasion for the Hindu community in Benares who felt extremely grateful to Kavīndra for his miraculous influence with the Emperor which was responsible for the removal of the tax for good. This gratefulness is reflected in the tributes paid to Kavīndra in the *Kavīndra-Candrodaya.* Kavīndra was well versed in all branches of Sanskrit learning. He appears to have had a fine collection of MSS as proved by the *Kavīndra List* published in the G. O. Series, Baroda. In recongition of Kavīndra's eminence in learning the Emperor Shah Jahan conferred upon him the title *Vidyānidhāna* or *Sarvavidyānidhāna* as stated in the *Kavīndra-Candrodaya.* Shah Jahan had also given him a pension of Rs. 2000 but it was stopped by Aurangzeb as soon as he came to the throne in 1658–59. Dārā Shikoh the eldest son of Shah Jahān who was a lover of Hindu Philosophy had gathered many pandits round him. Kavīndra occupied the foremost place among these pandits and he was included in Dārā's household as stated by Bernier.

After the deposition and imprisonment of his patron Shah Jahān in A. D. 1658 the pension of Kavīndra was stopped and this misfortune, coupled with the execution of Dārā Shikoh in A. D. 1659 led Kavīndra to seek a new patron viz. *Danishmand Khān* who was a patron of Bernier the celebrated French traveller. This patron had a soft corner for Dārā and his associates. It was his voice alone that was raised against the capital sentence passed on Dārā by a council of theologians. He entertained Kavīndra in his service for some years at the request of Bernier. Kavīndra wanted to use the influence of *Danishmand Khān* to renew the pension of Rs. 2000, stopped by Aurangzeb about A. D. 1659. How far this attempt was successful we cannot say as we have no evidence on the point. *Danishmand Khān* was, therefore, a common patron of both Bernier and Kavīndra after about A. D. 1658–59 when the pataonage from Dārā and Shah Jahān given to him came to an end. For three years. Kavīndra was a constant companion of Bernier and when Bernier paid a visit to Benares, Kavīndra received him warmly in the "University Library" where he had invited six eminent Pandits to discuss many matters of interest to Bernier. Bernier has given us in his letter of A. D. 1667 a detailed account of these discussions. What happened to

Kavīndra after say A. D. 1667 is a matter for investigation but as Danishmandkhān died in A. D. 1670 Kavīndra must have been left without any patronage.

The foregoing connected account of the career of Kavīndra between A. D. 1628 and 1667 is based on two contemporary sources viz. (1) *Bernier's letter of A. D. 1667* and *Kavīndra-Candrodaya* which was composed before A. D. 1658. It is also based on my identification of Kavīndra, the head of Benares Pandits with the Chief of Benares Pandits mentioned and described by Bernier. If my identification is accepted by scholars interested in the problem they would be curious to know something about the common patron of Bernier and Kavīndra viz. *Danishmand Khān* and record here some information about this *Khān* as recorded by Bernier himself :—

Bernier states (on *p. 4*) that he was reduced to penury by adventures with robbers and by the heavy expenses of the journey of nearly seven weeks from Surat to Agra and Delhi. He accepted a salary from the Great Mogol in the capacity of physician and soon afterwards by chance he procured a salary from "*Danechmendkān*[1] (= Danishmand Khān) "the most learned man of Asia, formerly *Bakchis* or Grandmaster of the Horse and one of the most powerful and distinguished *Omrahs* or Lords of the Court."

On p. 100 Bernier states: "*Danechmand Khān* although he and Dara had long been on bad terms enforced this opinion viz. that Dara should be taken to Gwalior with all his powers of argument but it was ultimately decided that Dara should die." "Rouchenara Begam betrayed all her enmity against her helpless brother combating the arguments of *Danech-Mend* and exciting *Aurnga-Zebe* to this foul and unnatural murder."

On p. 186 Bernier informs us :— *Danechmend-Kān* was appointed Governor of Delhi and in consideration of *his studious habits*, and the time which he necessarily devotes to the affairs of

1. Editor's footnote 2 reads :— "A Persian merchant by name Muhammad Shafi, or Mullā Shafi. He came to Surat about the years 1646 from which place he was sent for by the Emperor Shah Jahan who conferred upon him the command of 3000 men and made him paymaster of the army (Bakshī) with the title of Danishmand Khān (Learned Knight). In the reign of Alamgir he received still further promotion and was appointed Governor of ShahāJāhanābad or new Delhi where he died in 1670."

the foreign department, he is exempted from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a day to the assembly for the purpose of saluting the king."

On p. 352 Bernier in his letter of *14th December* 1664 writes:—"Besides my Navab or Agah *Danechmend-Khān* expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with *philosophical studies* in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, Geography and Anatomy are his *favourite pursuits and he reads with avidity the works* of *Gassendi*[1] and *Descartes*[2]."

On page 414 — Danechmend-Kān made an attempt to induce Bernier to renounce his religion by making him visit a place called *Baramoulay* where he might bear testimony to a miracle and be a convert to Muslim religion, but Bernier detected the cheating process and ran away from the place.

The above remarks regarding his patron *Danishmand Khān* made by Bernier make it abundantly clear that this Khān was a very cultured man of literary abilities and attainments besides being an influential person at the Mogol Court during the reigns of Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb. It is therefore, no wonder that he should patronize other devotees of learning like Bernier and the Chief of the Benares Pandits whom I have identified with *Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati.* It was the tie of learning that brought together a Frenchman of Paris, a Muslim of Persia and a Brahmin of Benares actuated by the only motive of exchange of thought, which we value so so much in modern times and on which depends all advancement of knowledge. As Danishmand Khān died in 1670 A. D. Kavīndra may have lost the patronage he had been receiving from this Khān presuming that he survived after A. D. 1670, when he must have been a pretty old man. I am, therefore, inclined to assign the life-period of Kavīndra between A. D. 1600 and 1675.[3]

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1. Teacher of Bernier who died in *October 1655* (p. XX of *Travels*) Bernier owed his great powers of accurate observation to his training under Gassendi, the French philosopher.

2. René Descartes (1596–1650).

3. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma in his *Bibliography of Mughal India*

(*Continued on the next page*)

Up to now we have recorded the contemporary estimate of the learning and abilities of Kavīndra but have made no reference to the works composed by him. So far as I am aware only one work[1]

(*Continued from the previous page*)

(1526–1707 A. D.) published by the Karnatak Publishing House Bombay, 1939, gives an Appendix (III) pp. 154–165, on *Sanskrit writers of the Mughal Period* in which we find Kavīndra's name (p. 160) among 63 writers of Shāh Jahān's reign :—

कवीन्द्राचार्य — He was a Vedic Scholar and wrote a commentary on the Ṛgveda of which only a fragment is now available."

Other writers of Shah Jahan's reign are :—

अनन्तभट्ट, अनन्तपंडित, अनंतदेव, कमलाकरभट्ट, कमलाकर, कविचन्द्र, कृष्ण (1645), कृष्णदत्तमिश्र (about 1650), कालिदास (1632), गङ्गाधर (1633), गङ्गाधर. गोविन्द, गोकुलजित्, गौरीपति (1640), चिंतामणि (1630), जगन्नाथ पंडित, जगदानन शर्मन्, जिनार्जुन, जीवगोस्वामिन्, दयाद्विवेद (1628), दुर्गादास (1628), देवसागर (1630), धनराज, नन्दपण्डित, नित्यानन्द (1629, 1640), नीलकंठभट्ट, नीलकंठ दीक्षित, पुरुषोत्तम (1628), बलभद्र, भावदेवमिश्र, भावदेव (1649), "भट्टोजि दीक्षित* the famous grammarian and jurist was still alive" (p. 163), मणिराम (1642), मणिराम दीक्षित, माधवशुक्ल (1656), माधवज्योतिर्विद्, महादेव, मित्रमिश्र, रघुनाथ (1656), रङ्गनाथ (1656), रामचन्द्र राजर्षि (1633), रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति, रामाश्रम, दत्त, विजयानन्द (1641), विद्यानन्द, विद्याधर (1639, 1644), विष्णुपुरि, विष्णु, विश्वराम, विश्वरूप, विश्वनाथ दैवज्ञ, विश्वनाथ पञ्चानन भट्टाचार्य, वेदाङ्गराय (1643), वेणीदत्त (1644), शिवराम, श्रीधर्मपतिशर्मन्, सहजकीर्ति, हरिदत्तभट्ट, (1630), A. D. 1632 अथर्वण प्रतिशाख्य टीका by an unknown writer.

I don't think that Bhaṭṭoji was alive after A. D. 1628 as his guru नृसिंहाश्रम composed a work in A. D. 1547 (Vide my paper on Bhaṭṭoji in S. V. O. Institute, *Annals* Vol. I, pp. 119–127).

1. Vide *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin with the commentary *Padacandrikā* of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, Ed. by N. B. Godbole and K. P. Parab, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1883. In the Introduction the Editors state that the following MSS of *Padacandrikā* have been used by them for this edition :—

(1) MS in the possession of Govind Śāstri Nirantar

(2) MS in the possession of Appa Śāstri Khāḍilkar, which is a copy of the above original

(*Continued on the next page*)

ascribed to Kavīndra has yet been published. We must, therefore, record here the MSS of works ascribed to Kavīndra for the use of scholars interested in them.

Aufrecht records the following entries in his Catalogue regarding works and MSS of works composed by Kavīndra :—

CC I, 88 — " कवीन्द्र आचार्य सरस्वती

—Kavīndra Kalpadruma[1]

— Padacandrikā Daśakumāraṭīkā[2]

L. 3041. K. 60. Bühler 558.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

(3) MS from the Elphinstone College Library lent to the Editors by Shridhar Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhandarkar

(4) MS from Ganesh Narasimha Kirkire of Indore.

The *Padacandrikā* comments only on the 8 *Ucchvāsas* of the *Daśakumāracarita* and *not* on the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* and the *Uttarapīṭhikā*, The Editors express surprise why Dr. Bülher did not publish this and other two commentaries on the text then available to him for his edition of the work (1872). They refer to earlier editions of the work viz., (1) By H. H. Wilson (1846), (2) By Bābu Bhuvanacandra Basak (1869-1870) and (3) By Tārānath Tarka Vācaspati (about 1873).

1. cf. Aufrecht *CC I, 88* — " कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम — tantra, Mack 137, K. 56, Oudh VIII, 28 (bhakti).

CC II, 17 — कवीन्द्रकल्पद्रुम on poetical composition by Kavīndra L. 4028. This is " neither tantric nor bhakti " (Vide p. 163 of *Notices* by H. P. Shastri, Vol. X, 1892). This MS consists of 1572 Ślokas. The topics of the work are गणेशस्तोत्रकीर्तनं, गंगास्तोत्रकथनं, यमुनास्तोत्रं, वितस्तास्तोत्रं, सूर्यस्तोत्रं, शिवस्तोत्रं, भवानीस्तोत्रं, नृसिंहरूपवर्णनं, श्रीकृष्णरूपवर्णनं, रामचन्द्ररूपवर्णनं, हनूमत्स्तोत्रं, प्रास्ताविकश्लोककथनं, शिवरामवर्णनं, पत्रावलम्बनपद्यकथनं, पत्रप्रशस्तिवर्णनं.

The Ms ends :—

" तत्वज्ञानदूरीकृत महामोहसमवगतसप्तभूमिकासमारोहमहम्मददाराशिकोकृता नारायणेत्यष्टाक्षरमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः सन्ति ॥ " This reference to दाराशिको son of Shah Jahan is important as it shows the contact of Kavīndra with this prince.

2. Vide p. 139 of Mitra's *Notices*, IX, 1888 — MS 3041 of पद्चन्द्रिका ends :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

— Yogabhāskara Oudh XIX 112.

— Śatapathabrāhmaṇabhāṣya[1] Bik 71.

— Haṁsadūtakāvya,[2] Burnell 163a"

I have recorded the above entry from Aufrecht's catalogue with a view to indicating what works have been attributed by Aufrecht to Kavīndācārya. It is not possible for me to examine all the items of this entry by a personal access to the MSS recorded by him. Such work must be left for future study but in the meanwhile I take this opportunity of requesting scholars interested in this historic personality to throw more light on the problem of the present study from any source whatsoever which would be helpful either for contradicting my hypothesis or corroborating it on the strength of contemporary evidence.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

" इति श्री सकलशास्त्रार्थसार्थकीकृतशेमुषीविलासरससान्द्रप्रवर्तिताशेषयशः समुद्रपारिषच्चन्द्र यतीन्द्रसर्वविद्यानिधानश्रीमत्कवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीकृतायां दशकुमारव्याख्यायां पदचंद्रिकाभिधानायां विश्रुतचरितं नाम अष्टम उच्छवासः ॥ "

There are two MSS of the पदचन्द्रिका at B. O. R. Institute :—

Govt. MSS Library {No. 128 of 1866–68 / No. 129 of 1866–68}. Mr. M. M. Patkar has published an article on this commentary (Vide *Poona Orientalist* Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 134–135, 1939).

1. Vide p. 71 of *Cata. of Bikaner* MSS by R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1880 — MS No. 179 — The MS is described as " A commentary on the 6th book of the शतपथब्राम्हण by कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती " The extracts given make no reference to कवीन्द्राचार्य.

2. Vide Burnell's *Cata. of Tanjore* MSS (1879), p. 163_a — हंसदूत काव्य — This MS described in *Des. Cata. of Tanjore MSS*, Vol. VII, 1930, pp. 2893-96. The endorsement " सर्वविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वतीनां " indicates that the MS once belonged to Kavīndra. The year of the copy is 1650 (Śaka ? or Saṁvat ?). If Saṁvat the year would correspond to A. D. **1594.** The author of the work is unknown. Burnell's description " *Haṁsadūta* by Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī " is misleading as it is not a work of Kavīndrācārya.

45. A Topical Analysis of the Bhojana-Kutūhala, a Work on Dietetics, composed by Raghunātha — Between A. D. 1675 & 1700 *

I have proved in a special paper[1] that Raghunātha, the author of a work on dietetics called the Bhojana-Kutūhala, was a protégé of the Queen Dīpābāi, wife of Ekoji Bhosala of Tanjore, the step-brother of Shivaji the Great. Raghunātha composed some Marathi works at the instance of Queen Dīpābāi. In one of his Marathi works called the *Narakavarṇana* he gives us a list of his Sanskrit works in which we find two works viz. (1) धर्मामृतमहोदधि and (2) भोजनकुतूहल. The *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi* was composed in *A. D. 1701*. The *Narakavarṇana* was composed between 1701 and 1712 A. D. The *Bhojanakutūhala* was composed before A. D. 1700. As the author of this work was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahman he not only refers to the Deccani dietetics but records and describes the dietetics of other Indian provinces also at times. The B. O. R. Institute has a Ms[2] of the *1st Pariccheda* of this work. With a view to facilitating a close study of this work it is necessary to acquaint interested scholars with its topics. I have, therefore, thought it fit to record below the topics of the treatise as found in the Ms itself. This Ms is No. 594 of 1899–1915 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. It is dated Śaka 1723 = A. D. 1803.

The numbers against each topic in the following list indicate the numbers of the folios of the Ms.

भोजनविधिः, 1
धान्यप्रकरणं, 1
शालिसामान्यगुणाः, 2
शालिविशेषगुणाः, 2 (महाराष्ट्रेषु रायभोगः)
निःशूका मुंडशालयः, 3

* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXI, pp. 254–263.

1. Vide my paper on " *Raghunātha etc.*" published in the *Jour. af the Bombay University*, 1941.

2. As regards other Mss of this work see Aufrecht, CC I, 418; II, 95; III, 90. There is also a Ms of the work in the library of the Rajawade Samshodhan Mandir, Dhulia.

46. Raghunātha, a Protégé of Queen Dīpābāi of Tanjore, and his Works — Between A. D. 1675-1712 *

Aufrecht[1] mentions an author of the name Raghunātha Sūri, who composed a work on Dietetics called the *Bhajana-kutūhala*. He mentions no other works of this author, though many other namesakes[2] of Raghunātha and their works are recorded by Aufrecht. I propose to examine in this paper the question of the identity of some of these namesakes with Raghunātha Sūri, the author of the *Bhojana-kutūhala*, with which I have dealt with elsewhere.[3] When I studied this work on dietetics I had no idea that this author had composed any other works. Subsequently Mr. R. Rangachariar published a paper[4] on the *Bhojana-Kutūhala* in which

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* *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (N. S.) Vol. X, Pt. 2, pp. 132-140.

1. CC.I, 484 — " रघुनाथसूरि — Bhojana-Kutūhala."

2. *Ibid*, pp. 483-486.

3. *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXII, pp. 254-263.

4. *Journal of S. M. Library, Tanjore*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1939-1940), page 29 — *Raghunāthsūri and his Bhojana-Kutūhala.*" Here the Colophons of the भोजनकुतूहल and धर्मामृतमहोदधि are recorded as follows :—

— " इति श्रीमद्विद्वद्वृन्दवन्द्यपादारविन्दश्रीमदनन्तदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतौ भोजनकुतूहले द्रव्यगुणागुणकथनं नाम प्रथमः परिच्छेदः "

— " इति श्रीमत्सकलभूमण्डलमण्डलायमानश्रीमदनन्तदेवात्मजश्रीमदापदेवतत्सुतश्रीमदनन्तदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतौ धर्मामृतमहोदधिनिबन्धने गोदानविधिः "

Mr. Rangachariar identifies अनन्तदेव common to both the above Colophons with अनन्तदेव, the author of the मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश, who "*is known to have flourished during the end of the 16th Century A. D.*" The author of मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश was आपदेव and not अनन्तदेव. His genealogy is as follows :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

he disclosed another work of this author, *viz.*, *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi.* This paper led me to an inquiry regarding any other works of this author and the evidence for proving the identity of the authors of these works with Raghunātha, the author of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. Fortunately for my inquiry I was able to get the necessary evidence to prove the authorship of several works attributed to the namesakes of Raghunātha, the author of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. This evidence is as follows :—

Raghunātha, the author of the *BK* (= *Bhojana-Kutūhala*) took to the composition of Marathi works after he had composed many Sanskrit works as stated by him in his Marathi work *Narakavarṇana* composed in *Ovī* metre. A MS of this work is available in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore.[1] In this work Raghunātha not only claims the *BK* as his own work but also gives us a list[2] of

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

एकनाथ → आपदेव (I) → अनन्तदेव (I) → आपदेव (II) (A. D. 1600–1650) → अनन्तदेव [a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ] (A. D. 1675–1700).

(*Vide* my paper on Āpadeva in the *F. W. Thomas Com. Volume*).

If the statement of the colophon of धर्मामृतमहोदधि is correct we must verify what अनन्तदेव is connected with रघुनाथ the author of the *BK* and the धर्मामृतमहोदधि.

Mr. Rangachariar further observes :— "This Raghunāthasūri appears to be a native of northern parts and a *Maharatta* for he quotes *Maharatta* synonyms frequently in this work". (*i.e.* भोजनकुतूहल). These remarks are correct as will be seen from the Marathi works of our author mentioned later in this paper.

1. *Descriptive Cata. of Marathi MSS*, Tanjore, by Ramachandrarao, 1929, p. 191 — No. 573 — नरकवर्णन रघुनाथकृत — ओव्या — folios 10. On folio 19 the author informs us :— " जे जे पुसिलें नृपनायकें ॥ तें तें सांगितलें शुकें ॥ तें सर्वही दीपांबिके ॥ प्रति निरूपिलें रघुनाथें ॥ ४९ ॥ "

Dīpāmbikā asked Raghunātha to compose Marathi works for the benefit of the masses who found Sanskrit difficult to understand (संस्कृत कठिण म्हणून प्राकृत). Raghunātha devotes in this work some *Ovīs* (55–67) to the eulogy of his patron दीपांबिका called दीपांबास्तवन. She was a royal personage with three illustrious princes as her sons :— " तीन पुरुषार्थ तिचे भूप । जयेचे पुत्र कुलदीप । दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप । नाम म्हणौनि शोभतसे. "

2. *Ibid*, p. 191 — " पूर्वी केले ग्रंथ बहुत ॥ तया माजी भोजनकुतूहल ॥ दुजे

(*Continued on the next page*)

his earlier Sanskrit works. According to this list Raghunātha composed the following works :—

(1) *Bhojana-Kutūhala*, (2) *Sāhitya-Kutūhala*, (3) *Prāyaścitta-Kutūhala*, (4) *Janārdana-Mahodadhi*, (5) *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi*, (6) *Kāśīmīmāṁsā*. The identity of the author of the *Narakavarṇana*, a Marathi work composed by *Raghunātha*, with his namesake, the author of the *BK* is clearly proved as the former mentions the *BK* as his own work in the *Narakavarṇana* represented by the Tanjore MS referred to above. We are thus in a position to have reliable information regarding Raghunātha's literary activity both in the Sanskrit and the Marathi fields as this information is vouched by the statement of the author himself. In fact the list of our author's works as recorded in the *Narakavarṇana* is a key to the author's literary career covering a period of at least one decade, if not more. We must, therefore, see if we can trace MSS of works mentioned in this list in the collections of various MSS libraries in India. We must also identify the royal patron *Dīpāmbikā* who inspired Raghunātha to compose Marathi works[1] for the benefit of the public who could not understand the difficult Sanskrit language. It is for students of the history of Marathi literature to trace the Marathi works of the author of the *BK* and

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साहित्यकुतूहल ॥ चित्ररचनेसहिता निवल ॥ ५१ ॥ प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल ॥ श्रौतस्मार्तपर केवल ॥ रचिले प्रयोग । श्रौतानुष्ठान करावया ॥ ५२ ॥ जनार्दनमहोदय आधी ॥ आणि धर्मामृतमहोदधि ॥ रचिल्या जीर्णनिबंधीं ॥ विद्यमान अर्थ शोधूनिया ॥ ५३ ॥ ग्रंथ काशीमीमांसा ॥ ५४ ॥ साहित्याचे कुतूहलीं ॥ पहिले राजवंशावळी ॥ मग वर्णिली नगरस्थळी । अंबास्तुति तदनंतर ॥ ५५ ॥ राजवर्णन अतिसुंदर ॥ मग चित्रें एकशतविंशोत्तर ॥ अन्यापदेश अनंतर ॥ बहु प्रकार रचियले ॥ ५६ ॥ सोडून संस्कृत परिपाटी ॥ धरिली प्राकृताची धाटी ॥ लोकोपकारासाठीं ॥ गोवर्द्धनोद्धारण रचियले ॥ ५७ ॥ मग दीपांबिकेच्या वचनें ॥ प्राकृत स्त्रीधर्मकथनें ॥ नरकविषयविवेचनें ॥ केली भागवतोक्ते ॥ ५८ ॥"

1. *Ibid*, p. 193 — Besides the *Narakavarṇana* MS there are 2 MSS of a work called पतिव्रताधर्म (on the duties of wives) in the Tanjore Library *viz.*, Nos. 578 and 579. I have no doubt that रघुनाथ the author of this work is identical with the author of the नरकवर्णन and भोजनकुतूहल. On Folio 1 of MS No. 578 the author informs us :— "समस्त जनांस उपकारक ॥ हा मनीं करूनिया विवेक ॥ पाहोनिया पुराणश्लोक ॥ भाषाप्रबंध करीतसे." This work may have been composed earlier than the नरकवर्णन which states that the author wrote on स्त्रीधर्म by order of दीपांबिका :— "मग दीपांबिकेच्या वचनें ॥ प्राकृत स्त्रीधर्मकथनें."

give us a critical account of them for the benefit of Sanskritists. I am concerned in this paper with Raghunātha's contribution to the different branches of Sanskrit learning, indicated by the varied titles of his works recorded by him in the Marathi work *Naraka-varṇana*.

Before I discuss and record some information about Raghunātha's works referred to above I must try to identify his royal patron, *viz.*, *Dīpāmbikā* because this identification will alone give us an exact chronology for the literary career of our author. In the Marathi works of Reghunātha he refers to *Dīpāmbikā* as follows :—

(१) नरकवर्णन — "तीन पुरुषार्थ तिघे भूप। जयेचे पुत्र कुलदीप।
दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप। नाम म्हणोनि शोभतसे."

(२) पतिव्रताधर्म — "मग दीपांबिकेच्या वचनें। प्राकृत स्त्रीधर्मकथनें."

It is clear from the above references that *Dīpāmbikā* was a queen and she had three illustrious princes[1] as her sons (तिघे भूप कुलदीप.) and hence the name दीपांबिका or the mother of these कुलदीपs was significant. The queen *Dīpāmbikā* mentioned by Raghunātha in the two works in Marathi appears to me to be identical with the queen *Dīpāmbikā*, wife of *Ekarāja* (or Ekoji) step-brother of the Maratha King Shivaji the Great. She has been mentioned in a contemporary Sanskrit work called the *Bhosalavaṁśāvalī*[2] in the following verses :—

1. One of these three princes *viz.*, Sarabhoji composed a *mahākāvya* called *Rāghavacarita* (*vide* pp. 17ff of Tanjore Library *Journal* Vol. I, No. 3). In the 10 introductory verses of this poem he refers to his grandfather "शाहाजि" (v. 2), his father "एकोजी" (v. 5) whom he calls तञ्जाधिप. He refers to his mother queen दीपांबिका and himself and his elder brother शाहेन्द्र in verses 7, 8, 9, 10, which read as follows :—

"विश्वंभरोऽसाविह दीव्यतीति। स्वयं च लक्ष्मीरवतीर्य भूमौ॥ दीपांबिकेति प्रथिता पतिं तम्। अविन्ददिन्दुं किल रोहिणीव ॥ ७ ॥ तस्यामजायन्त सुतास्त्रयोऽस्य। शस्त्रे च शास्त्रे च निकामदक्षाः। तेष्वग्रजन्मा जगति प्रतीतः। शाहेन्द्रनामा जितभोजकीर्तिः ॥ ८ ॥ तस्यानुजन्मा तपनातिचण्डप्रतापभूमिः प्रथमानलक्ष्मीः। जगत्त्रयद्योतिजयापदानो। जयत्युदारः शरभेन्द्रनामा ॥ ९ ॥ प्रौढैः कवीन्द्रैः परिशीलनेन। विज्ञाय साहित्यविलासभेदान्। करोति काव्यं रघुवीरगाथा। पवित्रितं सैष मुदे बुधानाम् ॥ १० ॥"

2. Ed. by S. M. Divekar in the *Śivacaritrapradīpa*, Poona,

(*Continued on the next page*)

" तस्यैकराजस्य गुणैरनूना । वाणी विधातुः कमलेव विष्णोः । दाक्षायणीव स्मरशासनस्य । दीपांबिकाऽभूत्किल धर्मपत्नी ॥ २६ ॥ अरुन्धतीवात्मभुवस्तनूजं । सीतेव रामं नलिनीव भानुम् । ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रं ललनामणिः सा । सम्प्राप्य कान्तं तमियं व्यलासीत् ॥ २७ ॥ तस्यामभूवन्नवनं सुधांशोः । शाहेन्द्रनामा शरभाभिधानः । भुवि प्रतीतस्तुलजाभिधश्च । समानरूपाकृतिशालिनोमी ॥ २८ ॥ तेष्वग्रजः शाहमहीमहेन्द्रः । भीमार्जुनाभ्यामिव धर्मसूनुः । अमुक्तपार्श्वो गुणशेवधिभ्यां । सहोदराभ्यामवनीं प्रशास्ति ॥ २९ ॥ "

I have no doubt that the queen *Dīpāmbikā* mentioned by *Venkaṭabhaṭṭa* in his account of the genealogy of the Bhosalas of Tanjore is identical with *Dīpāmbikā* the royal patron of Raghunātha, the author of the *BK*. If this identification is accepted we must regard Veṅkaṭabhaṭṭa as contemporary of Raghunātha because the former composed his *Bhosalavaṁśāvalī* during the reign of Shahāji, the son of *Dīpāmbikā* and Ekoji[1] (or Vyankoji) the step-brother of

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

1925, pp. 129–134. In the Intro. (p. 11) we are told by the Editors that Venkaṭabhaṭṭa composed the *Bhosalavamśāvali* during the reign of Shahāji, son of Vyankoji (also called Ekoji or Ekarāja). The author refers to the ancestors of Shivaji, *viz.*, *Ekoji*, *Parasoji*, *Bābāji*, *Māloji* and *Shahāji* and then deals with *Shivāji* and his step-brother *Ekoji*. In verse 16 Shivaji is called as the very incarnation of God Śiva — " शिवक्षमेशः शिव एव साक्षात् ."

1. According to *Sabhasad Bakhar* (composed A. D. 1697) pp. 2–3, Shahaji had two wives *viz.*, (1) *Jijai*, the mother of Shivaji the Great and (2) *Tukai*, the mother of Ekoji, the husband of *Dīpāmbikā*. The *Jedhe Chronology* refers to the meeting of Shivaji with Ekoji in Śaka 1599 (= A. D. 1677) in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* and the defeat of Ekoji by Shivaji in the month of *Kārtika* of the same year (*vide* pp. 28–29 of *Śiva-Caritrapradīpa*). The poet Jayarāma Piṇḍye in his *Parṇālaparvatagrahaṇākhyāna* composed in Śaka 1595 (A. D. 1673) refers to Ekoji as " एकमहीपति " (I. 3) and his " गौरीविलास " assembly hall at Bangalore (बेंगरूलाख्यनगरे). In this poem Jayarāma gives Ekoji an account of his elder brother's (Shivaji's) exploits. In I, 51, Shivaji is called " दाजीस्वामी. " Jayarāma has given us an account of the life of Shahaji in his *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa Campū* (composed about A. D. 1653–58). In this poem one रघुनाथभट्ट चाऊरकर is mentioned (p. 230 of Rajawade's Edn.) as also one रघुनाथ व्यास (p. 245). On p. 267 एकराजा or Ekoji is mentioned along with his mother तुकाई (p. 268).

Shivaji the Great. Ekoji was the founder of the Maratha rule at Tanjore.[1] He ruled from *A. D. 1676-83.* At the time of his death in A. D. 1683 Ekoji was only 54 years old. Shivaji's expedition[2] into the Carnatic to claim his share of his father's jahagir from Ekoji, the husband of *Dīpāmbikā*, took place in *A.D.1676-77*. Ekoji left three sons: (1) *Shahaji*, (2) *Sarabhoji*, and (3) *Tukkoji*. These sons ruled jointly.[3] Shahaji died heirless in *A. D. 1712* at the age of forty. After him Sarabhoji ruled jointly with Tukkoji till his death in *A. D. 1728*. Tukkoji succeeded Sarabhoji as sole ruler in *A. D. 1728* and ruled till his death in *A. D. 1736*.

In view of the above chronology of the three illustrious sons[4] of *Dīpāmbikā* we must put A. D. 1736 as the later limit for Raghunātha Sūri, the author of the *BK*. As the husband of *Dīpāmbikā* died in A. D. 1683 and as Raghunātha refers to her and her three sons as Kings (भूपs) I presume that Raghunātha composed the Marathi works when all these three sons were living. As Sarabhoji died in A. D. 1712 the later limit to Raghunātha's works will be about A.D. 1700 while the earlier limit may be about A.D. 1676 the year of Ekoji's capture of Tanjore. Perhaps he may have migrated to Tanjore about this time from the Mahārāṣṭra to seek patronage of the Tanjore rulers and their accomplished queens and mistresses.[5]

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1. *Vide* p. 17 of *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* by K. R. Subramanian, Madras, 1928. According to a Maratha inscription in the Tanjore temple *Ekoji* captured Tanjore in *January 1676*. This inscription dates Ekoji's death in Śaka 1604 (A. D. 1683).

2. *Ibid*, p. 20, " *Raghunātha*, minister of Venkoji (or Ekoji), chaffing under his master's control instigated Shivaji to lead this expedition for his share of the inheritance."

3. This joint rule of brothers presents a fine contrast to Aurangzeb's murders of his brothers, which were accomplished a few years earlier than the joint rule of three brothers at Tanjore from A. D. 1684 onwards.

4. *Vide* p. 44 of *Tanjore Gazetteer*, by Hemingway, Madras, 1915. The periods of the reigns of these sons as given in her appeal to the East India Co. by Kāmākshi Ambābāi Sahib are :— (1) *Shahaji* (1687-1711); (2) *Sarabhoji* (1711-1727) and (3) *Tukhoji* (1728-1735).

5. *Vide* p. 24 of *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*. Venkoji or Ekoji

(*Continued on the next page*)

Dīpābai or *Dīpāmbikā* was one of these eleven queens.[1] She appears to have been responsible for the wise administration of the Tanjore Kingdom under her sons.[2] Even during the life-time of her husband Ekoji, it was her advice that settled the quarrel between Ekoji and Shivaji. Shivaji gave her a territory of 5 lacs of *hons* in appreciation of her endeavour to settle the dispute between her husband and Shivaji amicably.[3] Ekoji was given a territory of 7 lacs of *hons* by an agreement of 19 clauses which directed Ekoji to drive away all haters of the Hindus from his Kingdom. Dīpābāi's son Shahāji (1684-1712) was a capable ruler. He was a scholar himself and also a patron of learning. "Sanskrit works of a high order were produced in large numbers during the age 1676-

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

had two wives and nine mistresses. Many of the royal mistresses were accomplished ladies. They were noted not only for their beauty but also for their scholarship and skill in music and dancing. In the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by Chitrav Shastri (Poona 1937), 457, the following information about दीपाबाई भोसले (= दीपाम्बिका) is recorded :—

She was the queen of Vyankoji. When Vyankoji refused to give his brother Shivaji a share in the ancestral property *Dīpābāi* settled the whole affair satisfactorily through *Raghunāthpant Hanumante.* Shivaji has praised her. She came from the Ingle family and had three sons शहाजी, सरफोजी and तुकोजी.

1. *Vide* p. 174 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, article on *Ekoji Shahaji Bhosale* (A. D. 1631-1685). We are informed here that Ekoji had three queens including *Dīpābāi* and that he died in A. D. 1687. This date of Ekoji's death is contradicted by the statement of the Tanjore inscription in Marathi which dates this death in Śaka 1604, *i.e.* A. D. 1683 (*vide* p. 17 of *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*). For information about Ekoji's three sons who ruled Tanjore see pp. 431 (तुकोजी राजे), 797 (सरफोजी भोसले) and 758 (शहाजी भोसले).

2. *Vide* p. (त) ५ of महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश, Vol, XIV (1925), article on तंजावरचें राजघराणें — Shahaji (A. D. 1682–1711) ruled the state peacefully in consultation with his mother and her two brothers *viz.*, (1) *Sarfoji* (A. D. 1711–1728) and (2) *Tukoji* (A. D. 1728–1735). Ekoji had three queens *viz.*, (1) *Dīpābāi* (2) *Saibai* and (3) *Anūbai*. *Dīpābāi* alone had *three sons* while *Anubai* had *two daughters*.

3. *Ibid*, p. (त) 4.

1736."[1] "Marathi works also have come down to us from this period. Translations, panegyrics and a few original works constitute the legacy in this field. The Deccan was the chief source of Marathi literature of Tanjore."[2]

I am of opinion that the literary career of Raghunātha, the author of the BK, was synchronous with the first half of Shahāji's reign. He was under the patronage of Shahāji's mother and we must assign him to a period *between A. D. 1650 to 1700.*

We shall now consider the different works of Raghunātha in the order in which he mentions them in his Marathi work *Naraka-varṇana.*

(1) भोजनकुतूहल — Aufrecht records the following MSS of the work :—

CC I, p. 419. — "K. 190.214. Burnell 72 b. Oppert. 1015, 3825, 6103, II, 6365."

CC II, p. 95. — "Gov. Or. Libr., Madras, 63, Stein 185 (pariccheda 1)."

CC III, p. 90— "in 3 Pariccheda. Tb 172 (pariccheda 1), 173 (beginning of the same)."

(I have already[3] pointed out the importance of this work for the history of Indian dietetics with special reference to the Mahārāṣṭra diet).

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1. *Vide* pp. 30–36 of *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* which deal with the literary activity at Tanjore during Shahāji's reign. In the account of the works of several writers of this period no mention is made of our Raghunātha, the author of the भोजनकुतूहल and other works.

2. *Ibid*. *Vide* also "तंजावरचें राजघराणें" by D. B. Parasnis, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912, pp. 47–54 (Reign of Shahāji — A. *D. 1684–1711*). Mr. Parasnis gives in this book a picture of Shahaji to face p. 44 and that of Vyankoji Raje (A. D. 1675–1682) facing p. 17. The agreement of 19 clauses between Shivaji and Vyankoji is recorded on pp. 39–41 of this book from शिवदिग्विजय *Bakhar*. In clause 15 of this agreement there is a reference to "सौ. दीपाबाई."

3. In a paper published in *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XXII, pp. 254-263.

(2) साहित्यकुतूहल — Aufrecht[1] records only one MS of a work called साहित्यकौतूहल with a commentary उज्ज्वलपदा by यशस्वी कवि (I. O. 1616 fr.).

Raghunātha states in his *Narakavarṇana* that he composed a work called साहित्यकुतूहल and that it was devoted to चित्ररचना only (हुजे साहित्यकुतूहल। चित्ररचनेसहिता निवल). The India Office fragment bears the title साहित्यकौतूहल and its subject-matter is also चित्रकाव्य or artificial poetry and the different modes of its construction such as पद्मबंध, चक्रबंध, सर्वतोभद्र, etc., as stated in the I. O. Catalogue. It is however, difficult to prove the identity of यशस्वी कवि with रघुनाथ in spite of the similarity of subject-matter and the identity of the titles of this work, viz., साहित्यकुतूहल.

(3) प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल[2] — Aufrecht (*CC I, 362*) records the following MSS :— " — by Raghunātha, K. 10, B.

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1. *CC I*, p. 715. The description of this MS as given on p. 337 of *India Office Catalogue*, Pt. III (1891), is as follows :—

" Folios 66.........writing...........of about *A. D. 1730* ". " First Chapter only. "

" *Sāhitya-Kaūtuhala*, a versified manual of poetic composition, by Yaśasvin Kavi, son of Gopāla and Kāśī, with a commentary entitled *Ujjvalapadā* by the same author. " The work deals with चित्रकाव्य. Aufrecht (CC II, 171) records another MS of the work, *viz.*, " BL 307. " This MS is No. 307 described on pp. 154–155 of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Lists* (Private MSS), Part I, 1893. The identity of the author and commentator is clear from the following statements of the *Text* and *Comm.*

Comm. — (१) साहित्यकौतूहलव्याख्यां व्यातनुते सदुज्ज्वलपदां धीमान् यशस्वी कविः ।

Text :— (२) भारद्वाजकुलालवालजनितो गोपालकल्पद्रुमः
काशीसल्लतिकावृतोर्थिहितकृत्सत्कीर्तिपुण्योस्ति यः ।
तत्पुत्रेण यशस्विनेति रचिते साहित्यकौतूहले
पूर्णोयं रुचिरः कलावति परिच्छेदो द्वितीयोभवत् ॥

The date of this MS is Śaka 1597 = A. D. 1677.

2. *Vide* P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I (1930), p. 591, " प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by रघुनाथ son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव. Stein Cat. p. 96. Hultzsch Report III, 56. On both श्रौत and स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्त. About 1660–1700. "

(**Continued on the next page**)

108. Burnell 276. प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहले अग्निहोत्र-प्रायश्चित्त Khn. 76."

CC II, p. 81 — "Stein 96" (dated Śaka 1729 = A.D. 1807).

CC III, p. 77— "As. p. 111." (See also p. 8675 of *Tanjore MSS catalogue* Vol. XVIII — 1934, where a MS of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल is described).

(4) जनार्दनमहोदधि — Aufrecht (CC III, p. 43) records a MS of this work in the Adyar Library — जनार्दनमहोदधि Vaiṣṇava. Adyar Lib. 38."

The statement of Raghunātha, viz., "जनार्दन महोदय आधी" in the list of the works composed by him is probably a misreading for the correct title of his work "जनार्दनमहोदधि" because in the next line he refers to a similar title of his work, viz, "धर्मामृतमहोदधि."

(5) धर्मामृतमहोदधि[1] — Aufrecht records only one MS of this work (CC I, 270) —

(*Continued from the previous page*)

Compare Raghunātha's statement in the नरकवर्णन :— "प्रायश्चित्त-कुतूहल ॥ श्रौतस्मार्तपर केवल ॥ रचिले प्रयोग । श्रौतानुष्ठान करावया".

In the extracts of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल (p. 56 of Hultzsch III, 56) the expressions "अनंतेन गुरुणा" "अनंतदेवीयरघुनाथविरचिते" and "अनंतदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः" appear to indicate that अनन्तदेव was the गुरु of रघुनाथ.

1. This work has been represented by only one MS in the Tanjore Library which is described on pp. 8572–74 of their *Des. Cata.* Vol. XVIII, 1934. In verse 2 at the beginning of the work Raghunātha refers to his *guru* as follows :—

"अनन्तस्वामिपादाब्जमिन्दिरानिजमन्दिरम् ।
सस्मरञ्शारदां वन्दे वरदां वाग्विलासदाम् ॥ २ ॥"

In the Colophon he refers to his work as "श्रीमदनन्तदेवात्मजश्रीमदापदेवतत्सुतश्रीमदन्तदेवोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतौ." After the Colophon we find the following two verses :—

"वह्नियुग्मरसचन्द्रसंमिते (१६२३) शालिवाहनशके वृषाह्वये ।
वत्सरे तपसि कुंभगे रवौ शूलिनः प्रियतिथौ महाव्रतैः ॥
साम्बमीशमभिपूज्य तत्पदे वाक्सुमञ्जलिरसौ समर्पितः ।
तेन तुष्यतु स भक्तवत्सलः कोसलाधिपसुतासुतो हरिः ॥"

(*Continued on the next page*)

"धर्मामृतमहोदधि dh. by Raghunātha, son of Anantadeva, Burnell, 137_a."

This MS is in the Tanjore Library. Possibly it did not migrate outside like other works of Raghunātha and especially the *Bhojana kutūhala*.

If the date of composition of this work, viz., Śaka 1623 (= A. D. 1701) as found in the only Tanjore copy of the work is genuine we shall have to adjust the chronology of other works of Raghunātha accordingly. If the work *Narakavarṇana* (before A. D. 1712) mentions *Dharmāmṛtamahodadhi* composed in A. D. 1701 its date must lie *between* A. D. 1701 *and* 1712.

(6) कार्शामीमांसा — No MSS under this title have been recorded by Aufrecht.

Apart from the five Sanskrit works attributed to Raghunātha recorded above, out of which four appear to have been represented by MSS, he mentions that he wrote some Marathi works viz. :—

(*i*) गोवर्द्धनोद्धारण — Perhaps the Tanjore Library may have a MS of this work.

(*ii*) स्त्रीधर्मकथनें — Possibly same as पतिव्रताधर्म represented by two MSS in Tanjore Library.

(*iii*) नरकविषयविवेचनें — Same as नरकवर्णन of which only one MS is found in the Tanjore Library. As this work gives us a list of the author's works in Sanskrit and Marathi it is very important.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

The Chronogram recorded above gives us Śaka 1623 = *A. D. 1701* as the date of composition or rather the completion of the work as stated in the above Catalogue. If this date is genuine the relative position of Raghunātha's works will be as follows :—

नरकवर्णन — *Before A. D. 1712* and after A. D. 1701 as it mentions all the three sons of Dīpābai as living. One of these sons, *viz.*, Shahaji died in A. D. 1712. It mentions धर्मामृतमहोदधि, composed A. D. 1701.

धर्मामृतमहोदधि — *A. D. 1701* (if the date recorded in the only Tanjore MS of this work is a genuine date of composition and not of copy). Other Sanskrit works may possibly have been composed before A. D. 1700.

But for this list it would not have been possible to identify several authors of the name Raghunātha recorded by Aufrecht. Professor P. V. Kane[1] also has made two separate entries for the authors of धर्मामृतमहोदधि and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल, the works of Raghunātha on *Dharma*.

I now give below the chronology of the period to which Raghunātha belonged and the relation it bears to Raghunātha and his works as discussed in this paper :—

	A. D.	
	1600–1650	Āpadeva, author of मीमांसान्याय-प्रकाश flourished.
	1675–1700	Anantadeva, the son of Āpadeva and author of मीमांसाकौस्तुभ, flourished. He may have been the *Guru* of Raghunātha as stated in the colophon of धर्मामृतमहोदधि and hence a contemporary of Raghunātha. अनन्तदेव was a descendant of the Maratha Saint एकनाथ (A. D. 1528–1600).
Shivaji's Expedition into Carnatic to claim his share of property from Ekoji.	1676–1677	
Ekoji Bhosale, the step-brother of Shivaji captures Tanjore	1676	
Death of Ekoji.	1683	Dīpābai or *Dīpāmbikā*, the patron of Raghunātha, becomes a widow. She was the Chief Queen of Ekoji Bhosale.
Rule of Ekoji's son Shivaji at Tanjore.	1684–1712	Veṅkaṭabhaṭṭa composed his भोसल-वंशावलि which refers to दीपाम्बिका.
	...	Possibly Raghunātha composed before A. D. 1701 his works साहित्य-

1. Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I (1930), pp. 591, 570.

	A. D.	
		कुतूहल, भोजनकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल and जनार्दनमहोदधि.
	1701	Raghunātha composed his धर्मामृत-महोदधि.
	...	Raghunātha composed his नरकवर्णन which mentions his earlier Sanskrit works भोजनकुतूहल, साहित्यकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल, जनार्दनमहोदधि, धर्मामृतमहोदधि and काशीमीमांसा.
Death of Shahaji.	1712	
Rule of Sarabhoji.	1712-1728	Sarabhoji composed his राघवचरित in which he refers to his mother दीपांबिका.
Rule of Tukoji.	1728-1736	

47. The Identification of Raghunātha, the Protégé of Queen Dīpābāi of Tanjore and his Contact with Saint Rāmadāsa — Between A. D. 1648 and 1682*

In my recent papers[1] on *Raghunātha* a *Protégé* of Queen *Dīpābāi* of Tanjore I have recorded an account of the several Sanskrit and Marathi works of this author on the basis of several MSS in our MSS Libraries. This account has also shown the following particulars about this author :—

(1) He went to Tanjore and composed some works under the patronage of Queen *Dīpābāi* possibly after the death of *Ekoji Bhosale*, her husband, the founder of the Tanjore Kingdom. Ekoji died in A. D. 1683.

(2) He was the pupil of Anantadeva, the author of *Smṛti-Kaustubha* and other works on *Dharmaśāstra*.

(3) He was a *Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin*.

(4) He composed Sanskrit works like the भोजनकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्त-कुतूहल etc. as stated by him in his Marathi work नरकवर्णन, a Ms of which has been preserved in the Tanjore Mss Library.

Since my papers were published I had an occasion to read the Introduction to the excellent critical edition of the दमयन्ती-स्वयंवर of

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* *Journal of Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Library*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-12.

1. Vide, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X, Part 2 (Sept. 1941) pp. 133-140 and *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XXII, pp. 254-263. In these papers I have dealt with the career of Raghunātha between A. D. 1675 and 1710. An edition of Raghunātha's भोजनकुतूहल is included in the 'Books under preparation' for the *Gaikwad Oriental Series* (Vide p. 11 of the List of this Series, 1942). Here Raghunātha is assigned to the 16th Century A.D. This chronology is obviously wrong as Raghunātha flourished between A. D. 1640 and 1710 or so. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the Director of the Oriental Institute writes to me under date 29th June 1942 :—' The date of *Bhojana-Kutūhala* will be changed in the prospectus as suggested by you.'

रघुनाथपण्डित by Mr. A. K. Priyolkar[1] who discusses the question of identity of the several namesakes of the author of the दमयन्ती-स्वयंवर.[2] Among these name-sakes he mentions one 'रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त.' This रघुनाथ is different from रघुनाथ the author of the दमयन्ती-स्वयंवर. In a letter[3] written by *Saint Rāmadāsa* to रघुनाथभट-गोसावी and published by Mr. S. S. Dev of Dhulia we find the close and intimate relations of the Saint with this रघुनाथभट. Mr. Priyolkar states elsewhere[4] that many learned men from the *Mahārāṣṭra* migrated to Tanjore[5] after Shivaji's death in A. D. 1680. Among these men he mentions रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त the author of दर्शपूर्णमासप्रायश्चित्त, प्रयोगरत्नभूषा and some portions of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल. All these works are represented by Mss in the Library of the B. B. R. A. Society, Bombay.[6] These remarks of Mr. Priyolkar

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1. Published by S. D. Satavalekar, Svadhyaya Mandal, Aundh (Dist. Satara), 1935 – With a Preface by the Raja of Aundh and numerous coloured plates by Rao Br. M. V. Dhurandar.

2. Ibid pp. 25–27.

3. Vide Letter No. 1 in green ink published in 'श्रीसंप्रदायाची पत्रें' Dhulia, 1915 — This letter is in the hand-writing of Saint Rāmadāsa and a photograph of its beginning is given as a frontispiece to the volume.

4. *Damayantī Svayaṁvara*, Intro. p. 32.

5. In the list of Pandits at Tanjore Court (A. D. 1634–1712) recorded in the introduction to शब्दरत्नसमन्वय (G. O. Series, Baroda) no reference is made to Raghunātha.

6. These Mss have not been specified by Mr. Priyolkar but I note them below as described by Prof. H. D. Velankar in his *Catalogue*, of these Mss, Vol. II (1928).

P. 191 $\frac{\text{Ms No. 610}}{\text{(Ch. I)}}$ प्रयोगरत्नभूषा of रघुनाथ नवहस्त dated Saṁvat 1847 = A. D. 1791, folios 223.

$\frac{\text{MS No. 611}}{\text{(Ch. III)}}$ Do — an exhaustive treatise on the Vedic ritual.

P. 194 — Ms No. 614 प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल of रघुनाथ नवहस्त (परिभाषा), folios 24.

Ms No. 615 Do (दर्शपूर्णमास), folios 49. On folio 436 the

(*Continued on the next page*)

clearly show that he identifies रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त, the friend of *Saint Rāmadāsa* with रघुनाथ the protégé of queen *Dīpābāi* of Tanjore, the subject of my two papers referred to above. Though Mr. Priyolkar published his book in 1935 Sanskrit scholars are not aware of this identity of the two रघुनाथs and it is the purpose of this paper to make this identity more clear by recording evidence in support of it as found in contemporary sources pertaining to two authors of the same name रघुनाथ.

The B. B. R. A. S. Ms No. 610 (प्रयोगरत्नभूषा) is very important as it gives the genealogy of its author for four generations in the colophon.[1] This genealogy is is follows :—

नवहस्त (नवहस्त्य) हरिहरभट्ट (c. A. D. 1600)
|
Son
रघुनाथ (c. A. D. 1600)
|
Son
गणेशभट्ट (c. A. D. 1650)
|
Son
रघुनाथ (Between A. D. 1640 and 1710)

(*Continued from the previous page*)

author refers to his प्रयोगरत्नभूषा (" अस्मत्कृतप्रयोगरत्नभूषायाम् ").

P. 195 — Ms No. 616 — Do (आधान), folio 21.
Ms No. 617 — Do (आधान), folios 27 (another copy).
Ms No. 618 — Do (अग्निहोत्र), folios 46 — " appears to be at least *300 years old.* "

P. 196 — Ms No. 619 Do (अग्निहोत्र), folios 66 (another copy).
Ms No, 620 Do (विकृति), folios 12.

1. This colophon reads :—(P. 192 of *Velankar's Catalogue*) " इति श्रीमद्धरिहरभट्टात्मजरघुनाथसुतगणेशभट्टतनुज (अनन्त) देवीयरघुनाथोन्नीतकृतौ श्रौतप्रयोगरत्नभूषायां पुण्याहवाचनादिपिण्डपितृयज्ञान्तो रत्नगुच्छः । "

Raghunātha refers to his Guru अनन्तदेव in the following verse :—
" अनन्तलक्ष्मसंलक्ष्म (क्ष्यः) करुणावरुणालयः ।
उल्लसज्जलकल्लोलो भूयाद्भूयो गुरुर्मयि ॥ २ ॥ "

He also refers to his Guru on folios 71, 183, 195 and 216 as pointed out by Prof. Velankar, who rightly observes :— ' Anantadeva lived towards the middle of the 17th century...Raghunātha, therefore, must have lived a little later. '

The surname नवहस्त[1] of our author is disclosed in the following colophon of B.B.R.A.S. Ms No. 619 of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल —

'इति नवहस्तरघुनाथभट्टविरचितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणं समाप्तम्'

We have already stated that अनन्तदेव was the Guru of *Raghunātha.* It appears from the following statements of *Raghunātha* that *Viṣṇu* or Ananta was his family deity (कुलदैवत) —

Ms No. 618 (प्रा. कुतूहल).

'श्रीमदनन्तःपूर्वेषामस्माकं कुलदैवतम्'

Ms No. 614 (प्रा. कु.)

'नश्यत्यखिलपापौघस्तमनन्तमुपास्महे'

Professor Velankar has already recorded the names of works and authors quoted by *Raghunātha* in his works प्रयोगरत्नभूषा[2] and the प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल.[3]

These authorities are sufficient to show the learning of *Raghu-*

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1. Vide Aufrecht *CC II*, 61 — 'नवहस्त (Kielhorn नवहस्त्य) pupil of Ananta आधानप्रयोग or प्रयोगरत्नभूषा.'

CC II, 9 — 'आधानप्रयोग or प्रयोगरत्नभूषा' by Navahasta (Navahastya) B 9.

CC II, 85 — 'बौधायन आधान' Bhau Daji 68, 104, commentary by Navahasta.

2. Ms No. 610 — Authorities :— अपरार्क, केशव, गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, गोपाल (कारिका), चतुर्विंशतिमत, तन्त्रकृत्, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवः, देवरातः, धूर्तः, नृसिंह (सिद्धान्तभाष्यवृत्तिकृत्), नृसिंह, (author of some metrical work), प्रयोगरत्नमाला, प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, भव, भारद्वाजगृह्य, महार्णव, माधव, मिताक्षरा, यज्ञतन्त्र, रेणुकारिका, लौगाक्षिकारिका, वृत्तिकृत्, वृद्धाः, शाकलकारिका, शुल्व, शूलपाणि, शेषसूत्र, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, सिद्धान्तभाष्य, स्मृत्यर्थसार etc.

3. Ms No 616 — Authorities :— केशवः, चन्द्रिका, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, प्रजापति, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, प्रायश्चित्तप्रश्न, भारद्वाजगृह्य, माधव, यज्ञपार्श्व, रामाण्डार, शतद्वयी, शूलपाणि, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृत्यर्थसार.

Ms No. 618 — आलेखनमत, आश्मरथ्यः कारिकाव्याख्या, केशवः, कौण्डिन्यः, गुरुचरणाः, गोपालः, चन्द्रिका, जैमिनि, तालनिवासी, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवयाज्ञिकः, देवरातः, धूर्तः, प्रयोगपारिजातः, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, भाष्यकृत, मण्डनः, यज्ञपार्श्व, रुद्रदत्त, विज्ञानेश्वर, वृत्तिकृद्विवरण, वेङ्कटेशः, शतद्वयीकार, सिद्धान्तभाष्यकृत्, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, होत्रालोक.

nātha, who was obviously under the influence of his Guru अनन्तदेव, the celebrated author of *Smṛti-Kaustubha* and other works on *Dharmaśāstra*. As he composed his Sanskrit works first and then took to the writing of Marathi works under the patronage of queen *Dīpābāi* of Tanjore we may easily infer his early contact with Anantadeva which gave him good grounding in the Shastric learning, sufficient to elicit a compliment from *Saint Rāmadāsa* to the effect that he was सर्वज्ञ[1] and that there was complete identity of *Rāmadāsa* and *Raghunātha Bhaṭ*.[2]

The evidence recorded above from the Mss of the *Prāyaścitta-Kutūhala*[3] and *Prayoga-ratnabhūṣā* about the genealogy, surname and Guru of *Raghunātha* may now be linked up with the evidence found in contemporary documents published by Mr. S. S. Dev of Dhulia in 1915 in Vol. IX of 'रामदास आणि रामदासी' (श्रीसंप्रदायाचीं पत्रें). I record below a brief analysis of such of these documents as reveal the personal history of *Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta*, the author of the *Bhojanakutūhala*, *Prāyaścitta-Kutūhala* etc.

Letter No.	Date	Particulars
1	1674[4]	Letter from *Saint Rāmadāsa* to *Raghunātha*(= R) in *Rāmadāsa's* own hand-writing (*Moḍī Script*). An excellent specimen of *Rāmadāsa's* confidence in *R* and his highest regard for *R*.
28	1679	This lettter describes *R* as रघुनाथभट son of गणेशभट, residing at चाफळ. It also refers to him as 'अग्निहोत्री' 'वेदमूर्तिपरमयोग्य' and 'कुटुम्बवत्सल.'

1. Vide *Letter No. 1* in 'श्रीसंप्रदायाचीं पत्रें' dated Śaka 1596 (मार्गशीर्ष पौष) A. D. 1674 from Saint Rāmadāsa to रघुनाथभट गोसावी — "तुम्ही सर्वज्ञ आहा"

2. Ibid, p. 4 — "तुमचे जे काही आहे ते सकल माझेचि आहे"

3. The Ujjain Ms of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल is dated Śaka 1689 = A. D. 1767. (Vide p. 19 of *List of Mss in the Ori. Mss Library*, Ujjain, Part II, 1942). On p. 43 of this list a Ms of the 1st परिच्छेद of the भोजनकुतूहल of रघुनाथ is recorded but it bears no date.

4. Letter No. 12 dated Śaka 1595 = A. D. 1673 refers to some inām land of रघुनाथगोसावी of नानेघोल. It is addressed by मोहीबखान to the officials of प्रांतसीराला.

Letter No.	Date	Particulars
29	1679	This Letter describes *R* as ' रघुनाथभट अग्निहोत्री ' and 'वसिष्ठगोत्री'. It refers to some *inām* land given to *R* at विलासी (in the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency).
33	1680	Letter from शम्भु छत्रपति (son of *Shivāji* the Great) to देशाधिकारी and देशलेखक of प्रांत मलकापूर. It refers to *R* as ' रघुनाथ भट वसिष्ठगोत्री ' in charge of worship (देवार्चन) of the God at चाफळ[1] and the *inām* enjoyed by him in this connection.
51	1682	Letter from भास्कर गोसावी to दिवाकर गोसावी. It refers to *R* as ' रघुनाथ भट पंडितराय ' and as उपाध्याय of Saint *Rāmadāsa* (' श्रीचे उपाध्ये '). *R* is mentioned as staying with *Rāmadāsa*[2] during the latter's illness.
52	1682	This letter refers to *R* as 'वेदमूर्ति रघुनाथ भट नवहस्त' the 'उपाध्ये' and 'पुराणिक' of Saint *Rāmadāsa*.
55	1683	This letter is a दानपत्र from *R* to his son-in-law ' भैरवभट्ट महाबलेश्वरकर ' the son of दिवाकर गोसावी. The letter states that Saint *Rāmadāsa* conferred on *R* some income in connection with his duties as उपाध्याय and पुराणीक at the temple at चाफल. *R* had mind to donate this income to भैरवभट at the time of the marriage of भैरवभट with *R*'s daughter. *R* is now proceeding on a pilgrimage (महायात्रा) and hence taking an opportunity to donate his *inām* at बिलाशी (प्रान्त शिराळे) to his son-in-law. *R* is also handing over along with this दानपत्र the previous documents to his son-in-law in respect of this *inām* for safe custody and protection. This दानपत्र contains the

1. Vide p. 460 of Bombay Gazetteer (Satara), Vol. XIX, 1885. Chafal lies on the Man, a tributary of the Krishna river, 6 miles west of Umbraj.

2. Vide p. 693 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937. *Rāmadāsa* (A. D. 1608–1682) had a meeting with Shivaji Maharaj in A. D. 1649. Shivaji gave a *Sanad* to *Rāmadāsa* in A. D. 1678, which gives an account of the *Chafal* Math in brief. The image of the goddess *Bhavānī* was installed at Pratapgad at the hands of Rāmadāsa in A. D. 1661.

Letter No.	Date	Particulars
		signatures of 10 witnesses including five disciples of *Saint Rāmadāsa* viz. 1 कल्याण गोसावी, 2 दत्तात्रेय गोसावी, 3 विठ्ठल गोसावी, 4 भास्कर गोसावी, 5 नानाजी गोसावी.
56	1683	This letter is addressed by *R* to the entire assembly of devotees of *Saint Rāmadāsa.* In this letter *R* calls himself 'रघुनाथभट नवहस्त.' The letter repeats the contents of the previous दानपत्र by R to his son-in-law भैरवभट and bears the same date viz. माघ शु. १ शके १६०५, 'रुधिरोद्गारि संवत्सर इन्दुवासर.' *R* expresses in the concluding portion of the letter the hope that all the devotees of *Saint Rāmadāsa* would co-operate with his son-in-law in the same manner in which they had co-operated with himself in the successful conduct of his duties now transferred to *R*'s son-in-law Bhairava Bhaṭ.
98	1698	This letter is addressed by राजाराम[1] छत्रपति to the देशाधिकारी of प्रान्त मलकापूर. It orders that the इनाम at बिलासी formerly enjoyed by रघुनाथभट should be continued undisturbed with the family of दिवाकर गोसावी (the father of भैरवभट, the son-in-law of रघुनाथभट).
109	1700	This letter is addressed by श्रीकराचार्यपण्डितराय to the देशाधिकारी of प्रान्तजावली. It recounts the history of the *inām* transferred by 'वेदमूर्तिरघुनाथ भट पण्डित उपनाम नवहस्त वसीस्टगोत्री' to बहिरंभट (= बहिरंभट the son of दिवाकर गोसावी). The letter orders that बहिरंभट and his brother रामचन्द्रभट should enjoy uninterruptedly the above *inām* as they have been carrying out the duties attached to this *inām* : पुराणवृत्ति and उपाध्यपणवृत्ति. The two brothers are given some land as *inām* at 'सायेगाव ता। मेढे'. The pilgrimage undertaken by *R* is also referred to in the preamble of this letter (महातीर्थयात्रा A. D. 1683).

1. Vide p. 690 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश — Rajaram was born in A. D. 1670 and died in A. D. 1700.

Letter No.	Date	Particulars
113	1701	This letter is addressed by श्रीकराचार्यपण्डितराय to the official of the village सायगाव (ता मेढे) in respect of the *inām* given to रामचन्द्रभट and बहिरंभट referred to in letter No. 109 of A.D. 1700.
137	1702	Letter from शिवछत्रपति[1] to the मुकादम of the village बिलासी (प्रांत सिराले) ordering that दिवाकर गोसावी should enjoy unmolested the *inām* land there as in previous years. (We have already seen that this *inām* was transferred to दिवाकर's son भैरवभट by *R* in A. D. 1683).
138	1702	Letter from शिवछत्रपति to the देशाधिकारी of प्रांत-मलकापूर in respect of the *inām* land at बिलासी referred to in letter No. 137. It mentions the pilgrimage of *R* to वाराणसी (Benares) and his transfer of his *inām* to his son-in-law बहिरंभट महाबलेश्वरकर (in A. D. 1683).
139	1703	Letter from सरसुभेदार of प्रांत कऱ्हाड with almost identical contents (Vide letter No. 138).
241	1716	Letter from राजा शंभु छत्रपति to the देशाधिकारी प्रांत-मलकापूर in respect of the *inām* at बिलासी. It refers to the visit of भैरवभट to the छत्रपति at पनाला Fort (near Kolhapur). It mentions :— 1. वेदमूर्ति रघुनाथभट अग्निहोत्री and his pilgrimage to Benares. 2. Documents pertaining to this *inām* given by सिवाजी राजे but subsequently lost.
242	1716	Letter from राजा शंभु छत्रपति to the मुकादम of the village — contents same as those of Letter No. 241.

I shall now record briefly the chronology of *Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta* and his contact with *Saint Rāmadāsa* as revealed by the data recorded in this paper :—

1. Vide p. 872 of म. च. कोश –शिवछत्रपति संभाजी of Kolhapur (A. D. 1693-1760). शंभु छत्रपति, शिवछत्रपति in letters Nos 137, 138 and 139 mean one and the same person viz. King Sambhāji of Kolhapur (A. D. 1693-1760).

A. D.

1674 – It appears from *Rāmadāsa*'s letter to *Raghunātha* (= *R*) that *R* was already a middle-aged person in A. D. 1674. This inference is consistent with the epithet पण्डितराय used by भास्कर गोसावी in his letter (No. 51) of A.D.1682. *R* was also reputed to be a man of considerable learning at this time. Most probably he composed his works भोजनकुतूहल and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल etc. before A.D.1674 or so.[1]

1650–1675 – Literary activity of अनन्तदेव the Guru of *R*.

1674 – *Shivāji's* Coronation at Raigad.

1676–77 – *Shivāji's* expedition into the Carnatic.

1676 – Ekoji Bhosale, the step-brother of *Shivāji*, captures Tanjore.

1679 – *R* was residing at Chafal, the headquarters of *Rāmadāsa*. In this connection I may state that the temple of श्रीरघुपति was built at Chafal in *Śaka* 1570[2] = A. D. 1648 and Shivaji came to Chafal and met *Rāmadāsa* in A. D. 1649. If these facts are reliable we may conclude that *R* was appointed उपाध्याय and पुराणिक at Chafal temple sometime about or after A. D. 1648 and was given the *inām* at बिलाशी subsequently. *R* enjoyed this *inām* upto A. D. 1683, when he relinquished his duties at Chafal as also the *inām* in favour of his son-in-law भैरवभट महाबलेश्वरकर.

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1. I have come across a rare MS of the भोजनकुतूहल (1st pariccheda) which is a contemporary copy of the work belonging to Syamji Nayak Punde and bears his endorsement 'शामजी नायकपुण्डयोपनान्नाम्.' Syamji Nayak was the Maratha Subhedar of Karnatak about A. D. 1682. The B. B. R. A. S. Ms (No. 618) of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल is '*at least 300 years old*' according to Prof. H. D. Velankar. If this statement is correct the B.B.R.A.S. Ms No. 618 will be another contemporary copy of Raghunātha's work. Both these contemporary Mss lead me to infer that the भोजनकुतूहल and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल were composed by Raghunātha say between A. D. 1650 and 1675.

2. Vide p. 270 of ऐतिहासिक प्रस्तावना By V. K. Rajwade, B. I. S. Mandal, Poona–1928 — 'रामदास स्वामीच्या चरित्रांत लिहिलेलें आहे कीं, स्वामींनीं चाफळास श्रीरघुपतीचें देऊळ शके १५७० त बांधलें व शिवाजीराजे शके १५७१ च्या वैशाख शुद्ध ४ स मंदवारीं चाफळास स्वामीस भेटण्यास आले. राजांची व स्वामीची भेट वैशाख शुद्ध ९ स गुरुवारी झाली.'

1680 – Death of *Shivāji* the Great. Sambhaji's letter refers to *R* as in charge of the worship of the God at Chafal.

1682 – Bhāskar Gosāvi refers to *R* as Paṇḍitarāya and as Upādhyāya and Purāṇik of Saint *Rāmadāsa*.

Death of Saint *Rāmadāsa*. Sambhāji defeated by the Siddis. (Vide p. 125 of Burgess : Chronology, 1913).

1683 – *R* decides to go to Benares on a pilgrimage and donates his inām at Bilasi to his son-in-law Bhairavabhat Mahabalesvarkar.

Prince Muhammad Muazzam's army traverses Konkan. Sambhāji stops it at the Ghats. It retreats to Ahmadnagar.

Sambhāji attacks Chaul but fails to take it.

Francois Martin purchases the village of Pondicheri from the Raja of Vijayapur. (Vide page 126 of Burgess : Chronology).

Death of Ekoji Bhosale, the husband of Queen *Dīpābāi*, the patron of *R*.

1684-1712 – Rule of Ekoji's son Shahāji at Tanjore. Many Pandits gathered at Tanjore during his reign.

R enjoys *Dīpābāi*'s patronage at Tanjore and composes some Marathi works.

1701 – *R* composed his धर्मामृतमहोदधि — which is mentioned in his नरकवर्णन.

1712 – Death of Shahāji, son of *Dīpābāi*.

The foregoing chronology shows us the historical background of Raghunātha's life-history, say from A. D. 1648, when the temple of Raghupati was built at Chafal by Saint *Rāmadāsa* upto A.D. 1712, when Shahāji, the son of *Dīpābāi* died at Tanjore. This life-history is mainly divided into 2 periods : 1. Life-history before *Raghunātha*'s pilgrimage to Benares in A. D. 1683 and 2. that between A. D. 1683 and 1712. The first period pertains to *Raghunātha*'s contact with and training under Anantadeva, the great-grandson of Saint *Ekanātha* of Maharashtra as also his contact with Saint *Rāmadāsa* say, between 1648 and 1682 A. D., the year of *Rāmadāsa*'s death. The disturbed political conditions in Maharashtra after Shivāji's death in A. D. 1680 as also the demise of

Saint *Rāmadāsa* must have led *Raghunātha* to undertake the *Mahā-yātrā* and after its completion to migrate to Tanjore, where conditions of life were more favourable for learned pandits requiring means of livelihood and peaceful atmosphere for their spiritual and academic pursuits. Queen *Dīpābāi*, the able administrator of Tanjore during her son's rule (A. D. 1684–1712) was a pious lady who appears to have gathered round her learned pandits of high character like *Raghunātha Gaṇeśa* Navahasta, who by his deep learning and personal contact of many years with the premier Saint of Maharashtra must have been highly respected by the Queen Mother *Dīpābāi* and her three illustrious sons to whom *Raghunātha* refers as follows in his *Narakavarṇana* :—

" तीन पुरुषार्थं तिघे भूप
जयेचे पुत्र कुलदीप ।
दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप
नाम म्हणौनि शोभतसे ॥ "

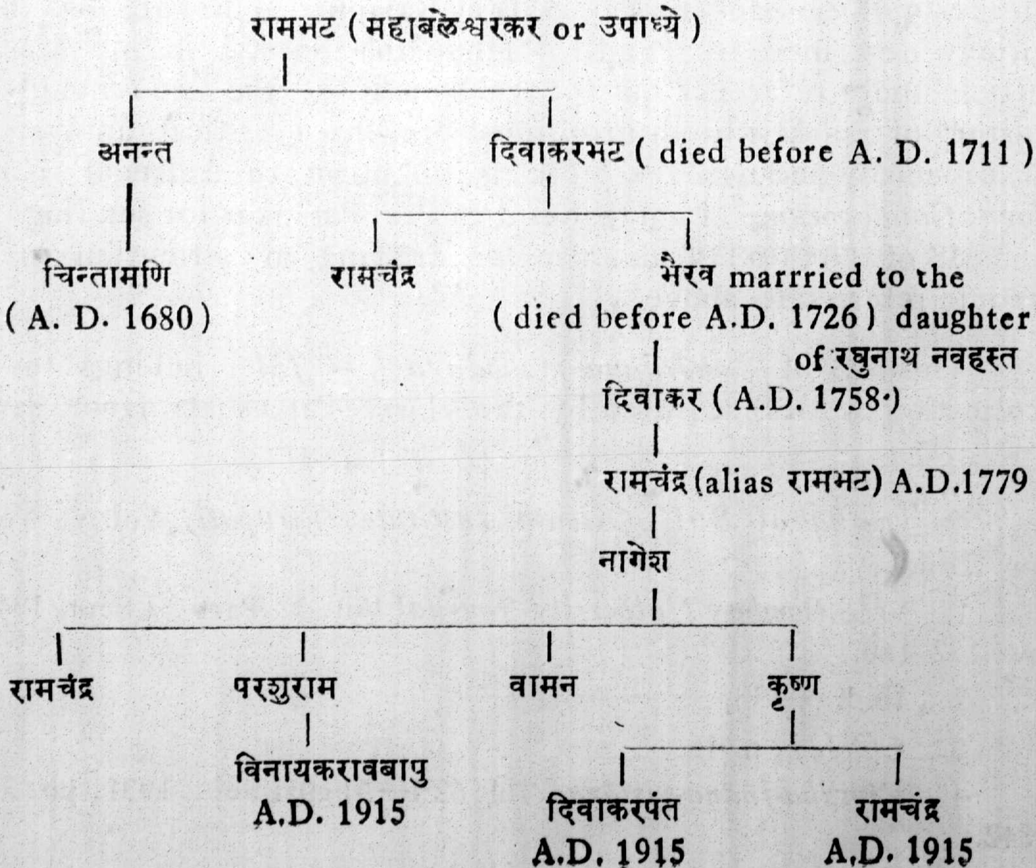
We have already noted that *Raghunātha*'s daughter was married to Bhairava Bhat, the son of Divakara Gosavi and that in A.D. 1683 *Raghunātha* relinquished his duties as उपाध्याय and पुराणीक at Chafal Math in favour of his son-in-law Bhairava Bhat. The original surname of Bhairava Bhat's family was महाबलेश्वरकर but since he became the उपाध्याय of Chafal Math the original surname was changed and at present the descendants of Bhairava Bhat are called by the surname उपाध्ये. The genealogy of this family has been recorded by Mr. S. S. Dev but he nowhere gives us the genealogy[1] of *Raghunātha* Navahasta, the author of *Bhojana-kutūhala* and other works. Whether *Raghunātha* had any male issue is doubtful but it is possible to investigate the genealogy of his family. His surname was नवहस्त which is equal to नवाथे or नवाथ्ये, a surname current among the Karhada Brahmins of Maharashtra at present. I understand that there is a family of Navathes (Karhada Brahmins) at Dhavadshi near Satara. The gotra of this family is also वसिष्ठ which is identical with that of *Raghunātha* Navahasta mentioned many times in contemporary documents. If *Raghunātha* Navahasta was a Karhada Brahmin, the marriage of his daughter with Bhairava Bhat Mahabalesvarkar, who is obviously a Deśastha Brah-

1. Vide p. 33 to Prastāvanā to 'श्रीसमर्थसंप्रदायाचीं कागदपत्रें.' This genealogy is as follows :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

min would provide us an early specimen of intercaste marriages between the Karhada and Deśastha Brahmins in the 17th century. It is, therefore, necessary to see if we can trace the genealogy of *Raghunātha* Navahasta among the extant Navathe families in the different parts of Maharashtra.

(*Continued from the previous page*)



48. A Rare Manuscript of Janārdana-Mahodaya by Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta, Friend of Saint Rāmadāsa — Between A. D. 1640 & 1682 *

Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta, a friend of Saint Rāmadāsa of Mahārāṣṭra, flourished between A. D. 1640 and 1712 as I have proved elsewhere.[1] He mentions a work called "जनार्दनमहोदय" as his own work in the list of his works recorded by him in his *Narakavarṇana* in Marathi, composed under the patronage of queen Dīpābāi of Tanjore.[2] I was under the impression that the title "जनार्दनमहोदय" was probably a misreading for "जनार्दन-महोदधि" which is the name of a work recorded by Aufrecht.[3] Secondly Raghunātha composed a work called "धर्मामृतमहोदधि" which he mentions in his list of works referred to above. Since expressing this view my friend Pandit Raghunātha Shastri Patankar of Rajapur has sent to me his own article on Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta published by him in 1931 in a Marathi journal[4] (now stopped) together with an actual MS of जनार्दनमहोदय, now the property of the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā at Rajapur. This MS has been briefly described by Pandit Raghunātha Shastri in his Marathi article under reference but for the benefit of the students of the history of Sanskrit literature I must present a critical analysis of it, especially because the work is unknown to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*. I am thankful to Pt. Patankar for sending me the MS of जनार्दनमहोदय and also for drawing my attention to his article referred to above.

This MS of *Janārdana-mahodaya* (= *JM*) belongs to the collection of MSS acquired by the above Pathashala from Pandit

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* *Journal of S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 51–68.

1. Vide *Bombay University Journal* Vol. X, Part 2 (Sept. 1941), pp. 132–140.

2. Ibid, p. 133.

3. *CC III*, p. 43.

4. *Vividha-jñāna-vistāra* (Vol. 62)—August-Sept. 1931, pp. 330–342.

Bālakṛṣṇa Lakṣmaṇa Maiṇkar Shastri, the guru of Pt. Patankar. The work is divided into several chapters called *Utkalikās*. The MS consists of 223 folios,[1] 28 lines to a page and 45 letters to a line. It begins as follows :—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्वेतद्वीपे जलजजनुषे तारमाराद्दन्तम्
स्वेच्छाशक्त्या जलधिसुतया संततं सेविताङ्घ्रि(म्) ।
योगे रूढैरपि शुकमुखैरन्तराराध्यमानम्
मानैर्गम्यं मम भवतु तद्ब्रह्म नारायणाख्यम् ॥ १ ॥

मायेति शक्तिरिति मेति च चित्कलेति
विद्येत्युमेति समुदञ्चति यत्परेषु ।
वाचामगोचरतया किमपीह वेद्यम्
नारायणोरसि कृताश्रयमाश्रयामि ॥ २ ॥

मनःशमवेदनाधिकृततनु न तनुं मन्यसे
कथं नु सुतनु सखे सदयमेतदाकर्ण्यताम् ।
अनन्तसुखसम्पदां पदमदः समाराध्यताम्
गुरोः पदमदंभनित्यनुदिनं तवैषोंजलिः ॥ ३ ॥

मयि वस्तु किमप्यस्तु तारणाय त्रयीमयम् ।
पशवोऽपि विनायासमासन्यत्रापवर्गिणः ॥ ४ ॥

भूयो भूयः सदयहृदयानार्यवर्यान् प्रणम्य
प्रायो बद्धांजलिरपि पुनः प्रार्थये प्रार्थनीयम् ।
नैर्मत्सर्याद्विमलमनसाऽवेक्ष्य संशोधनीयम्
क्षंतव्यं मे विशदमतिभिः साहसं ग्रंथरूपम् ॥ ५ ॥

विलोक्य विविधागमानपि विचिन्त्य तत्तत्स्मृतीः
पुराणनिकरान् मतान्यपि विभज्य भूरीण्यथ ।
स्वदेशिककरं शिरस्यपि निधाय कुर्वेऽधुना
जनार्दनमहोदयं करविलग्नमोक्षोदयम् ॥ ६ ॥

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1. The MS is divided into 3 sections separately and containing folios as under :—

Section	I —	21 folios
,,	II —	73 ,,
,,	III —	129 ,,
	Total	223

यद्यपि शतशः प्रौढाः सन्त्येवोर्व्यां निबन्धसन्दर्भाः ।
जनयतु विदुषां तोषं पृथुक इवा(स्या ?)ल्पजल्पनादेषः ।। ७ ।।

अस्मिन्कलिमलकलुषे काले नालंबनाय वेदान्ताः ।
नापि च यज्ञाद्यनिशं भगवद्भक्तिं विना पततः ।। ८ ॥

उक्तं च परमगुरुचरणैः[1] " etc.

The first chapter of the work ends on folio 21 :—

" अवादीत्थमनन्तेन शिष्टेष्टजनतुष्टये ।
प्रातःकृत्याद्यनुष्ठानं तेन तुष्यतु मत्प्रभुः
अनंतपदचिंतनाधिगतचेतनाचंक्रम-
क्रमाहितपरिष्कृतौ च रघुनाथविद्वत्कृतौ ।।
जनार्दनमहोदये सकलतंत्रसिंधूदये
प्रभातसमयार्चनावधिविधेरभूत्संग्रहः ।
इति प्रथमोत्कलिका ॥ ६ ॥

श्रीरस्तु ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ "

Works and authors referred to in the first chapter (folios 1-21) are :—

परमगुरुचरणैः (fol. 1, 5)
विष्णुपुराणे (fol. 1)
नारदः (fol. 2)
विष्णुरहस्ये (fol. 3, 6 पांचरात्रे)
गारुडे (fol. 3)
विष्णुधर्मे (fol. 3, 13)
स्कांदे (fol. 4, 13)
योगवासिष्ठे (fol. 4)
पद्मपुराणे (fol. 4)
नारदीये (fol. 4)
नृसिंहपुराणे (fol. 4, 13)
याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ (fol. 4)
तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदादिश्रुतिषु (fol. 4)
पुराणसारे (fol. 5)
कौर्मे (fol. 5)
बौधायन (fol. 5, 14)
आश्वलायनोक्तेः (fol. 5, 11)
महाभारते (fol. 5)
चंद्रोदये (fol. 5)
इतिहाससमुच्चये (fol. 5)
भगवद्गीतासु (fol. 5)
भागवते (fol. 6, 8, 9, 11 (गजेंद्र-मोक्षणं)
वामनकल्पे (fol. 6)
राममन्त्रप्रयोगे (fol. 7) cf. fol. 42-52 of section III of the Ms, which deal with Rāmamantras
आयुर्वेदे (fol. 12)
मिताक्षरायां (fol. 12)
गर्गः (fol. 12)

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1. This is obviously a reference to अनन्तदेव, the author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

जाबालिः (fol. 15)
मार्कंडेयः (fol. 15)
योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः (fol. 15)
संग्रहे (fol. 15)
मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिकायां (fol. 15)
गौतमीये (fol. 16)
नीलतंत्रे (fol. 16)
पाद्मे (fol. 16)
गोभिलः (fol. 16)
पाराशरेण (fol. 16)
भृगुः (fol. 16)
देवलः (fol. 17)
जातूकर्ण्यः (fol. 17)
लक्ष्मणभट्टीये (fol. 17)
चंद्रिकायां, (fol. 18)
ब्रह्मपुराणे (fol. 18)
पारिजाते संग्रहे (fol. 18)
ब्रह्मांडे (fol. 19)
भट्टोजिदीक्षितः (fol. 19) (A.D. 1560-1620]
प्रयोगपारिजाते (fol. 19)
भविष्यत्पुराणे (fol. 19)
रत्नवल्यां (fol. 19)
प्रपंचसारसंग्रहे (fol. 19)
पुरश्चरणचंद्रिकायां (fol. 20)
त्रिपुरार्णवे (fol.. 21)
तंत्रराजवचनात् (fol. 21)

The next chapter begins :— Folio 1

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

शुचिः शुचिपदं स्मरन्नहरहः शुचिं तर्पयन्
शुचामयहतौ हितः प्रयतचेतस्याचिंतितः ।
गिरामधिपते गुरुर्गुणगणैरगण्यः प्रभुः
प्रभूतसुकृतान्मयि प्रभवतात्प्रभूतोदयः ॥ १ ॥

स्मृत्वा नाथपदाम्भोजं कृत्वा पूर्वाङ्गसंगृ(ग्र)हम् ।
विदुषा रघुनाथेन पूजाविधिरथोच्यते ॥ २ ॥"

The chapter ends on folio 73 :—

"अवादीत्थमनन्तेन शिष्टेष्टजनतुष्टये ।
सामान्यपूजनविधिस्तेन तुष्यतुमापतिः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

अनन्तपदचिन्तनाविगतचेतनाचक्रम-
क्रमाहितपरिष्कृतौ च रघुनाथविद्वत्कृतौ ।
जनार्दनमहोदये सकलतन्त्रसिन्धूदये
भवद्भगवदर्चनाविधिसमूहसत्सङ्ग्रहः ॥ ६ ॥

श्रीरामसत्य ॥ छ ॥ श्लोक २८०० ॥ छ ॥"

References to works and authors in this chapter are :—

कालिकापुराणे, आचमनविधिमहोदधौ, गौतमीये, मालिनीतन्त्रे, साम्प्रदायिकाः, तन्त्रसारे, वृद्धशङ्खः, मार्कण्डेयः, भृगुः, कौशिकः, बौधायनः, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, नन्दिकेश्वर-संहितायां, विधानन्दीये, मन्त्रमुक्तावल्यां, महोदधौ, उत्तरतन्त्रे, स्वतन्त्रे, कुमारीकल्पे,

शारदोक्त, अगस्तिसंहितायां, मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिका, पाञ्चरात्रे, शारदायां, निबन्धे, नारदीये, मुण्डमालायां, शिवगीतायां, स्वतन्त्रे, रामार्चनचन्द्रिकायां, क्रमदीपिकायां, तन्त्रार्णवे, स्कान्दे, पञ्चसारसंग्रहे, गारुडे, मन्त्रमहोदधौ (A. D. 1589), कालीक्रमे, विशुद्धेश्वरे, प्रपञ्चसारसंग्रहे, ज्ञानार्णवे, पाञ्चरात्रे नारदः, शारदातिलकात् , नृसिंहठक्कुरादयः, तन्त्रकृत् , राघवभट्टीये (fol. 21), विद्यानन्दनाथीये, विष्णुधर्मे, प्रह्लादसंहितायां, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे, वाराहे, कूर्मे, ब्रह्मवैवर्त्ते, ब्रह्मपुराणे, भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायां (41), भागवते, हयशीर्षपाञ्चरात्रे, रामकल्पे, रुद्रयामले, तन्त्रराजे, दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहितायां, रत्नसागरे, कुलसागरे, स्वच्छन्दभैरवे, कौलावलीये, भार्गवार्चनचन्द्रिकायां (44), तत्वानन्दतरङ्गिण्यां, वैष्णवगौतमीये, नवरत्नेश्वरे, निबन्धवचनात् , प्रपञ्चसागरसङ्ग्रहे, स्मृत्यर्थसारे, चन्द्रोदये, प्रयोगसारे, विज्ञानमालायां, शारदाटीकायां, वैष्णवतन्त्रेषु, नृसिंहपुराणे, भागवते, ज्ञानमालायां, मात्स्ये, बोपदेवीये, वामने, देवीपुराणे, यामले, रुद्रयामलोक्त, शक्तियामलोक्त, राघवभट्टः, मूलागमे, रायकल्पे, बह्वृचपरिशिष्टे, विष्णुरहस्ये, तत्वसागरसंहितायां, कपिलपाञ्चरात्रे, विष्णुपुराणे, etc.

The next chapter of the work begins on folio 1 :—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

नत्वानन्तपदद्वन्द्वमनन्तसुकृतास्पदं । अनन्तपदलाभाय कृष्णानन्तमुपास्महे ॥
अथ वक्ष्ये महामन्त्रान्विष्णोः सर्वार्थसाधकान् । यस्य संस्मरणात्सन्तो भवाब्धेः पारमागताः ॥

तत्रादौ नारायणमन्त्रः etc. "

References :— आचार्याः, श्रुतेः, महाभारते, नृसिंहपुराणे, क्रमदीपिकायां, टीकाकृतः, तन्त्रसारे, महोदधौ, मूर्तिरहस्ये, शारदायां, गौतमीयतन्त्र, कालिकापुराणे, नारायणकवच, भागवते, विष्णुस्तोत्र, महाभारतोक्त, सहस्रनामस्तोत्र, आथर्वणे, तैत्तिरीये, मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिका, नारायणाष्टाक्षरविधानं, आत्मबोधोपनिषदि, स्कांदे.

Folio 16 — "इति श्रीमदनन्तदेवीयविद्वद्रघुनाथकृतौ जनार्दनमनो(हो)दये नारायणमन्त्रकथनं ॥

शारदायां, मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिका, कालिकापुराणे, टीकायां, शारदोक्तेः, महाभारते, हरिवंशे, विष्णुपुराणे, इतिहाससमुच्चये.

Folio 21 — " श्रीमदनन्तदेवीयविद्वद्रघुनाथविरचिते जनार्दनमनो(हो)दये वासुदेवमन्त्रप्रकरणं ॥

कालिकापुराणे, शारदायां. "

Folio 23 — " इति श्रीमदनन्तदेवीयविद्वद्रघुनाथकृतौ जनार्दनमहोदये वामनमन्त्रप्रकरणं ॥ "

शारदायां, संहितायां, रामार्चनचन्द्रिकायां, तापिनीयोपनिषद् , चन्द्रिकायां, रामकवच, रामरक्षा, पद्मपुराणोक्त, सहस्रनामस्तोत्र, रामचन्द्रस्य अष्टोत्तरशतनामस्तवः, उत्तरतापिनीयोक्ता स्तुतिः, रामवल्लभस्तव."

Folio 42 — " अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि नानायन्त्रादि मन्त्रिणां ।
नानार्थदानि रामस्य नानाकल्पागमात्पृथक् ॥ "

पञ्चरात्रे, ब्रह्मसंहितायां, राममन्त्रभेदाः, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, रामवल्लभमन्त्र, सीतामन्त्र, लक्ष्मणमन्त्र, रामचन्द्रमहिमा, अधिकारिनिर्णय."

Folio 52 — " इति श्रीमदनन्तदेवानुगृहीतरघुनाथविद्वत्कृतौ जनार्दनमहोदये रघुनाथमन्त्रप्रकरणं ॥ "

कृष्णमन्त्र, निबन्धे, सनत्कुमारकल्पे, बालगोपालमन्त्राः, मन्त्रचूडामणि, महोदधिमतं, प्रपञ्चसारसंग्रहे, सुन्दरीगोपालमन्त्रः, मन्त्रजपमहिमा महाभारते, सहस्रनामभाष्ये."

Folio 72 — " इत्यनन्तदेवीयविद्वद्रघुनाथकृतौ जनार्दनमहोदये कृष्णमन्त्रप्रकरणं ॥ "

वेङ्कटेशमन्त्रः, पुरुषोत्तममन्त्रः, वराहमन्त्रः, शालग्राममन्त्रः, नारसिंहमन्त्रः, तापिनीयोक्तमन्त्रराजयन्त्र, नृसिंहकवच, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, लक्ष्मीनृसिंहस्तोत्र, नृसिंहपुराणे, नृसिंहसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं, श्रीधरमन्त्रः.

Folio 94 — " इति· श्रीमद्विद्वद्रघुनाथकृतौ जनार्दनमहोदये विष्णुमन्त्र प्रकरणं ॥ "

नामत्रयमन्त्रः, शारदायां, महालक्ष्मीमन्त्रः, सिद्धलक्ष्मीमन्त्रः, महालक्ष्मीकवचस्तोत्र, पद्मपुराणे करवीरकाण्डे [1]करवीरमाहात्म्ये, सनत्कुमारप्रोक्तं श्रीमहालक्ष्मी-[2] दिव्यसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं (fol. 112), महासुदर्शनमन्त्र, कार्तवीर्यकवच.

Folio 125 — " इति जनार्दनमहोदये कार्तवीर्यमन्त्र प्रकरणं ॥ हनुमन्मन्त्रः (folios 125-129)."

The MS ends on folio 129 as follows :—

" अष्टगंधैर्लिखेद्रूपं कपिराजस्य सुन्दरम् ।
तन्मध्येष्टादशार्णं तु शत्रूणामथतं लिखेत् ॥
तेन मन्त्राभिजप्तेन शिरोवृधेन भूमिपः ।
जयत्परि..............................॥ "

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1. The B.B.R.A. Society contains 2 MSS of करवीरमहात्म्य, one of which contains the text with the comm. सनाभि by ज्योतिर्विद्राय दाजी (Vide pp. 277–278 of Velankar's *Catalogue of B. B. R. A. S. MSS*). There are two MSS of this text in the Govt. MSS Library but they are late copies prepared in Śaka 1789 = A. D. 1867. This माहात्म्य is ascribed to Vedavyāsa. It describes the holy places of Kolhapur.

2. Vide my paper in the *B. I. S. Mandala Quarterly*, Poona, (Vol. XXIII pp. 17–25) 1942 on " The Antiquity of Some Iconographic verses about the Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur etc."

The MS is incomplete and we have no means of knowing the number of chapters it contained originally.

The foregoing analysis of the available sections of the MS before us gives us the following particulars about the work and its author :—

(1) The title of the work is जनार्दनमहोदय as stated in the several colophons recorded in the work. This title exactly tallies with that mentioned by the author in his list of self-composed works found in the Marathi work नरकवर्णन.

(2) The author of the work *JM* is रघुनाथ, pupil of अनंतदेव, the great writer on *dharmaśāstra* who composed स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and other works in the middle of the 17th century.

(3) In addition to the identity of the name रघुनाथ, the author of the *JM*, and his guru's name अनंतदेव as also the identity of the name of the work viz. जनार्दनमहोदय which he claims as his own work we find close parallelism of expression in the introductory and closing verses of the जनार्दनमहोदय and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल which read as follows :—

The section on आधानप्रायश्चित्त ends :—

" अवादीत्थमनन्तेन गुरुणा करुणाब्धिना ।
आचारगोचरं प्रायश्चित्तं तत्र निरूपितम् ॥ "

Compare *JM* :—

" अवादीत्थमनन्तेन शिष्टेष्टजनतुष्टये ।
प्रातःकृत्याद्यनुष्ठानं तेन तुष्यतु मत्प्रभुः ॥ "

Compare again प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल (ending verse) :—

" अवादीत्थमनन्तेन शिष्टेष्टजनतुष्टये ।
प्रायश्चित्तविधिर्हीभ्य संसंक्षेपोधिरूढतः ॥ "

(4) Irrespective of the above proofs regarding the identity of authorship we can say that the work *JM* represented by the big fragment before us was composed later than c. A. D. 1630 as it refers to भट्टोजिदीक्षित (on folio 19 of the first Chapter). I have proved elsewhere that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita flourished between A. D. 1560 and 1620 and consequently the reference to Bhaṭṭoji in the *JM* clearly proves that the *JM* is later than a. A. D. 1630. Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta, the author of several works in Sanskrit and Marathi flourished between A. D. 1640 and 1712 or so.

(5) As the title जनार्दनमहोदय indicates and as the contents of its fragment before us prove the *JM* is a sort of manual of Vaiṣṇavite ritual and worship. In the 3rd section of the MS we find some matter on the worship of राम and हनूमान्. The material for *Rāma* worship is introduced by our author with the following verse on follio 42 :—

" अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि नानायन्त्राणि मन्त्रिणां ।
नानार्थदानि रामस्य नानाकल्पागमात् पृथक् ॥ "

Then again the incomplete material in this section about हनुमन्मन्त्र (folios 125 - 129) is also important in view of the life-long devotion of Saint Rāmadāsa for *Rāma* and *Hanūmān*. I have proved in a special paper the contact of our author with Saint Rāmadāsa between A. D. 1648 and 1682, the year of Saint Rāmadāsa's death.

(6) Students of Saint Rāmadāsa's literary biography should investigate the influence exercised by this learned Sanskrit Pandit, the author of the *JM*, on Rāmadāsa's writings and teachings say between A. D. 1648 and 1682. In a complete edition[1] of Rāmadāsa's works we find the following sections :—

(1) रामायण (Pages 494 — 593).
(2) श्रीरामनवमीची उत्साहपद्धति (p. 388) dealing with the manner in which the Rāmanavamī festival should be celebrated.
(3) मारुतीची प्रार्थना (p. 631) or a prayer to God Māruti or Hanūmān.
(4) मनाचे श्लोक (pp. 593 - 605). These *Ślokas* are very popular in Mahārāṣṭra as they contain spiritual advice saturated with devotion to Rāma.
(5) राममंत्राचे श्लोक (pp. 605 - 608). Stanzas emphasizing the value of राम नाम.

(7) In Rāmadāsa's letter[2] dated A. D. 1674 to Raghunātha, the author of the *JM* and other works, Rāmadāsa calls Raghunātha "सर्वज्ञ" or "all - knowing" and further shows his extreme confidence in Raghunātha by identifying himself with his learned friend ("तुमचे जे काही आहे ते सकल माझेंचि आहे"). We have, there-

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1. रामदासांचे समग्रग्रंथ Pub. by G. G. Gondhlekar, Bhārata-Bhūshan Press, Poona, 1906.

2. Vide *Jour. of Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1943), p. 4 of my paper on Raghunātha.

fore, reason to believe that the constant presence of such an intimate pandit by the side of this illustrious Saint of Mahārāṣṭra must have wielded considerable influence on Rāmadāsa's writings. At any rate the material regarding राम and हनूमान् worship in the fragment of the *JM* before us leads me to infer that it is a connecting link between the author of the *JM* and his saintly friend Rāmadāsa. If this suggestion is accepted the date of composition of the *JM* may be taken to be earlier than A. D. 1682, the year of Rāmadāsa's death.

(8) The material incorporated in the *JM* about the goddess महालक्ष्मी of करवीर or Kolhapur is also important. Raghunātha was a Karhāḍa Brāhmin of the surname नवहस्त (or नवाथे) of *Vasiṣṭha Gotra* as I have shown already.[1] The goddess महालक्ष्मी of Kolhapur is the family deity of the Karhāḍa Brahmins in Mahārāṣṭra. This fact explains why Raghunātha has thought fit to incorporate in his *JM* the material about the goddess महालक्ष्मी of करवीर or Kolhapur.

(9) M. M. Prof. P. V. Kane does not mention the *JM* in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*[2] though he mentions other works of Raghunātha and deals with the works of his guru अनन्तदेव in a special Section (No. 109) and assigns his literary activity to the "*third quarter of the 17th Century*" *i. e.*, between A. D. 1650 and 1675. This period[3] is consistent with the chronology of his pupil Raghunātha, the author of the *JM* represented by the big fragment of MS analysed by me in this paper.

I now close this paper with a request to scholars in Mahārāṣṭra and outside that they should try to trace a complete MS of he *Janārdana-mahodaya* of Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta.

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1. Ibid p. 12.
2. Vol. I, 1930 (B. O. R. Institute, Poona), pp. 447-455.
3. Ibid p. 455.

49. A Contemporary Manuscript of the Bhojana-Kutūhala of Raghunātha belonging to Śāmjī Nāyak Puṇḍe—Between A. D. 1650 and 1685 *

Recently I published some papers[1] on the life and works of Raghunātha, the author of a work on dietetics called the *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. As a result of my investigation I have been able to prove on contemporary evidence the following facts about the life-history and chronology of this Deccani author :—

(1) The full name of this author was *Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta*; (2) He was the Upādhyāya of the Chafal Maṭha of Saint *Rāmadāsa* between about A. D. 1648 and 1683 ; (3) He was a very intimate friend of Saint *Rāmadāsa* as we find from a letter addressed to him by this Saint ; (4) In A. D. 1683 he renounced all his property in the Satara District in favour of his son-in-law Bhairavabhat and then proceeded on a *mahāyātrā* or pilgrimage ; (5) He later migrated to Tanjore and composed some Sanskrit and Marathi works under the patronage of Queen Dīpābāi the wife of Ekoji Bhosale, the brother of Shivaji the Great, between A. D. 1683 and 1712 or so ; (6) During his stay in Mahārāṣṭra he was the pupil of Anantadeva, the author of the *Smṛti-Kaustubha*. Raghunātha's *Bhojana-Kutūhala* was most probably composed in Mahārāṣṭra prior to his *mahāyātrā* of A. D. 1683.

Since the publication of my papers my friend Rajavaidya S. A. Jagtap of Kolhapur sent me a bundle of MSS of Raghunātha's *Bhojana-Kutūhala*. These MSS may be briefly described

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* *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (N. S.) Vol. XIII, Pt. 2, pp. 40–45.

1. *Vide* pp. 132–140 of the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X (New Series), Part 2, 1941 — "Raghunātha, A Protégé of Queen Dīpābāi, etc.," and pp. 254-263 of *Annals* (B. O. R. I.), Vol. XXII, 1942 — "A Topical Analysis of Bhojana-Kutūhala, etc." My paper on "Identification of Raghunātha ... and his contact with Saint Rāmadāsa between A.D. 1648 and 1682" has appeared in the *Journal of the Tanjore Mss Library*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1–12.

for the benefit of scholars[1] now engaged in editing and translating this work or its parts.

(1) भोजनकुतूहल — 1st *Pariccheda*, folios 113 on old country paper (size :— 9″ × 4¼″).

Folio 1 a — " श्री शामजी नायकपुंड्योपनाम्नां " [2]

Folio 1 b — Begins :—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

नमः प्रचंडवेतंडतुंडाय मृडसूनवे ।
प्रत्यूहतिमिरध्वंससमुद्यत्करभानवे ॥ १ ॥

तस्मै नमः परानंदमकरंदसमाप्तये ।
श्रीगुरोः पादपद्माय यत्र मे निश्चलं मनः ॥ २ ॥

नत्वा तत्वविदो मुनिमुख्यान् धन्वंतरिभोज्यगुणज्ञान् ।
भोजनकौतूहलमथ तन्वनेनज्जनोनिपुणो मुदमीयात् ॥ ३ ॥

अथ भोजनविधिः ॥ "

Ends :— " इति उपभोग्यवस्त्रगुणः ॥ ॥ इति श्रीमद्विद्वद्वृंदवंद्यपादारविंदश्रीमदनंतदेवदयात्मजस्य विद्वद्रघुनाथनाम्नः कृतौ भोजनकुतूहले प्रथमः परिछेदः ॥ ६ ॥ श्रीरघुनाथार्पणमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥"

(2) भोजनकुतूहल — *1st Pariccheda* — folios 65 on country paper, white in appearance (size ;— 12″ × 5½″).

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1. The *Bhojana-Kutūhala* is found in the list of works undertaken for the G. O. Series, Baroda. Mr. B. V. Bhat, Secretary, Rajawade Samshodhan Mandir, Dhulia, also intends to edit the work with a Marathi translation.

2. Keśava Paṇḍita compiled a work on Dharmaśāstra called धर्मकल्पलता for King Sambhaji, Son of Shivaji the Great. A portion of this work called दंडनीतिप्रकरण is preserved in the Tanjore MSS Library (MS. No. 536). This copy was made for Shamji Nayak Puṇḍe in the year दुंदुभि which corresponds to A. D. 1682–83 (" शके राज्याभिषेकीये दुंदुभसंवत्सरे लिहमिदं पुस्तकम् "). The copy contains the following endorsement :—" दण्डनीतिव्यवहारमञ्जरी श्रीशामजीनायक पुंड्योपनाम्नां ग्रंथः पत्रसंख्या ३१ ॥." This endorsement is identical with that on the Jagtap Ms of the *1st Pariccheda* of Raghunātha's work described above. The identity of endorsements regarding the ownership of the copies of भोजनकुतूहल and दण्डनीतिव्यवहारमञ्जरी leaves no doubt about the contemporary nature of these copies.

Begins as in the above MS but ends as follows :—

" इत्थं विमथ्य गुणपाठसुधांबुराशिं
लब्ध्वा परामृतरसं सुरसं च तस्मात् ।
निर्माथि भोजनकुतूहलमीश्वराणां
तोषाय तेन परितुष्यतु शेषशायी ॥

संसेविता न गुरवस्तवश्चदृष्ट्या
यै नीक्षिता जनपदेषु च तेषु तेषु ।
भैषज्यतंत्रमपि नैव कृतं स्वतंत्रं
तेषां कृतेपि च कृतं रघुनाथनाम्ना ॥

अनंतदेवान्मनसा दिहाप्य-
मनंतदेवस्य विधाय सेवां ।
योनंतदेवः प्रथितो पृथिव्या-
मनंतदेवः परितोषमेतु ॥

इति श्रीमद्विद्वद्वृंदवंद्यपादारविंदश्रीमदनंतदेवदयोदयस्य रघुनाथविदुषः कृतौ भोजनकुतूहले द्रव्यगुणागुणकथनं नाम प्रथमः परिछेदः श्रीरस्तु शके १७०३ चैत्र शुद्ध १० तद्दिने समाप्तं "

(3) भोजनकुतूहल — *2nd Pariccheda*, folios 35, on country paper, white in appearance like the paper used for the above MS, (size :— same as that of the above MS).

Begins :— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीरामचंद्राय नमः । श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ।
श्रीमुक्तांबायै नमः । श्रीगोपालकृष्णाय नमः ।

यो वेदस्य पिता षडास्यजनिता पंचाननो यत्सखा
शय्या यस्य सहस्रसंख्यवदनो यस्य द्विमौलिर्मुखं ।
हेतिर्यस्य दशास्यकंठघटनोद्दामा सहस्रेक्षणौ
भ्राता यस्य सहस्ररश्मिनयनो देवः शिवायास्तु वः ॥ १ ॥

अपनीघोनः स्मृतिभिर्विपुलश्रुतिं मूलबद्धमूलाभिः ।
सोपि च दुष्कृतनिवहो न पुनर्भावं प्रयाति यत्स्मृतिभिः ॥ २ ॥

दुरितं घनवनशिखिनः सखिनो लेखर्षभात्मजस्यापि ।
अभिनवनाममहिम्नोगेर्घनस्वेनिबंधनव्याजात् ॥ ३ ॥

एवं द्रव्यगुणागुणान् विचार्य शुद्धद्रव्यकृतान्नं भुंजीत ।
आह व्यासः "

Ends :— " इत्थं विमथ्य गहनं स्मृतिसंगसिंधुं
संप्राप्य तद्गतरसं विबुधैकरस्यं ।

निर्माथि भोजनकुतूहलमीश्वराणां
तोष(षा)य तेन परितुष्यतु विश्वसाक्षी ॥

संसेव्य सेव्यमखिलैरखिलैकवृत्त्या
वृत्योपदांबुजरसं गुरुदेवतायाः ।

या धीरबुद्धिविधधर्मरहस्यमग्ना
ह्येतत्तया विरचितं रघुनाथनाम्ना ॥

ग्रंथरूपो मदीयोयं वाग्व्यापारसुशोभनः ।
अनेनानंतदेवो नः प्रीयतां प्रीतिवर्धनः ॥

इति श्रीमद्विद्वद्वंद्व......भो-कुतूहले भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविवरणं नाम द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः २ "

Some of the authorities quoted in this *Pariccheda* are :—

व्यास, पारिजात, (वि)ज्ञानेश्वर, माधव, सुश्रुत, विष्णु, उशनाः, प्रयोगपारिजात, धर्मसारसुधानिधि, मनु, वसिष्ठ, अपरार्क, बोधायन, धर्मसार, चतुर्विंशतिमत, शूलपाणौ देवल, स्मृत्यर्थसार, यम, विष्णुपुराण, गौतम, मदनरत्न, स्कांद, भविष्य, ब्राह्म, याज्ञवल्क्य, पाराशर, भृगु, आपस्तंब, शातातप, संग्रह, षटत्रिंशमत, बृहस्पति, स्मृतिसंग्रह, कात्यायन, हेमाद्रि, मार्कंडेयपुराण, बृहद्यम, ब्रह्मपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, योगीश्वर, शूलपाणि, संवर्त, गोभिल, शंखलिखितौ, मिताक्षरा, हारीत, माधव, अंगिराः, वृद्धात्रेय, माधवीये व्यास, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, कश्यप, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, भावप्रकाश तैत्तिरीयकश्रुति, पैठीनसि, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, प्रचेताः, शौनक, अश्वलायन, चंद्रिका, अश्वलायन, चंद्रिका, अश्वमेधिक, पुलस्त्य, कूर्मपुराण and गार्ग्य.

(4) भोजनकुतूहल — *3rd Pariccheda*, folios 83, on country paper, white in appearance (size :— $12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$).

Begins :— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

तारोरुहारासुरतावतारा।
कांताविदूरा विरलप्रधारा ।
निःशेषभूषा दयितस्य भूत्यै
यस्यांतरेस्याद्विरतेपि मोक्षः ॥ १ ॥

अथ विभावरीविलासः तत्र दीपदीपविधिः "

Ends :— " इति विविधनितंबाद्धीनगाधान्विगाह्य
प्रबलगुरुसमीक्षानौकया निर्विशेषं ।
रुचिरतरललामग्राममासाद्य तत्त-
द्विहितविधिविधेयं संभृतं भूपतेस्तु ॥

शाखायाः पारिजातस्य कौस्तुभस्यापि दीधितेः ।
हेमाद्रेरविसानूनामस्तु ग्रंथस्य गौरवं ॥

अनेन ग्रंथरूपेण कौस्तुभप्रतिभा(नु)णुना ।
हरेर्वक्षस्थले लक्ष्मीः प्रसन्नास्तु महोमयी ॥

प्रमाणविधिरत्नालिभृतोयं सुमनायुतः ।
ग्रंथरूपोंजलिर्भूयाल्लक्ष्मीपतिपदार्पितः ॥

जननीक्लेशकर्तारः संत्वन्येषां सुतोच्चयाः ।
जननीतोषभूषायै भूयादेष मदंगजः ॥

इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलमंडनाधितकीर्तिकौमुदीमोदितविद्वज्जनमनोहरपादारविंद-गोविंदभजनावासविद्यावैभवानंतदेवदयोदयस्य रघुनाथसूरिणः कृतौ भोजनकुतूहले विभावरीविलासः तृतीयः परिछेदः ३ समाप्तोयमेतावता ग्रंथः कल्याणस्तु सर्वं जगतां ॥"

Authorities quoted by Raghunātha[1] in the *3rd Pariccheda* are :—

परशुरामप्रताप,[2] मार्कंडेय, प्रचेताः, प्रयोगपारिजाते, आश्वलायन, शंखलिखितौ, मार्कंडेयपुराण, पारिजाते, शौनक, काशीकांड, नारायणदासनिबंधे, भृगु, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, धर्मसार, वैद्य कात्यायन, संग्रह, नृसिंह(पारिजात), कारिकाभाष्य, बृहस्पति, शंख, व्यास, स्मृतिरत्नावली, स्कंद, विष्णु, हरिवंश, विज्ञानेश्वरीय, काश्यप, सामुद्रतिलक (long extract dealing with) स्त्रीलक्षण, पंचसायक, पाराशर, देवरात, यम, नारद, रतिरहस्य, माधवीय, देवल, याज्ञवल्क्य, शिवरहस्य, बोधायन, वसिष्ठ, मनु, श्रीपति, रत्नमाला, शातातप, सुश्रुत, वृद्धपाराशर, सह्याद्रिखंड (fol. 51), हरिश्चंद्र, ब्रह्मपुराण, पारिजाते सत्यव्रत, चरक, गारुड, गौतम, वाग्भट, चंद्रिका, and स्वप्नाध्याय.

The references to भावप्रकाश (c. A. D. 1550) and परशुरामप्रताप (middle of the 16th Century) made by Raghunātha in his भोजन-

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1. The author gives some vernacular equivalents in the following extracts :—

Folio 6 — " चोळी झगा चेति महाराष्ट्राः...वारवाणं डगला अंगिरापट्टिका लपेटा... व्रणीषं मुंडासे...टोपिका टोपी "

Folio 8 — " मल्लिका...मोगरा, " " वृत्तमालिका ... बटुमोगरा, " " चंपकः ... चांफा, नागचांफा, "

Folio 9 — " मोहनमाला, " " कडीं, " " मुदी "

2. This big work on *dharmaśāstra* was composed by Sābāji Pratāparāja, a protégé of निजामशाह. He describes निजामशाहनगरी, which is evidently Ahmadnagar. " अहंमदपुर " mentioned by *Sābāji* in this work is identical with the निजामशाहनगरी (*Vide* Dr. H. D. Sharma's paper on this work in *Poona Orientalist*, VIII, pp. 1–26).

कुतूहल definitely prove that he flourished after A. D. 1600.[1] This earlier terminus further supports my chronology for Raghunātha, *viz.* between A. D. 1640 and 1712 or so to which I have referred in my earlier papers on him. I am, however, mainly concerned in this paper with the MS of the *1st Pariccheda* of the भोजनकुतूहल belonging to Śāmjī Nāyak Puṇḍe, about whom my friend Mr. V. S. Bendre has supplied to me the following historical information:—

The Puṇḍe family belonged to Shrigonde village in the Ahmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency. *Sesavvā Naik Puṇḍe* of this family was contemporary of Māloji Bhosle, the grandfather of Shivaji the Great. His son *Bābāji Naik Puṇḍe* was Shivaji's *Vakil* at the Bijapur Court but was recalled from that Court in *November-December 1673*. *Bābāji Naik* died beween *July* and *November 1675*. Bābāji's son *Shāmji Naik Puṇḍe* was *Potdar* (Treasurer) of Shivaji. He accompanied Shivaji in his Karnāṭak expedition. Later in *December 1680* Shāmji was sent to Karnāṭak under *Harji Mahāḍik* in charge of the Karnāṭak province. Shāmji left Rāigad for Karnāṭak in *March 1681* but was arrested at Jinji under the orders of Sambhāji, son of Shivaji, in *August 1681*.

In view of the above information about Shāmji Naik Puṇḍe we may suppose that the MS of the *1st Pariccheda of the Bhojana-Kutūhala* belonging to this Maratha officer was copied for him sometime prior to A. D. 1681-82 or in this very year, when another MS, *viz.*, that of दण्डनीतिव्यवहारमञ्जरी was copied for him in the year दुंदुभि as proved by the Tanjore MS of this work. It seems certain, however, that Raghunātha composed this work in Mahārāṣṭra prior to A. D. 1680 or so when he was under the influence of his guru Anantadeva, the author of the *Smṛtikaustubha*. The three *Paricchedas* of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala* clearly show that our author had made a very close study of the *Dharmaśāstra* literature possibly under the guidance of Anantadeva, who was the direct descendant of the Maratha Saint Ekanāth (1528-1600 A. D.)[2]; and who flourished in the "3rd quarter of the 17th Century," *i. e.*, between A. D. 1650 and 1675. This period is synchronous with the period of Raghunātha's stay in Mahārāṣṭra and his contact with Saint Rāmadāsa as I have already shown in my papers. Whatever be the

1. I have published a paper on this work in which I have recorded my evidence for this date of the परशुरामप्रताप — (*Annals*, B. O. R. I. XIV 56-164).

2. *Vide* p. 453 of P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930).

exact date of composition of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala* the association of the Jagtap MS of the *1st Pariccheda* of this work with Shamji Nāyak Puṇḍe, a Maratha officer of Shivaji and Sambhaji, say between A. D. 1650 and 1685, clearly proves that this MS is a contemporary copy and hence extremely important both from the historical and textual points of view as will be seen from the facts noted below :—

(1) The B. O. R. Institute MS of the *1st Pariccheda* of the भोजनकुतूहल (No. 594 of 1899-1905) is dated A. D. *1803*. On folio 45*a* of this MS we find the following verse about the properties of the Custard-apple or सिताफळ :—

" सीताफलं सुमधुरं सीतलं पित्तनाशनं ।
सुपक्करुचिकृद्वाते हितं न कफकृत् परं ॥ सिताफळ ॥ "

When I read this verse I was under the impression that the *Sitāphal* or Custard-Apple was known to Raghunātha (c. A. D. 1650). I now find that this verse is missing in the Shāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe's MS of the भो. कुतुहल. It appears therefore, that the above verse was added to this work by some Vaidya during the Peshwa period when the *Sitāphal* had gained sufficient popularity in the Deccan.

I have projected a special paper on the history of *Sitāphal* from Indian sources. In this connnection I obtained the following remarks from the Horticulturist to Government, Bombay, through the favour of Mr. B. Sahay, I. C. S., Secretary of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, in May 1942 :—

" *Sitāphal* and *Rāmphal* — The names of the two varieties of Custard Apple, *Rāmphal* and *Sitāphal* are in themselves almost enough to show that from very early times, the trees have been grown and honoured by the Hindus."

This view about the antiquity of *Sitāphal* and *Rāmphal* is not warranted by any evidence from Indian sources prior to A. D. 1500 or so as I propose to show in my projected paper on this subject referred to above.

(2) In the B. O. R. Institute MS of A. D. *1803* we find the following verse about the properties of पेपया or *papayā* fruit :—

Folio 46 —

" वातकुम्भफलं ग्राही कफवातप्रकोपनं ।
तदेव पक्कं मधुरं पित्तघ्नं रोचनं गुरु ॥ पोपया इति ॥ "

The above verse is found in the Jagtap MS of A. D. *1851* (*Śaka 1773*) and reads as follows :—

Folio 396 :—

" वातकुंभफलं ग्राहि कफवातप्रकोपनं ।
तदेव पक्कं मधुरं पित्तघ्नं रोचनं गुरु ॥ पोपये ॥ "

The above verse regarding *Papayā* found in the MSS of A. D. *1803* and *1851* is *missing* in the contemporary MS of *Shāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe's* ownership.

The Horticulturist to Government, Bombay, makes the following remarks about *Papaya* :—

" *Papayā* — It was introduced into India by the Portuguese. Since *Papayā* seeds were sent from India to Naples, it is believed that the plant must have been introduced into India at an early date or shortly after the discovery of America."

(3) In the B. O. R. Institute MS of A. D. *1803* we find the following verse regarding the properties of the fruit अननस or pine-apple :—

Folio 40 —

" आमं तु कौतुकं रुच्यं कफपित्तकरं गुरु ।
अन्नप्ररोचकं हृद्यं श्रमक्लमनिबर्हणं ॥
पक्कं तु पित्तहृस्वादु रसमातपदोषनुत् ॥ अनानस ॥ "

The above verse is found in the Jagtap MS of A. D. *1851* and reads as follows :—

Folio 36^a —

" आमंतु कैतकं रुच्यं कफपित्तकरं गुरु ।
अन्नप्ररोचकं हृष्यं श्रमक्लमनिबर्हणं ॥
पक्कं तु पित्तहृत् स्वादु रसमातपद्दोषनुत् । "

The above verse regarding *Ananas* is *missing* in Shāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe's MS of the भोजनकुतूहल.

The Horticulturist to Government, Bombay, makes the following remarks about *Ananas* ;—

" *Ananas* — It is a native of Brazil. It was introduced by the Portuguese into Bengal in *1594*. Its introduction is particularly mentioned by Indian authors such as Abul Fazl."

From a comparison of the Shāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe MS of about A. D. *1680* with the late MSS of A. D. *1803* and *1851* of the *1st Pariccheda* of the भोजनकुतूहल we see that the verses regarding (1) *Sitāphal*, (2) *Ananas* and (3) *Papaya* found in the 1803 and 1851 copies are exactly missing in the contemporary copy of c. A. D. *1680*. These omissions are not a mere matter of accident especially when Raghunātha, the author of this work on dietetics, has taken special care in recording the properties of all important articles of diet known to him as current in the Deccan in the 17th century. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the *Custard-Apple*, the *Pine-apple* and *Papayā* were not so popular in his time as to find a mention in his treatise specially devoted to dietetics. At any rate the ommission of these late additions to Indian *materia medica* in a treatise of c. A. D. *1650* represented by a contemporary copy before us is quite significant and convincing regarding their late character and popularity. We have, however, reason to believe that Saint Rāmadāsa, the friend of Raghunātha, was quite acquainted with the fruits *Añjīra*, *Papayā*, *Sitāphal*, *Ananas*, etc.[1]

It appears, however, that the *Chillies* (or *Miracī*) had become current in the Deccan in the 17th century. The *Bhojana-Kutūhala* MS of Shāmjī Nāyak Puṇḍe contains the following verse regarding them :—

Folio 55 —

" मरीचं क्षुपजं रुच्यं दोषलं सर्वरोगकृत् ।
विशेषतः प्रमेहार्शोविकारेषु न शस्यते ॥ मिरसेंगा ॥ "

The term " मिरसेंगा " for *Chillies* is even now current in some parts of the Konkan and I shall prove in a separate paper on the history of Chillies that this term was applied to *Chillies* after their introduction into India in the Maratha Country. At any rate the

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1. *Vide* p. 410 of प्रथमखंड of श्रीरामदासांची कविता (First Edition, Dhulia, Śaka 1830 = A. D. 1908). In the Section स्फुटप्रकरण we find the following references :— " आनसी फणसी पेरी, " " खजुरीद्राक्ष आंजीरी."

In the बागप्रकरण (pp. 627-628 of रामदासाचे समग्र ग्रंथ by G. G. Gondhalekar, Poona, 1906), we have an exhaustive list of plants to be planted in the garden. In this list there are references to पोपये, अंजीर, सिताफळ and अननस as follows :— " पोपये, खेलेले, खपान, " " शेवे, कविट, अंजीर, सीताफळे, " " जांब, अननस, देवदार." The above references are historically important presuming that the texts in which they occur are genuine works of Saint Rāmadāsa.

mention of "मिरसेंगा" and their properties in the Shāmjī Nāyak Puṇḍe's MS of the *Bhojana-Kutūhala* of c. A. D. 1650 proves beyond doubt the antiquity of about 300 years for the term "मिरसेंगा."

The Horticulturist to Government, Bombay, makes the following remarks about *Chillies* :—

"The introduction of Chillies is believed to be of recent date, having been brought by the Portuguese from West Indies. Hove alludes to *Capsicum* as growing in Bombay in 1887."

Evidently the reference to मिरसेंगा or *Chillies* and its properties by Raghunātha, a Deccani author of the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency about A. D. 1650, proves their popularity and cultivation in the Deccan about this time, if not many years earlier. This popularity has increased by leaps and bounds during the last 300 years. In fact at the present time the foreign origin of *Chillies* is absolutely forgotten by Indians. During the latter half of the 18th Century the *Chillies* had already captured the palate of the Marathas as stated by Rāghava Āpā Khāṇḍekar[1] in the following verse in his Sanskrit anthology (c. A. D. *1800*) :—

"मिरचिं विना सुपाको मरहट्टानां कश्चिन्न रुचिदोऽस्ति"

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1. *Vide* my paper on this author in the *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. XXIV, pp. 27-44.

50. Samudra - Saṅgama, a Philosophical Work by Dara Shukoh, Son of Shah Jahan, Composed in A. D. 1655 *

Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*[1] states that Dara Shukoh was the author of " a work entitled *Majma '-ul-Bahrain* (i. e. the *uniting of both Seas*) in which he endeavours to reconcile the Brāhmaṇ religion with Muhammadan, citing passages from the Qurān to prove the several points. In 1656 he likewise with the same intent caused a Persian translation to be made by the Brāhmaṇs of Banāras of the Anikhat a work in the Sanskrit language etc."

In Aufrecht's *Catalogous Catalogorum* there is only one MS recorded of a work called *Samudra-Saṅgama*[2] which is identical with Ms *No. 1043 of 1891-95* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The title "*Samudra-Saṅgama*" corresponds to the "*uniting of both Seas*" or *Majma '-ul-Bahrain* referred to above. Most probably the *Samudra-Saṅgama* is a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian work of a similar title mentioned by Beale.

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* *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. 24 (1943), pp. 75-88.

1. New Edition, London, 1894, p. 117 — article on *Dara Shukoh*. The Chronology of Dara's life as found in this article is as follows:—

Dara, born — *20th March 1615* (29th Safar, A. H. *1024*).

His marriage — *A. D. 1633* (A. H. *1043*).

Battle between Dara and Aurangzeb — *29th August 1659* (21st Zil-hijja A. H. *1069*).

Dara caused the Upanishads to be translated by Benares Pandits — *A. D. 1656*.

2. A work of this name is recorded by Poleman in his list of *Indic MSS in U. S. A.* (1938) as follows :—

Page 277 — MS No. 5463 समुद्रसंगम (by विज्ञापन ?) Cosmology, '44 ff. 8·25 × 4·75 (Harward 1212).

Perhaps this is identical with Dārā's work समुद्रसंगम.

Prof. Kathawate who acquired the MS of the *Samudra-Saṅgama* for the Govt. of Bombay in 1891 has described its contents in detail in his *Report*[1] *for 1891–95* and hence I need not deal with them in this paper. I shall only discuss here the date of composition of the work in question as recorded in our MS *No. 1043 of 1891–95* which begins as follows :—

" ॥ सर्वत्र प्रकटः स सर्वावभासः स आदिः सोंतस्तदतिरिक्तं वस्तु नास्तीति प्रतिवेशी सवासी च सहगः सर्वमेव सः पटच्चरे दरिद्रस्य क्षौमे राज्ञः सर्वतः भाति संसद्भिदोयमभेदो रहसिस्फुटः ईशस्य शयनं भूयः त छपः सर्वमेव सः प्रणामानामानंत्य परमप्रकाशप्रकाशके जगत्सृष्टिनिमित्तेस्माकं सिद्धानां सिद्धे परमेश्वरेण सत्कृते सन्मानिते च तथा पवित्रतमे तत्परिवारे महत्तरे तत्प्रतिनिधिरूपे च अथ कथयति वीतराग विगतशोक संदोह महम्मद दाराशुकोह ॥ एवं यद्विज्ञाय सकलतत्त्वतत्त्वं निर्णाय च सत्यैकात्मवादतात्पर्यं आसाद्य " etc.

It appears from the above passage that महम्मद दाराशुको, who is described by the adjectives "वीतराग," "विगतशोकसंदेह," is the author of the present work. One बाबालाल is mentioned in line 6 on folio 1^{b} of the MS. He appears to be some contemporary mystic and perhaps a guru[2] of Dara Shukoh as he is reverently men-

1. Published at Bombay, 1901, Pages 18-20.

2. On *folio* 7a Dara refers to some Muslim Saints and divines as follows :—

" परमसिद्धानुसारिणः ते च ईश्वरसत्कृतपरमसिद्धसमयवर्तिनः सिद्धास्तत्परिवारभूतास्तत्प्रतिनिधिभूताश्च । अबूबकर उम्मर उस्मान् अली हसन् हुसैन् अन्यस्मिन्समये च एतादृशा जुन्नूनमिसीरी जुनेदोज्ञानिनां गुरुः मीरान् मुहद्दीन् इब्न अरबी मद्गुरुः मियां मीर मुल्लाशाह मियांवारी ॥ "

अबूबकर — The first orthodox Caliph (632 A. D.).

उम्मर — The second orthodox Caliph (634 A. D.).

उस्मान् — The third orthodox Caliph (644 A. D.).

अली — The fourth Caliph (656 A. D.).

हसन् — Eldest son of अली and grandson of Prophet Mahomet, born in 3 A. H.

हुसैन् — Second son of अली born in 4 A. H.

मियां मीर — Born A. H. 938. Died 1045 A. H. frequently visited by Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh.

(*Continued on the next page*)

tioned as " चैतन्यस्वरूप ज्ञानमूर्ति सद्गुरु. " The author explains why the title समुद्रसंगम is given to this work :—

" अवश्यं ज्ञातव्यानां सफलानां कतिपयवाक्यानां सारस्य संग्रहमकरवं ज्ञानिनोर्द्वयोरपि मतसमुद्रयोरिह संगम इति नाम चास्थापयं समुद्रसंगम इत्थं किलोपदेशो महानुभावानां यन्निर्मत्सरतया तत्त्वविवेचनं " etc.

The MS ends as follows on folio 11a :—

" वेदसमुद्रं मथित्वा ज्ञानरत्नमेकमीदृशं निष्कासितं यद्वेदैर्वैद्यैश्च समुद्रमथनं कृत्वा निष्काशितेषु चतुर्दशरत्नेष्वपि न प्राप्तं । आराधना परमेश्वरस्य विज्ञापना च या कृता तया समुद्रसंगमसमाप्तौ सामर्थ्यं प्राप्तं । सहस्रोत्तर पंचषष्टितमे संवत्सरेऽस्मत्परमशकाद्व्यतीते द्विचत्वारिंशत्तमे च संवत्सरेऽस्य वीतरागस्याप्यायुषो विद्यमाने परमेश्वरेण सत्करणीयः स्वजनश्रेष्ठतमोऽस्मत्परमसिद्धः सपरिवारप्रतिनिधिसमूहः[1]॥ ॥ इति श्रीसमुद्रसंगमनामाग्रंथः परिपूर्णतामगमत् ॥ शुभं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ श्रीः ॥ संवत् १७६५ वर्षे मार्गशिर वदि सप्तम्यां चंद्रजवारे ॥ श्रीः ॥ "

The above extract gives us the following information :—

(1) The work was completed when 1065 th year of our era (A. H.) had passsd away and when

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(Continued from previous page)

मुल्लाशाह — Came to Lahore in A. D. 1614 and became disciple of मियां मीर — Died in A. H. 1661. Highly respected by दारा.

मुइद्दीन इब्न अरबी — The greatest mystic (A. D. *1165–1240*).

I have taken the above notes from Prof. Haq's remarks (pp. 57–63) on the Muslim Saints and Divines referred to by Dārā. Khan Bahadur Prof. A. K. Shaikh was kind enough to send me an English Trans. of Dārā's *Risala-i-haq-numa* (Compass of Truth) by S. C. Basu, Panini Office, Allahabad, 1912. Dārā composed this work in A. H. *1055–56*. In the extract from Dārā's *Saflnat-ul-auliya* (A. H. 1049) given by Basu in his Trans. I find one Hazrat Sheikh-*Zun-nun Misary* quoted on page V. He seems to be identical with " जून्नुन मिसीरी " mentioned in the above quoted extract from समुद्रसंगम.

1. Compare the following Colophon of *Majma '-ul-Baḥrain* " Praise be God for his favours, who granted me the grace of completing this tract, entitled *Majma '-ul-Baḥrain* in the year 1065 A. H. which corresponds to the forty-second year of the age of this unafflicted and unsorrowing Fakīr, Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh " (Vide p. 75 of the edition of *Majma-ul-Baḥrain* by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq — *Bib. Indica* No. 246, 1929).

(2) the Author (वीतराग महम्मद दाराशुको) was running the 42nd year of his life.

(3) The present MS was completed in Saṁvat 1765, in the *dark fortnight* of the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* on the *7th tithi* which was a Monday (day of *Candra*).[1]

The Hijra year (*1065*) was completed on *20th October 1655*[2] and hence we must infer that the work was composed subsequent to this date. Dara was born on *29 Safar* 1024 A. H. (*20th March 1615 A. D.*).[3] According to the method of calculating age in Hijra years then current, he completed his 41st year on *28th Safar 1065* (28th December 1654.) He was *41 years and 10th months old* when the Hijra year *1065* ended (last day of Zilaija) on *28th October 1655*. As he had not completed his 42nd year when the *Samudra-Saṅgama* was composed we must infer that this work was composed between *21st October* (1st Moharam 1066) and *27th December 1655* (28 Safar 1066 A. H.) the date of Dārā's completion of his 42nd year.[4]

The foregoing details of the chronology of Dārā's present work are in harmony with the following facts about his life and his contact with Benares Paṇḍits as known to contemporary authors :—

(1) Bernier[5] in his letter dated *4th October 1667* from Chiras in Persia to Monsieur Chapelain refers to Dārā's heresy as follows :—

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1. This date is equivalent to *23rd November 1708* (Vide p. 219 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI).

2. Vide p. 113 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI.

3. Vide p. 117 of Beale's *Ori. Bio. Dictionary*.

4. I am thankful to my friend Mr. V. S. Bendre for the verification of these chronological details.

5. Vide p. 345 of *Bernier's Travels* (Constable, 1891) — The Editor quotes a passage regarding Dara's heresy from *Alamgīr Nāmā* written in A. D. 1688 by Mirza Muhammad Kazīm :— "He (Dara) was constantly in the society of *Brāhmans*, *Jogis* and *Sanyāsīs*...... He was under such delusion about this *Bed* that he collected *Brāhmanas* and *Sanyāsīs* from all parts of the country, and paying them great respect and attention, he employed them in translating the *Bed*."

" In conclusion I shall explain to you the *Mysticism* of a *Great Sect* which has latterly made a great noise in *Hindoustan* in as much as certain *Pendets* or *Gentile Doctors* had instilled it into the minds of *Dara* and *Sultan Sujah*, the elder son of *Chah-Jehan*."

(2) Dara when Governor or Viceroy of Benares in **1656** caused a Persian translation to be made from the Sanskrit texts of the *Upanishads*. This translation was made by a large staff of Benares Paṇḍits. It has been rendered into Latin by Anquetil— Duperron and published by him at Paris in **1801**.[1]

(3) Bernier makes the following remarks about Dārā elsewhere[2] in his travels :—

" Born a *Mahomedan*, he continued to join in the excercises of that religion ; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to its faith, *Dara* was in private a *Gentile* with *Gentiles* and a *Christian* with *Christians*. He had constantly about him some of the *Pendets* or Gentile Doctors on whom he bestowed large pensions and from these it is thought he imbibed opinions in no wise accordant with the religion of the land etc."

(4) I have suggested in my paper[3] on "Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court " that " one of the most celebrated Pendets in all the Indies who had formerly belonged to the household of *Dara* " was identical with Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī,

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1. Vide footnote 5 on p. 323 of *Bernier's Travels*. Duperron's version is criticised in the *Edinburgh Review* (Jan. 1803) by Alexander Hamilton, who was in India and who later was Professor of Sanskrit in the East India College at Haileybury. Hamilton pays a glowing tribute to Dara's abilities.

On p. 592 of Elphinstone's *History of India* (1874) it is stated that " Dara had written a book to reconcile the Hindu and Mahometan Doctrines." Cowell in his footnote on this page states that the Persian translation of the Upanishads made by Dara's order was finished in Ramazān A. H. 1067 (A. D. 1657). He also invites our attention to " the account of *Nādir-un-nikāt* or Seven days' dialogue between the prince and Bābā Lāl in Wilson's *Hindu Sects* (*Collected Works* Vol. I, p. 348). Evidently this *Bābā Lāl* is the same as his name-sake referred to in the समुद्रसंगम.

2. Vide p. 6 of *Travels*.

3. Vide pp. 1–16 of *Annals* of S. V. Ori. Institute, Tirupati, Vol. I, Part 4, (1940).

who after Dārā's murder in A. D. 1659 was taken into service by *Danechmandkan*, the patron of Bernier himself. Kavīndrācārya's contact with Dara before A. D. 1659 may have been responsible for the production of such works like *Samudra-Saṅgama* in A. D. 1655 about which year Dara caused a Persian translation of the Upanishads to be made from the Sanskrit original.

(5) Another noted *Sanyasī* revered by *Dara* was Gosvāmī Nṛsiṁhāśrama. Dr. C. K. Raja recently published a Sanskrit letter[1] of *Dara* addressed to this *Sanyāsī*. I have proved in a special paper[2] that this *Sanyāsī* was identical with Brahmendra Sarasvatī, who is a signatory to a *Nirṇayapatra* drawn up at Benares in A. D. 1657.

(6) In a Hindi work called the कवींद्रकल्पलता represented by a MS[3] in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, there is a Section[4] containing *Dohas* in praise of Dara Shukoh. This work was recently brought to my notice by Prof. Dasharatha Sharma of Bikaner. Its author is no other than Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī who held much influence over Emperor Shah Jahan, to whose praise he devotes a big section[5] of the present work. According to Prof. Dasharatha Sharma this poem was composed "*Somewhere between 1638 and 1657*." This poem is a direct contemporary testimony from

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1. Vide *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. IV, October 1940 and VII, October 1943, (Trans.).

2. Vide pp. 172–177 of *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. VI, p. 13, (1942).

3. I am thankful to Prof. Dasharatha Sharma for keeping at my disposal his own copy of the Bikaner MS of the *Kavīndrakalpalatā*.

4. This Section begins :—

"अथ दारासाहिके कवित्वतरलता नरनारी तनमन फूलत है etc."

The Section ends :—

"इति श्रीविद्यानिधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीविरचितायां कल्पलतायां दारासाहि-विषयक ध्रुपदं दोहाकवित्वानि।"

This Section comprises folios 26 to 30 of my copy of the above MS.

5. This Section comprises folios 1 to 20 of my copy of the MS It ends :—

"इति श्रीसर्वविद्यानिधान कवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीविरचितायां कवीन्द्रकल्पलतायां साहिजहां विषयकध्रुवपदानि"

Kavīndrācārya himself about his intimate contact with Emperor Shah Jahan and his brilliant but unfortunate son Dara Shukoh, the author of the *Samudra-Saṅgama*. The Mishra Brothers state that Kavīndrācārya composed a Hindi work called समरसार in Saṁvat 1687 (A. D. 1631).[1]

(8) In the history of Hindi literature by Mishra Brothers called the मिश्रबंधुविनोद[2] we are told that Dārā was the author of two Hindi works composed in A. D. 1654 (Saṁvat 1710) viz. (1) दोहास्तवसंग्रह and सारसंग्रह. A work called "बाबालालसे बातचति" containing Dārā's discussion with बाबालाल on philosophic matters is mentioned in the Marathi Biographical Dictionary called the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa.*[3] Very probably this बाबालाल is identical with सद्गुरुबाबालाल mentioned by Dārā at the beginning of his present work *Samudra-Saṅgama*. Poleman[4] refers to to a work called सारसंग्रह (or सारसंग्रहराज) on medicine in *Sanskrit* and *Bhāṣā*. I cannot say if this सारसंग्रह is identical with the सारसंग्रह of Dārā Shukoh referred to above.

(9) In A. D. 1597-98 Emperor Akbar had the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* translated into Persian. This translation was very lengthy and not very useful. Dara Shikoh, therefore, got it retranslated into an abridged form in A. D. 1656.[5] After this paper was drafted I

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1. Vide p. 405 of मिश्रबंधुविनोद, Vol. II, 1928 (Lucknow).

2. Vide p. 458 of *Mishrabandhu Vinoda*, Vol. II, Lucknow, 1928. For a list of Dara's works vide "Dara Shikoh as an Author" (*Journal of Punjab His. Society*, II, pp. 21–28). See also Blochmann: *J. A. S. B.*, Part I (1870), pp. 273–9. The article on Dara in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (pp. 920–921) is not very exhaustive. For Persian MSS of Dara's works see Rieu's *Cata. of Persian MSS* and Ethe's *Cata. of Persian MSS* in the India Office Library (No. 647, pp. 274–316).

3. By Pt. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 452.

4. H. I. Poleman: *Indic MSS in U. S. A. etc.*, 1938, p. 267. MS No. 5339 — dated *Saṁvat 1903* = A. D. *1847*.

5. Vide p. 397 of *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, III, No. 3 (March 1942) — article by Prof. C. H. Shaikh on a MS of this translation dated A. D. *1700* in the Parasnis Historical Museum at the Deccan College Institute. Other MSS of this translation deposited elsewhere are dated A. D. *1742* and *1782*.

(*Continued on the next page*)

secured a critical edition of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* with English Translation, Notes and Varients by Prof. Ṃ. Mahfuz-ul-Haq of the Presidency College, Calcutta, 1929 (*Bib. Ind.* No. 246). From a perusal of the English Translation of this work I have gathered an impression that the Sanskrit *Samudra-Saṅgama* is an adaptation of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* made almost simultaneously in the year 1065 A. H. which is recorded as the date of composition in the ending portions of both these works. Dārā may have got this Sanskrit abridgment[2] made by some Benares Pandit in his employ in A. D. 1655.

I have already referred to बाबालाल mentioned in the समुद्रसंगम as "चैतन्यस्वरूप ज्ञानमूर्तिसद्गुरु on folio 1 of our MS of A. D. 1708. Prof. Haq has also drawn our attention to the reference to this Hindu Saint found in the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* (p. 24 of Eng. Trans.) where he calls him *Bābā Lāl Bairāgī* and puts him side by side with those Muhammadan Saints and divines who have been the best representatives of the Sufi order in Islam. Prof. Haq observes :—" The inclusion of the name of a Hindū in such an exclusive list of Muslim divines shows unmistakably the high esteem in which this devotee was held by Dārā Shikūh."

Prof. Haq has collected much valuable information about the contact of Dārā with Bābā Lāl. I shall here record a brief summary of it as it would be useful to know the Hindu influence on Dāra's mind in his quest for Truth.

Bābā Lāl (=BL) was a Hindu devotee of the Punjab. His actual name was Lāl Dayāl. He was a Khatri of Kasur living at *Asthān*, at Dhianpur near Batāla. He was a friend of Mīyān Jīv. He came down to Lahore and conversed with Dārā.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

On *folio* 8a of Ihe B. O. R. I. MS of the *Samudra-Saṅgama* Dārā quotes from वासिष्ठरामायण as follows :—

" तदुक्तं वासिष्ठरामायणे —

कल्पांतवायवो यांतु यांतु चैकत्वमर्णवाः ।
नयंतु द्वादशादित्या नास्ति निर्मनसः क्षतिः ॥ "

2. On page 32 of his Introduction Prof. Haq refers to an *Arabic* translation of *Majma-ul-Bahrain* preserved in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. He also refers to an *Urdū* translation by Gokul Prasad lithographed at Lucknow in 1872. These translations show the popularity of the work.

A work called " *Mukālima -i- Dārā wa Bābā Lāl* " we find a summary of the questions asked by Dārā on the various topics of Hindu religion and the replies given to them by **BL**. These conversations took place on Dārā's return from Kandhār in 1062 A. H. i. e. 3 years before the composition of the *Samudrasaṅgama* in 1065 A. H. (A. D. 1655). Dārā refers to **BL** in his work called " *Hasanāt -ul -'Ārifin* " composed A. H. 1064 as follows :—

" Bābā Lāl *Mandīya* is one of the perfect *Ārifs* and I have seen none in the Hindu community who is equal to him in majesty and firmness. He told me ' There are ' Ārifs, and perfect (divines) in every community through whose grace God grants salvation to that community."

Dārā's private secretary Chandar Bhān took a verbatim report of the whole dialogue between Dārā and **BL** and thus prepared the book " *Mukālima - i - Dārā Shikūh wa Bābā Lāl.*"

In the Curzon Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1908–1910) there is a copy of *Puthi Urisī* in Persian which contains memoirs of **BL** and an account of **BL**'s interview with Dārā in 1059 A. H. (= A. D. 1649.)

Prof. Haq notes the following paintings in which **BL** and Dārā are portrayed :—

Plate No. XXII in Binyon's *Court Painters of the Grand Moghals* (Oxford University Press, 1921) — Binyon states :— " Lāl Swāmi......was a Kshatriya born in Malwa in the reign of Jahangir ; after having been initiated he settled near Sirhind in the Punjab, where he built himself a hermitage together with a temple and was visited by a large number of disciples. Among those who were attracted by his teaching was Dārā Shikoh ; two learned Hindus who were in this prince's service have recorded in a work entitled *Nadir-al-Nikāt* the conversation that took place between them in the year 1649. "

(2) In plate XIX of Binyon's book **BL** appears in a group of 12 Indian divines viz. Rāy Dās. Pīpā, Nāmdīv, Sā'in, Kamāl, Awghar, Kabīr, Pir Machandar, Gorakh Jadru (?), Pir Panth Swāmi (?), and is styled there as Lāl Swāmi.

(3) A painting was exhibited at the Second Meeting of the *Indian Historical Records Commission* in which Dārā and **BL** are shown in each other's company.

(4) An unidentified painting in Percy Brown's *Indian Paint-*

ing under the Mughals (Plate No. XLVI) portrays in the opinion of Prof. Haq the meeting between Dārā and Bābā Lāl.

In Prof. Haq's edition of the *Majam-ul-Bahrain* I have not found any reference to the *Samudra-Saṅgama.* He states that a very difficult task which confronted him was that of identification and transliteration of Sanskrit terms which had been so mutilated in the Persian text that in many cases it became almost impossible to identify them correctly. Prof. Haq, therefore, availed himself of the help of Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta in going through some portion of the English translations and further the identification and translation of Sanskrit terms was carried out for Prof. Haq by Prof. N. Chakravarti. I believe that this difficulty could have been overcome by the above professors had they known about the MSS of the *Samudra-Saṅgama,* which being a Sanskrit counterpart of the Persian original executed in the year 1065 A. H. had the advantage of Dārā's own supervision in its composition, even if we presume that the work was written by some Benares Paṇḍit for Dārā.

Now that the Persian original of the *Samudra-Saṅgama* has been critically edited and translated by Prof. Haq the work of editing the *Samudra-Saṅgama* would be made easy. In fact my friend Mr. K. Madhav Sarma, Curator of Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, intends to edit the work. He has secured a MS of this work already and I am keeping at his disposal the oldest dated MS A. D. 1708 (*No. 1043 of 1891–95*) in the Government MSS Library, B. O. R. Institute.) Mr. Sarma will have to identify and transliterate correctly the Persian terms in the *Samudra-Saṅgama* in the same manner as the Sanskrit terms have been dealt with by Prof. Haq in his edition of the Persian original. At any rate we have now two MSS of the Sanskrit work, one of which was copied 53 years after the date of its composition and hence possesses great value for purposes of textual reconstruction. As I don't possess any first-hand knowledge of Dārā's Persian works I must rely on Prof. Haq's scholarly exposition of "Dārā's Religious Views" (pp. 26–30 of Introduction to *Majam-ul-Bahrain*) from which I note the following points for the information of Sanskrit scholars :—

(1) According to one authority *Majam-ul-Bahrain,* the last original work of Dārā, was the very work which brought about his death.

(2) The earlier studies of Dārā were purely Sufistic in character.

(3) Dārā writes in his translation of the *Upanishads* that after his discipleship of *Mullā Shāh* he came in close contact with the the divines of various religions and perused the *Psalms*, the *Gospels* and the *Pantateuch*. Before A. H. 1062 Dārā expressed no opinion on various religions more especially Hinduism.

(4) In his *Shathiyat* (1062 A. H.) Dārā quotes Bābā Lāl's aphorism that "*Truth is not the monopoly of any one religion*".

(5) In 1065 A. H. Dārā composed *Majma-ul-Bahrain* (or समुद्रसंगम) in which he expressed his views in a fearless manner as follows :—

"I have written this book for the members of my family and have nothing to do with the common ones of both the religions."

(Cf. समुद्रसंगम folio 1 — "स्वानुभवानुसारेण च निर्णीय तत्वार्थं स्वकुटुंबेष्वनुकंपया कृतोयमारंभः। न पुनरज्ञानिनो विभिन्नमतसंबंधिनोबोधनेन मम प्रयोजनम्॥)" [1]

(6) In the *Samudra-Saṅgama* Dārā appears as a student of comparative religion, showing the points of identity between Hinduism and Islam without exalting or undermining either.

(7) Prof. Haq states that "Dārā had not renounced his own faith and become a Hindu as is asserted by a biased section of the community (p. 27 of Intro.). Dārā believed in the *Kurān* and was of opinion that "the *Vedas* were in accordance with the *Kurān* or rather they were an interpretation of that".

(Cf. समुद्रसंगम folio 6b —

"अपौरुषेय ग्रंथोस्माकं कुराणं सिद्धानां वेद इत्युच्यते")

(8) Dārā was indicted by the ecclesiasts of Aurangzeb's Court for his apostasy, but Prof. Haq states :— "Any one can choose to be the champion of Īslām and remove all those who stand in the way of the realization of his political ambitions." It was obviously the mixture of politics and religion in Dārā's days that made Dārā a martyr to his views.

I now close this paper on the *Samudra-Saṅgama* of Dārā Shu-

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1. Cf. *Bhagavadgītā* :

"न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मसंगिनाम्।
जोषयेत्सर्वं कर्माणि विद्वान्युक्तः समाचरन्॥"

koh with a request to Sanskrit Scholars and the students of the Mughal history to reconstruct the history of Dārā's contact with Benares paṇḍits which yet needs careful exploration and reconstruction on the basis of contemporary sources, both Sanskrit and Persian. In fact this *Samudra-Saṅgama* of various historical sources can alone lead to historical truth, divested of the mythical gossip that generally gathers round the life-history of unique historical personages of every age and clime. May Dārā's soul rest in eternal peace. Dārā died a Socratic death.

" यद्गत्वा न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम "

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51. The Identification of Gosvāmi Nṛsiṁhāśrama of Dara Shukoh's Sanskrit Letter with Brahmendra Sarasvatī of the Kavīndra-Candrodaya — Between A. D. 1628 & 1658 *

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja[1] published in 1940 an interesting Sanskrit letter of Mohamed Dara Shukoh, the son of Shah Jahan and half-brother of Aurangzeb. The particulars of this letter as given by Dr. Raja may be noted below :

(1) The letter is " written to Gosvāmi Nṛsiṁha Sarasvatī[2] as noticed in lines eleven to thirteen of Section (24). "

(2) It is " more an address than a letter. "

(3) Its MS is in the Adyar Library (No. XI. D. 4) [Vide p. 2 (b) of *Adyar Cata.* II, 1928 and MS No. 3111 of R.A.S.B. Cata. IV, as also *Kavīndrācārya Sūcī*, G.O.S. Baroda, No. XVII, preface. See also *Ind. Office Cata.* VII, (1904) MS No. 3947 on p. 499 and Mitra's *Notices* X, MS No. 4028].

(4) The MS bears the date *Saṁvat* 1805 (1748 *A. D.*) "मितिराश्वीनशुक्लतृतीयायां संवत् १८०५ अष्टादशशतोत्तरपञ्चमाब्दे" This cannot be the date of the letter. It must be the " date of transcription or more probably the date given should be Saṁvat 1705 (1648 *A. D.*) if it is Dara Shukoh's date. "

(5) The letter of Dara Shukoh must have ended with Section (24) — " इति अष्टाक्षरमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः सन्ति " ॥२४॥. The remainder (Sections 25 to 31) must be another letter by one रामानुज and it men-

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* *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. VI, Part 3, pp. 172–177.

1. Vide pp. 87 to 94 of *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pt. 3, October 1940.

2. The text of Dara Shukoh's letter reads " गोस्वामि नृसिंहाश्रमेषु "

tions a letter from साहजीक, who may be साहजी of Tanjore (1684–1711 *A. D.*) or Shah Jahan (1628–1658 *A. D.*)

(6) Both the letters are found in the same MS.

(7) There is no need to alter the date "Saṁvat" 1805 as it is reasonable to take it as the date of transcription.

I am concerned here with the first of these letters which gives the name of *Dara Shukoh* and the addressee *Nṛsiṁhāśrama* at the end of Section 24, which reads as follows :—

"......सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूपेषु महायतिवरभूपेषु परिकल्पितनिर्विकल्पसमाधिविध्वस्तसंसारमहाश्रमेषु श्रीगोस्वामिनृसिंहाश्रमेषु प्रकटितपरमानन्दसंदोहतत्त्वज्ञानदूरीकृतमहामोहसमवगतसप्तभूमिकासमारोहमहम्मद्दाराशिकोहकृता ओंनमोनारायणायेत्यष्टाक्षरमन्त्रपूर्वका नमस्काराः संति ॥ २४ ॥"

I propose to identify "गोस्वामिनृसिंहाश्रम" with ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती who was a resident of Benares and a contemporary of Shah Jahan (1628–1658 *A. D.*). My evidence for the proposed identification is as follows :—

(1) There is a निर्णयपत्र[1] dated Śaka 1579 (=A. D. *1657*) endorsed by about 75 learned Brahmins of Benares who had assembled to settle the Caste dispute about the देवर्षि Brahmins. This निर्णयपत्र of *A. D. 1657* contains the following endorsements :—

(1) "संमतार्थोऽयं पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वतीयतेः"

(22) "संमतश्चार्थोऽयं ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्याख्ययतेर्नृसिंहाश्रमस्य।"

It is clear from the second endorsement quoted above that there lived at at Benares in *A. D. 1657* a Sanyāsin called नृसिंहाश्रम[2] who was more popularly known as "ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती." He was also contemporary of another Sanyāsin "पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वती" whose endorse-

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1. Vide p. 78 of चितळेभट्टप्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar, Bombay, 1926, "मुक्तिमंडपांतील निर्णय, शक १५७९, सन १६५७."

2. This नृसिंहाश्रम is different from नृसिंहाश्रम, the *Guru* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, who composed works in *A. D.* 1547 and 1558 (Vide my paper on Bhaṭṭoji's date in *Annals* (Tirupati), Vol. I, (1940), pp. 117–124.

ment appears first on the above निर्णयपत्र, which is endorsed by such worthies as गागाभट्ट, खण्डदेव etc.

(2) Rāmāśrama quotes Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita[1] in his *Durjana-mukha-Capeṭikā*. Bhaṭṭoji's career ended about *A. D.* 1620. Rāmāśrama[2] is, therefore, later than Bhaṭṭoji. He is also later than पूर्णेन्द्रसरस्वती and ब्रह्मेन्द्र-सरस्वती as these persons are mentioned by him in his दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका (B.O.R. Institute MS *No. 139 of 1891-95*, folio 2 — पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्यादिभिः ") He may have been a junior contemporary of पूर्णेन्द्र and ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती quoted by him as authorities.

(3) The *Kavīndra-Candrodaya*, Poona, 1939 (between *A. D.* 1628 and 1658) contains the following tribute to कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती from his contemporary of Benares :—

P. 29 — " स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समस्तगुणरत्नाकरेषु ... ... सार्वभौमप्रभृतिसकलमही-पालसंतोषावहसकलकलाविराजमानेषु ४ महोदारमहाशयपरमाप्तश्रीसर्वविद्या-निधानकवीन्द्राचार्यसरस्वतीप्रभुवरेषु ५ ॥ ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वतीनाम् ॥ "

P. 2 — श्रीकृष्ण उपाध्याय refers to पूर्णेन्द्र and ब्रह्मेन्द्र in his description of कवीन्द्राचार्य which reads :

" विख्यातकीर्तिः पूर्णेन्द्रब्रह्मेन्द्राद्यभिनन्दितः । "

P. 24 — Pūrṇendra and Brahmendra are again mentioned as leaders of the Sanyāsins of Benares in the following line in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय —

" ब्रह्मेन्द्रपूर्णेन्द्रयतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्यैरशेषैरभिनन्द्यमानः ". We may compare the epithet 'यतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्य' as applied to ब्रह्मेन्द्रयती here with the epithet " महायतिवरभूप " used by Dara Shukoh in his address to नृसिंहाश्रम.

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1. Folio 2 of B.O.R. Institute MS *No. 139 of 1891-95*. " भट्टोजि-दीक्षितैः भागवतं स्वीकृतम्. "

2. One रामाश्रम composed a work तत्त्वचन्द्रिका (Ms No. 2906 described by R. Mitra, *Notices*, X, Calcutta, 1888). He was a pupil of one नृसिंहाश्रम (colophon — " इति परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यभगवन्नृसिंहाश्रमपूज्यपाद-शिष्य श्रीरामाश्रमविरचिता तत्वचन्द्रिका संपूर्णा । शकाब्दा: १६७८ ") who is *earlier* than *1756 A. D.* Is this नृसिंहाश्रम identical with नृसिंहाश्रम (*A.D. 1547, 1558*) *or* with नृसिंहाश्रम (alias ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती) endorsing a निर्णयपत्र in *A. D. 1657* at मुक्तिमंडप in Benares ?

The foregoing evidence may now be briefly recorded as follows :—

A. D. 1628–1658 — Brahmendra Sarasvatī was a pre-eminent Sanyāsin of Benares, highly respected by his contemporaries as shown by references to him in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय[1] (Ms of A. D. *1678*) a contemporary record of Shah Jahan's time.

A.D. 1620–1660 — Rāmāśrama, the author of दुर्जनमुखचपेटिका, who was possibly a junior contemporary of ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती refers to him in this work.

A. D. 1628–1658 — Dara Shukoh in his address to नृसिंहाश्रम calls him यतिवरभूप, an expression similar to the expression "यतीन्द्रवृन्दमुख्यैः" applied to ब्रह्मेन्द्र in the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय in which the contact of कवीन्द्राचार्य with Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh is expressly stated on p. 23 as follows :—

" येन श्री साहिजाहाँ नरपतितिलकः स्वस्य वश्यः कृतोऽभूत् ।
किं चावश्यं प्रपन्नः पुनरपि विहितः शाहिदाराशकोहः ॥ "

A. D. 1657 — The निर्णयपत्र of A. D. *1657* drawn up at मुक्तिमण्डप in Benares discloses for the first time that ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती is identical with नृसिंहाश्रम ("ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वत्याख्ययतेः नृसिंहाश्रमस्य").

In view of the above contemporary evidence of the *Kavīndra Candrodaya*[2], the *Durajanamukha-Capeṭikā* of one Rāmāśrama, Dara Shukoh's Sanskrit Address and the *Nirṇayapatra*[3] drawn up at Muktimaṇḍapa in Benares, I am inclined to believe that गोस्वामि-

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1. The Calcutta MS of the कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय (Mitra's *Notices*, II, MS No. 815) is dated A. D. *1678* (Saṁvat 1734). Vide p. 1 of Intro. by H. D. Sharma and M. M. Patkar to कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय.

2. Vide my paper on "Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court" — *Annals* (Tirupati), Vol. I, pt. 4, pp. 1–16.

3. This is a valuable document as it contains the endorsements of about 75 learned men of Benares who lived in the middle of the 17th century. Though this document is published in the Marathi book — " चितळेभट्टप्रकरण " by R. S. Pimputkar in 1926 I propose to edit it again as an appendix to one of my projected papers with historical notes on the identification of at least some of these learned men. It may be noted here that some of the contributors to *Kavīndra Candrodaya* are signatories to this निर्णयपत्र of A. D. 1657.

नृसिंहाश्रम to whom Dara Shukoh sent his Sanskrit address is no other than ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती referred to in contemporary documents by this popular name.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar[1] make the following remarks regarding ब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती of the *Kavīndra Candrodaya* :—

" 51 *Brahmendra Sarasvatī*, pupil of Devendra and the author of the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* (*CC* I, 389[a]) and *Advaitāmṛta*[2] (*CC* II, 88[a])."

These remarks need to be examined in the light of the evidence brought forth in this paper.

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1. *Kavīndra-Candrodaya*, Poona, 1939, Intro., p. ix.

2. The India Office MS of अद्वैतामृत indicates writing of the "*17th century*" (Vide p. 771 of *I. O. Cata.*, IV, 1894—MS No. 2405).

52. The tradition about Liaison of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja with a Muslim Lady (Yavanī)—Is it a Myth?*

Like the life-history of many of his celebrated contemporaries, the life-history of Jagannātha Paṇḍita is shrouded in mystery. Some of the traditions about this dominant personality of the middle of the 17th century are taken as facts of history by the orthodox pandits while they are dismissed as myths by modern writers. No attempt seems to have been made to examine all these traditions from the historical point of view, which requires a painstaking investigation not only in contemporary sources but in subsequent sources, whether Sanskrit or non-Sanskrit.[1]

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* *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VI, Part 1, pp. 57–62.

1. In this connection Dr. Qanungo's paper on "Some sidelights on the character and court-life of Shah Jahan" published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. 8 (1929), pp. 49 and 50, is noteworthy. Some points from this paper pertaining to Jagannātha may be recorded here:—

(*i*) Jagannātha is referred to in the *Padshahnama* as a *Kalāwant* (musician).

(*ii*) On the 22nd Rabi-us-Sani Jagannātha *Kalāwant* presented to the emperor 12 literary pieces composed in the name of His Majesty (Shah Jahan), who was so pleased that Jagannātha was weighed against silver and the whole amount of Rs. 4,500 was presented to Jagannātha.

(*iii*) *Jagannātha Kalāwant* was first given the title of *Kavirāya* and after some time that of *Mahā Kavirāya*.

(*iv*) Jagannātha (Kalāwant) headed the list of authors at the Mughal Court. Dr. Qanungo identifies *Jagannātha Kalāwant* with Jagannātha, the author of *Rasagaṅgādhara* and Āsaflaharī (*Āsafvilāsa*). I have noted these points from Prof. V. A. Sastri's remarks on p. 23 of his *Jagannātha Paṇḍita.*

In a recent volume[1] on Jagannātha Paṇḍita Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri of the Annamalai Universitty has devoted one Chapter[2] to "Jagannātha's Life-history" and gathered all known data about this history. It is a laudable attempt as it provides us with all earlier references on the subject and thus lays bare the points which need further investigation. I have been collecting materials on these lines but as it will take a long time to put them in print I have thought it advisable to make a beginning by putting on record some evidence on the tradition about the *liaison* of Jagannātha with a yavanī or muslim lady, which is always mentioned with wonder and amazement by the orthodox paṇḍits and with a prying curiosity and hidden admiration by some of our modern Sanskritists with a reformist and cosmopolitan bias.

In support of Jagannātha's liaison with a Muslim lady some verses[3] are cited. Prof. Sastri states that, " these verses are not

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1. *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (Annamalai Univ. Series, No. 8), Annamalainagar, 1942. In chapter I the author deals with the elder and close contemporaries of Jagannātha. Among these I find the names of (1) खण्डदेवमिश्र, (2) भट्टोजि दीक्षित and (3) कवीन्द्राचार्य सरस्वती. He seems to be unware of the following papers published by me on these personalities :—

(*i*) The Chronology of the Works of Khaṇḍadeva (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 9-15).

(*ii*) A new Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*Annals S. V. Ori. Institute* Tirupati, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 117-127).

(*iii*) Bernier and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court, (*Annals*, Tirupati, 1940, Vol. I, Part 4, pp. 1-16). See also my paper on Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, (1941), pp. 188-199.

2. Chapter II (pp. 11-28).

3. These verses as quoted by Prof. Sastri are :—

" यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी
शयनीये यदि नीयते कदाचित् ।
अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये
न वनी माधवनी विनोदहेतुः ॥ १ ॥

यवनी रमणी विपदश्शमनी
कमनीयतमा नवनीतसमा ।

(*Continued on the next page*)

found in any one of his (Jagannāth's) works. ... As there is no direct reference to any Muslim beauty in this work (in the Śṛṅgāra Samullāsa of the *Bhāminīvilāsa*) it is doubtful whether he had been intimate with a Muslim lady. The stanzas cited might be the productions of his enemies whom he had not spared and in revenge were probably fathered upon him." Prof. Sastri concludes his discussion[1] of the topic as follows :—

" It may be remembered in this connection that Shah Jahan interdicted Hindu - Muhammadan marriages in Kashmir. Therefore, it is unlikely that he tolerated his *protègè* Jagannāth's marriage with a Muslim lady." Against this conclusion of Prof. Sastri I have to point out that the practice of maintaining *liaison* with Muslim ladies was not uncommon in the 17th century or even in the 16th century. For instance Lolimbarāja[2] who belonged to the latter half of the 16th century had his *liaison* with Ratnakalā a Muslim beauty who is constantly referred to in his works. Then again a Brahmin Dayādeva Śarmā had his *liaison* with Cimanī[3] the daughter - in-law of Allāhvardī Khān Turkmān (between A. D. 1606 and 1660) one of the great grandees at Shah Jahān's court. It is, therefore, quite probable that Jagannātha Paṇḍita maintained his *liaison* with a yavanī in spite of his contact with Shah Jahān's court.

Now let us see if we can record the earliest mention of the

(*Continued from the previous page*)

उहि ऊहि वचोऽमृतपूर्णमुखी
स सुखी जगतीह यदङ्कगता ॥ २ ॥
इयं सुस्तनी मस्तकन्यस्तकुम्भा
कुसुम्भारुणा चारुचेलावसाना ।
अरम्भासमानापि रम्भासमाना
लवङ्गी कुरङ्गी दृगङ्गी करोतु ॥ ३ ॥"

The third verse is also read as :—

"न याचे गजालिं न वा वाजिराजिं न वित्तेषु चित्तं मदीयं कदापि ।
इयं सुस्तनी मस्तकन्यस्तहस्ता लवङ्गी कुरङ्गी दृगङ्गी करोतु ॥"

1. Vide p. 21 of *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (1942).

2. Vide my paper on "Lolimbarāja and His Works" (*Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, pp. 1–17).

3. Vide my paper on the "Historical Background of the Cimanīcarita" (*Poona Orientalist*, 1941, Vol. VI, pp. 149–158).

tradition of Jagannātha and his contact with a *yavanī* (or Muslim beauty). So far as my investigation goes I have found such mention in the commentary of Sadāśiva on the *Gaṅgālaharī* of Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Sadāśiva observes at the beginning of his commentary :—

"अत्र एवं श्रूयते । कवि जगन्नाथो दिल्लीवल्लभाश्रितस्तद्यवनीसंसर्गदोषभाक् सन् गंगासकाशात् द्विपंचाशत् सोपानांतरितनिजगृहे स्थितः सन् तत्रैव जाह्नव्यागमन-स्पर्शनेनात्मशुद्धिंकामयमानः सन् काव्यं यशसेर्थंकृते परदोषविदे शिवेतरक्षतये । सद्यः परनिवृत्तये कांतासमिततयोपदेशयुजे इति काव्यप्रकाशोक्तेः शिवेतरक्षतिफलदं गंगास्तुति-रूपं काव्यं चिकीर्षुः विघ्नविघाताय वस्तुनिर्देशात्मकं मंगलमाचरन् स्वाभिमतं प्रार्थयते ॥ समृद्धमिति ॥"

The above extract is found in a MS at the B. O. R. Institute (Govt. MSS Library)—*No. 433 of 1884-87*, which bears the date[1] Śaka 1750 = *A. D. 1828.*

As the tradition about Jagannātha and his *yavanī* is recorded recorded in a MS of Sadāśiva's commentary copied in A. D. 1828 we can safely infer that it was current towards the end of the 18th century. I have not examined the date[2] of Sadāśiva's commentary but it is obviously earlier than A. D. 1828. It is thus clear that this tradition is at least about 150 years old.

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1. The MS ends :—"शके १७५० सर्वधारी नामसंवत्सरे मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ले रुद्र-तिथ्यां रविवारे समाप्तिमगमत् । इति श्रीसदाशिवभट्टविरचिता जगन्नाथनिर्मितगंगालहर्या व्याख्या समाप्ता ॥ MS No. 154 of 1902-07 of the same comm. is dated Śaka 1772 = A. D. 1850.

2. I reproduce below the closing verses of Sadāśiva's commentary as found on folio 27[a] of MS No. *433 of 1884-87* referred to above :—

"यद्यप्यहं मंदमतिस्तथापि टीका समाप्तिर्हि बभूव शीघ्रं ।
नात्रापरं कारणमस्ति किंचिच्छ्रीभास्कराज्ञा किल किंत्वमोघा ॥ १ ॥
शाके कीलकसंज्ञके नृसुखके संमासके चैत्रके
वारे भार्गवके तिथौ करणके सर्वस्थ संबालके ।
भूलेभे विबुधौघचित्तसुखदा टीका समाप्तानया
तोषं यातु समस्तपापहरिणी गंगामहेशां गिरी ॥ २ ॥
गंगा नृपं द्विपं वा तुरगं मृगं वा
शुक्रं बकं वा महिषं वृषं वा ।

(*Continued on the next page*)

As regards the antiquity of the verses about Jagannātha's yavanī already quoted in this paper I have to state that they are found in a MS[1] dated A. D. *1843* of Dalapatirāma's commentary on

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

हरी करोप्यंगनकं हि गंगे
स्नातं भवत्यां सकृदीश गंगे ॥ ३ ॥

नारायणो यस्य पितामहोभून्माणीकभट्टश्च पिता यदीयः।
गोपी यदीया जननी सुशीला टीका कृता तेन सदाशिवेन ॥ ४ ॥

भक्तो यद्रवहतोः केदारत्किं पर्वतेसित्वं।
तत्राप्यागत्याहं त्वां शिवं याचे हि तत्कृत्सर्वः ॥ ५ ॥

पंडितस्य कुलोत्पन्नो मयूरेश इति श्रुतः।
तेनेदं लिखितं सर्वं स्वात्मनः पाठसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

आर्जितं भूरितं कष्टे लिखितं पुस्तकं मया।
हर्तुमिच्छति यः पापी तस्य वंशक्षयो भवेत् ॥ २ ॥ etc."

The verse "शाके कीलक संज्ञके" quoted above contains the date of composition. Perhaps Śaka 1710 (= A. D. *1788*) Caitra month (April-May) is the date of composition as this year bears the name कीलक (vide *Ind. Ephemeris* VI, p. 380).

1. *MS No. 339 of 1892–95* (Govt. MSS Library, B. O. R. Institute) folio 2 a—

—" यातायातैः प्रतिदिनमहो भज्यमानाधिमानाः
सिद्धैः सार्द्धं दिवि दिविषदैस्सार्धपात्रैकहस्ता।
मातर्गंगे यदवधि तव प्रादुरसीत्प्रवाहः ॥ १ ॥

किं निश्शङ्कं शेषे शेषे वयसि समा(ग)तो मृत्युः
अथवा सुखं शयीथा निकटे जागर्ति जाह्नवी जननी ॥ २ ॥

शास्त्राण्याकलितानि नित्यविधयः सर्वेपि संपादिता
दिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः।
संप्रत्यंधकशासकस्य नगरे तत्त्वं परचिंतते
सर्वं पंडितराजराजतिलकेनाकारि लोकत्तरं(यं) ॥ ३ ॥
श्रीमद् ज्ञानेंद्रभिक्षोरधिगतनिखिलब्रह्मविद्याप्रपंचः
काणादीराक्षयादीरपि गहनगिरो यो महेन्द्रादवेदीद्
देवा देवाद्यधीष्टः स्मरहरनगरे शासनं जैमिनीयं
शेषांकप्राप्तशेषा सलभणितिरभृत्सर्वविद्याधरो यः ॥ ४ ॥
पठविघटितमपि कुचतटमत्कपटमनसकुरंगनयनायाः।
मणिमयमयूखपटली पटलीनतया न सम्यगालोकि ॥ ५ ॥

(*Continued on the next page*)

the *Gaṅgālaharī of* Jagannātha. These verses are, therefore, 100 years old and as they are connected with the tradition about Jagannātha's *yavanī* recorded by the commentator Sādāśiva we may not be wrong if we consider them practically of the same age as the tradition i.e. about 150 years old, if not more.

Dalapatirāma composed his commeetary in A. D. *1807*. It is doubtful whether the 9 verses found in a MS of A. D. *1843* formed part of Dalapatirāma's commentary. It is, however, certain that they were current in A. D. 1843 and possibly many years earlier[1] as I have already observed above.

The extract given above states that these verses were composed by Paṇḍitarāja (Jagannātha)—" इमे श्रीपंडितराजकृत श्लोका:." We are concerned here with verses 6, 7 and 9 in the extract, which are practically identical with those quoted by Prof. Ramaswami Sastri, in his discussion about Jagannātha's *yavanī*.

The extract from Sadāśiva's commentary on the *Gaṅgālaharī* containing the tradition about Jagannātha's *yavanī* and the three

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

{ यवनी रमणी विपदः समनी कमनीयतमा नवनीतसमा ।
उहि ऊहिवचोमृतपूर्णमुखी स सुखी जगतीह यदंकगता ॥ ६ ॥

{ यवनी नवनीतकोमलांगी शयनीयं यदि मामकं भजेत ।
अवनीतलमेव साधु मन्ये न पुनर्माधवनी वनी विनोदं ॥ ७ ॥

स्थानादनुत्थानं मं वंदन संप्रश्न संप्रश्नवागभावः ।
अन्योन्यमालोक्य न माननानां श्रीगोकुले गोकुलरीति रेषा ॥ ८ ॥

{ न याचे गजालिं न वा वाजिराजिं न विभेयचित्तं मदीयं कदापि ।
इयं सुस्तनी मस्तकन्यस्तहस्ता लवंगी कुरंगी दृगंगीकरोतु ॥ ९ ॥

इमे श्री पंडितराजकृतश्लोका: या पटविघटितमपि कुचतटमधुपटमनसः कुरंगनयनायाः मणीमयमयूखपटली पटलीनतया न सम्यगालोकी अपिमरश्रवणादेतत्सलिलस्य सुघातः सौंदर्य्यं स्फुटमेव "

The foregoing verses are not found in other MSS of Dalapatirāma's Comm. at the B. O. R. Institute. The date of this comm. is A. D. *1807* (*Vide* N. V. Athalye's article in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 77 ff.).

1. In connection with the question of Jagannātha and his *yavanī* the following anecdote of Jahangir's Court narrated by Bernier in his

(*Continued on the next page*)

verses about this *yavanī* found in a MS of A. D. 1843 make it abundantly clear that this tradition had crystallized by the end of the 18th century and that it is about 150 years old. We cannot, therefore, brush it aside without tracing its origins in earlier sources. At any rate we should keep it open for further investigation and should not treat it as a pure myth without any foundation in fact. It has been my experience that traditions dismissed as improbable by responsible scholars[1] with critical acumen have been proved by me on contemporary evidence, the genuineness of which has now been acknowledged by them. I would, therefore, request my friend Prof. Sastri to examine the tradition about Jagnnātha's *yavanī* more closely on the strength of all sources, contemporary and subsequent ones, and then express a decisive opinion on it. Sanskritists are not to blame if they are unable to prove facts of

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

letter written from Delhi on *1st July 1663* makes interesting reading :—(Vide pp. 274–276 of *Travels*, Vol. I, Constable, London, 1891).

A physician and surgeon called *Bernard* was a favourite of Jahangir. He was paid 10 crowns per day. He fell in love with a damsel of Jahangir's Court. Her mother resisted the overtures of *Bernard*. Jahangir offered him a present for an extraordinary cure effected by him in his Seraglio. Bernard refused the gift before the Court assembly and in lieu thereof asked for the damsel in question then waiting for the customary *salām* at the court. "The whole assembly smiled at this refusal of the present and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a *Christian* and the girl a *Mahomedan* and a *Kencheny* ; but *Jehan-Guyre*, who never felt any religious scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the girl to be given to him 'Lift her on the physician's shoulders' he said, 'and let him carry the *Kenchen* away.' No sooner said than done. In the midst of a crowded assembly, the girl was placed on Bernard's back who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his house." This story of *Bernard* and his *yavanī* may be favourably compared with that of Jagannātha and his *yavanī*.

1. Vide my papers on the Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jaising of Amber (in the *Jour. of Ind. History*, XV, 364 ff. ; *Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 166 ff. ; *Mīmāṁsā Prakāsh* II, p. 43 ff). My friend Dr. Dineshchandra Sarkar has admited the genuineness of this evidence on p. 351 of his "*Successors of the Sātavāhanas*" —(Appendix on Aśvamedha), Calcutta, 1939.

traditions[1] about the personal history of Sanskrit authors but it is their sacred duty to bring to the notice of historians such facts or traditions which need further investigation. I myself have been struggling continuously in this direction for the last twenty-five years but the results of my labour have hardly touched the very fringe of the uncharted field of the history of Sanskrit and allied literature represented by the innumerable manuscripts in our Manuscript Libraries.

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1. Mr. Ramrao Martand Bhamburkar in his *Life of Pandit Jagannātharāya* and *Saṅgīta Gaṅgālaharī*, Baroda, 1928 (Pages 137 + 72) has collected and recorded all facts and fiction about Jagannātha. The volume makes interesting reading but it is difficult to penetrate the mist of tradition as recorded in this volume. He has composed a Marathi play called यवनीपरिणय based on Jagannātha and his yavanī. It is in three acts. Mr. Bhamburkar makes Jagannātha a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1556–1605) while Prof. Ramaswami Sastri gives us " c. A. D. 1590–1665 " as the date of Jagannātha, which I think is acceptable. I appreciate Mr. Bhamburkar's fervour but not his chronology, which is somewhat misleading and contrary to contemporary evidence. In Mr. Bhamburkar Jagannātha has found a kindred spirit to render his *Gaṅgālaharī* ably in Marathi songs, which are characterized by a felicity of diction and ease of style, qualities rarely to be found in some of the Marathi renderings of Sanskrit poems.

53. The Influence of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja on some Deccani Authors of the Seventeenth Century — Between A. D. 1650 and 1700*

Like all great men Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja had his enemies during the period of his life (between *c. A. D.* 1590–1665)[1]. In spite of these enemies the banner of his fame, though it may have been torn by his contemporary rivals, is kept fluttering even to this day and will continue to flutter so long as Sanskrit literature continues to live. In spite of a few contemporaries, who may have been in conflict with his way of life[2] or his literary activities there were others who were influenced by his poetry and learning. I propose in this paper to record how the influence of this mighty mind affected the Deccani poets and pandits. My data on this topic is not exhaustive but only representative and hence may be made more elaborate by additional facts from contemporary sources, if available on a fresh research in sources hitherto known or in sources which remain still untapped.

The first dated reference to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja by a Deccani[3] author is found in an anthology called the *Padyāmṛta-*

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* *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, pp. 29–37.

1. *Vide* p. 35 of *Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja* by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri. (Annamalai University Series No. 8) 1942.

2. For instance, the tradition about his liaison with a Muslim lady (yavanī). *Vide* my paper on the subject to be published shortly in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay.

3. *Vide* my paper on "The Date of Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇi of Bhāskara — Saṁvat 1730 (*12th June 1673*)" in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol, III, pp. 33–55 (1935). Bhāskara's family hailed from त्र्यंबकेश्वरपुरी near Nasik (Bombay Presidency) as stated by him in this anthology :—

" त्र्यम्बकेश्वरपुरीकृतवासादग्निहोत्रीकुलनीरधिचंद्रात् ।
पुण्यपूर्णपुरुषोत्तमभट्टादुद्बभूव सुकृती हरिभट्टः ॥ "

Verses 1 to 5 give us the genealogy of the author up to his own gene-

(*Continued on the next page*)

taraṅgiṇi completed on Thursday, *12th of June 1673* by Bhāskara (*alias* Hari) at Benares. In this work on anthology a verse is quoted and its authorship ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja. This verse as found by me in Manuscript *No. 376 of 1884-87* in the Government Manucripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, reads as follows :—

Folio 7^b — पण्डितराजस्य ।

" दिङ्नागाः प्रतिपेदिरे प्रथमतो जात्यैव नेतव्यताम्
संभाव्य स्फुटविक्रमोथ वृषभो गौरेव गौरीपतेः ।
विक्रान्तेर्निकषः करोतु कृतमं मामत्रिलौकीतले
कण्ठे कालकुटुम्बिनी करुणया सिक्तः सकण्ठीरवः ॥ १०८ ॥ "

I have not identified the above verse but presuming that it was composed by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja as stated in the manuscript of the anthology we must regard it as the earliest quotation from Jagannātha by a Deccani writer, whose family came from Tryambakeśvara near Nasik. The author of the anthology, Bhāskara (*alias* Hari) as also his father Āpājibhaṭṭa, were both residing at Benares. Āpāji (*c. A. D.* 1650) as also his son Bhāskara (*A. D.* 1650–1690 or so) may have come into contact with Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. At any rate Āpāji was a contemporary of Paṇḍitarāja (*A.D.* 1590 to 1660 or so) and must have read the works of Jagannātha produced during his life-time, say between *A. D.* 1610 and 1650. It is, therefore, Possible to suppose that his son Bhāskara was familar with Jagannātha's poetry. If these suggestions are accepted we may reasonably presume that the verse ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja by Bhāskara in his anthology of *A. D.* 1673 is the earliest quotation from Paṇḍitarāja by a Deccani writer of the second half of the seventeenth century[1].

(*Continued from the previous page*)

ration. The complete genealogy as recorded in these verses is as follows :—

(काश्यपगोत्र) पुरुषोत्तमभट्ट (अग्निहोत्री) of त्र्यंबकेश्वरपुरी
|
(*c. A. D.* 1625) हरिभट्ट
|
(*c. A. D.* 1650) आपाजिभट्ट (कांशीक्षेत्रनिवासी)
|
भास्कर (alias हरि)
Composed works in *A. D.* 1673, 1676 (वृत्तरत्नाकरटीका)

1. *Vide* Aufrecht C. C. I, 759 — Bhāskara composed :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

The next Deccani author to be influenced by the writings of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was Hari Kavi[1] *alias* Bhānubhaṭṭa, who was a resident of Surat[2] in Gujarat. He wrote some works by the order of Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, the guru of the Marāṭha King Sambhāji (*A.D.* 1680–1689) and of Sambhāji himself. He composed his *Śambhurāja-carita* or a poetical life of his patron Sambhāji in *A. D.* 1685. He composed an anthology called the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* in which he quotes five verses and ascribes them to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. My friend Dr. H. D. Sharma has been able to identify *two* of these verses in Jagannātha's works. These two verses are as follows :—

(*Continued from the previous page*)

आध्यात्मरामायणप्रकाश, गङ्गास्तुति, पद्यामृततरङ्गिणी, परिभाषाभास्कर, भास्कर-चरित, यशवन्तभास्कर, लक्ष्मीस्तुति, वृत्तरत्नाकरसेतु written at Benares in **1676** *A. D.*, शुद्धिप्रकाश, स्मृतिप्रकाश.

Vide P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, (1930) p. 718 — "भास्कर..............author of आचारप्रकाश, मुक्तिक्षेत्रप्रकाश, शुद्धिप्रकाश (composed in *A. D.* **1695–96**) यशवन्तभास्कर (under the patronage of यशवन्तदेव King of Bundelkhand), स्मृतिप्रकाश, संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश (part of यशवन्तभास्कर). भास्कर had two sons आत्माराम and जयराम.

(*Vide* colophon of Manuscripts *No. 314 of 1884–86* in the Government manuscript Library at the B. O. R. Institute — पद्यामृततरङ्गिणीटीका by जयराम). In this Manuscript of Jayarāma's commentary on his father's work we find the following verses ascribed to पण्डितराज in Bhāskara's text but not in Jayarāma's commentary :—

Folio 13 — " कीलालैः कुंकुमानां सकलमपि जगज्जालमेघान्निषिक्तम्
मुक्ताश्चोन्मत्तभङ्गा विघ्राटितकमलक्रोडकारागृहेभ्यः।
उत्सृष्टं गोसहस्रं बहलकलकलः श्रूयते च द्विजानाम्
भाग्यैर्वृंदारकाणां हरिहयहरिता सूयते पुत्ररत्नम् ॥ २६ ॥
प्रालेयानां करालाः कवलितजगती मण्डलध्वान्तजालात्
स्रातस्वर्लोकपाला विदलदरुणिमक्षिप्रबालप्रवालाः।
विश्लिष्यत्कोकबाला ज्वरहरणभवत्कीर्तिपूरैर्जटाला
व्योमव्यासौ विशालास्तव ददतु मुदं भास्वतो भानुमालाः ॥ २७॥ "
पण्डितराजस्यैतौ ।

1. *Vide* my paper on "Hari Kavi, *alias* Bhānubhaṭṭa a court-poet of King Sambhāji and his works" (1) *Śambhurājacarita* composed in *A. D.* 1685 ; (2) *Haihayendracarita* and Commentary and (3) *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. — *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Vol. *XVI* , pp. 262–291, 1935).

2. *Ibid*, p. 271 — He refers to his Deccani origin by the epithet

(*Continued on the next page*)

1. आमूलाद्रत्नसानोर्मलयवलयितात् ।

Manuscript of सुभाषितहारावली *fol. 33ª, V. 121*
(= रसगङ्गाधर p. 94)

2. गिरांदेवी वीणा०

Manuscript of सु० हारावली *fol. 40ª, V. 224*
(= भामिनीविलास, IV, 39)

The Manuscript सु० हारावली reads the last two lines of this verse as follows :—

" अहो तस्याप्यस्यामतुलभणितौ पण्डितपतेः ।
स्पृहानस्यादाकर्णयितुमथकस्यामलमतेः ॥ "

The reading in the भामिनीविलास is :—

" वचस्तस्याकर्ण्य श्रवणसुभगं पण्डितपते-
रधुन्वन्मूर्धानं नृपशुरथवायं पशुपतेः ॥ "

The three unidentified verses ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja in the manuscript of the सुभाषितहारावली are :—

3. " वितण्डाहेत्वाद्यैरतिविनतवाक्यैरपिनृभि-
र्नजेयोऽसौ विद्वज्जनसदसि गङ्गाधरबुधः ।
पुरारि प्रोच(च्च)च्चजटिलो (?) द्धनितरिरस्तटि-
न्यम्भःपूरोपमवचनवाचालि(त)रवसुः ॥ "

—*fol. 33ª*, V. 122.

(*Continued from previous page*)

" दाक्षिणात्यान्वय " and his residence in Surat by the epithets " मिहिर-पत्तनाध्यसन " or " सूर्यपुरस्थित " ; मिहिर = सूर्य ; सूर्यपुर = Surat in Gujrat. His genealogy is as follows :—

(*c. A. D.* 1600) — चिन्तामणि
|
(*c. A. D.* 1625) — रङ्गनाथ
|
(*c. A. D.* 1650) — नारायण
|
(Between *A. D.* 1650 and 1700) हरिकवि wrote शम्भुराजचरित in *A. D.* 1685
Hari Kavi explains his Deccani origin :—
" दाक्षिणात्येषु महाराष्ट्राभिधदक्षिणदिग्भवब्राह्मणेषु अन्वीयते etc. "

4. " समीपे संगीतस्वरमधुरभृङ्गो मृगदृशां
विदूरे दानान्धद्विरदकलहोद्दामनिनदः ।
बहिर्द्वारे तेषां भवति हयहेषा कलकलो
दृगेषा ते येषामुपरि कमले देवि सदया ॥ "

5. " उरस्थस्य भ्रश्यत्कबरभरनिर्यत्सु मनसः
पतंति स्वर्बालाः स्मरपरवशा दीनमनसः ।
सुरास्तंगायन्ति स्फुरिततनुगङ्गाधरमुखा-
स्तवायं दृक्पातो यदुपरि कृपातो विलसति ॥ "

—*fol.* 67^a, *verses 598–9.*

गङ्गाधर mentioned in verses 3 and 5 needs to be identified.

The last three verses quoted by Hari Kavi and the only verse quoted by Bhāskara need to be identified, if possible, in the known works of Paṇḍitarāja. It is possible to suppose that some of the stray poetic composition of Jagannātha has been lost to us. Even his *Rasagaṅgādhara* has survived in an incomplete form.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma was the first to point out these verses in the *Subhāṣitahārāvali*[1] of Hari Kavi though he was not then aware that this poet had any connection with the Marāṭhā King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji the Great. In my elaborate paper on Hari Kavi referred to above I have examined all the fragments of Hari Kavi's works discovered by Bühler in 1875 and linked up the literary activities of this poet with the Marāṭhā history of the seventeenth century[2].

The influence of Jagannātha on Hari Kavi is not confined merely to his quotations from Jagannātha's work. In his हैहयेन्द्र-काव्य written in a sustained classical style we find the influence of Paṇḍitarāja almost in every line of the fragment that has come down to us. This fragment is manuscript *No. 327 of 1875–76*

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1. Vide *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 485 ff.

2. It is a pity that no student of Marāṭhā history has been able so far to discover any reference to Hari Kavi in contemporary records. This is due to the dearth of these records especially for the period of Sambhāji's reign (*A. D.* 1680–1689). The story of Hari Kāvi's contact with Sambhāji was unknown to Marāṭhā history till the publication of my paper in 1935. Prof. Scherbatsky edited the *Haihayendracarita* from the fragment of manuscripts made available to him by Bühler. He could not, however, establish its connection with the Marāṭhā King Sambhāji. Vide *Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, Vol. IV, No. 9 (1894).

acquired by Bühler in 1875. On folio 21 of this fragment we find Hari Kavi's appreciation of Jagannātha's poetical composition :—

" कमलपटलस्फारस्फूर्जन्मनोहरसौरभो-
न्मदमधुकरश्रेणीसिंजातसमुद्गतमाधुरी ।
नहि सुभगतां लोकेविंदत्यनेकगुणाद्भुतां
कविवर जगन्नाथोदंचद्वचो रचनावले: ॥ "

This poem was composed by Hari Kavi by the order of King Sambhāji as also its commentary called the शंभुविलासिका (Manuscript No. 829 of 1875–76). In the commentary Hari Kavi himself explains the above reference to Jagannātha as follows :—

Fol. 71^{b} — " विशेषतः कवि प्रशंसति ॥ कमलेति । माधुरीकत्रः ॥

कविवर जगन्नाथात्पण्डितरायापरनाम्नः कवेरित्यर्थः । उदंचंती । समुदयंती यावचे रचना । पदानुपूर्वी तत्पङ्क्तेः संबंधिनीमनेकाः बहुसंख्याये औदार्यादयो गुणास्तैरद्भुतामाश्चर्यकारिणीं सुभगतां सुंदरतां लोके जगति नैव विन्दति । भ्रमपरासिजायां केवलमाधुर्यंगुणवत्वादेतद्वचनरचनायां नानागुणवत्वान्नेतच्छोभावगाहनं तस्या जातमिति भावः ॥ अनेनास्याः सर्वं गुणवत्वेपि माधुर्यातिशयो द्योत्यते । अत एवानेन स्वयमेवोक्तम् ॥

(भामिनीविलास IV, 41) —

" विद्वांसो वसुधातले परवचः श्ला(घा)सुवाचं यमा
भूपालाः कमलाविलासमदिरोन्मीलन्मदाद्घूर्णिताः ॥
आस्येधास्यति कस्यलास्यमधुना धन्यस्य कामालस-
स्सर्वांमाधरमाधुरी मधर न्वाचां विलासोममी ॥ "

तथाच (भामिनी० IV, 38) —

" आमूलाद्रत्नसानोर्मलयवलयितादाचकूला पयोधे-
र्यावन्तः सन्ति काव्यप्रणयनपटवस्ते विशंकं वदन्तु ॥
मृट्टीकामध्य निर्यन्मसृणभरी माधुर्यरी भाग्यभाजां
वाचामाचायतायाः पदमनुभवितुं नास्ति धन्यो मदन्य इति ॥ "

These references clearly prove the influence of Paṇḍitarāja on a Deccani poet who flourished between *A. D.* 1650 and 1700 and who, though resident of Surat in Gujarat had some contact with the ruling line of the Marāṭhā Kings, Shivāji[1] and Sambhāji on whom he has showered much praise in his works.

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1. Vide *Annals*, B. O. R. I. XVI, 287 — Verses 24 & 25 :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

The third Deccani author to be influenced by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was *Vāmana Paṇḍita*, who is assigned by Marāṭhi scholars to the latter half of the seventeenth century[1] to which Hari Kavi belonged as we have stated above. He rendered Jagannātha's *Gaṅgālaharī* into Marāṭhi verse using the original metre used by Jagannātha *viz.* शिखरिणि. It is, therefore, known as *Samaślokī*. This rendering of Vāmana Paṇḍita is very popular in the Deccan. If the date assigned to Vāmana Paṇḍita is correct his *Samaślokī* rendering of the *Gaṅgālaharī* is perhaps the earliest and the finest tribute to Jagannātha's poetic genius by a Deccani poet of Vāmana's fame and popularity. "That which comes from the heart goes to the heart" and Jagannātha's *Gaṅgālaharī* did not fail to go to the heart of a poet like Vāmana, whose early life[2] followed

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

" इहासीन्नासीरं रुचिरतनुभाजां त्रिभुवने ।
शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुणः ।
....
वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते ॥ "

1. *Vide* p. 247 of महाराष्ट्र सारस्वत by Bhave, 1919. Vāmana flourished towards the close of Śālivāhana Śaka — 16th century. He is believed to have died in Śāka 1617 (= *A. D.* **1695**). The *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa* ed. by Dr. S. V. Ketkar (Vol. *XX*, 1926) p. (व १४७) assigns Vāmana Paṇḍita to the period *A. D.* 1636–1695 (See also p. 729 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937). According to Mr. V. Bhave Vāmana belonged to Bijapur. He studied Persian in his early life and Sanskrit later at Banares. He composed some Sanskrit *prakaraṇas* such as (1) सिद्धान्तविजय, (2) अनुभूतिलेश. He composed निगमसार in *A. D.* 1673 and अपरोक्षानुभूति in *A. D.* 1675. He translated the शतक of भर्तृहरि, the गङ्गालहरी of जगन्नाथ and the भगवद्गीता into Marāṭhi verse.

2. If Jagannātha flourished between c. *A. D. 1590 and 1665* and Vāmana between *A. D. 1636 and 1695* and as Vāmana studied Sanskrit at Benares, there is reason to believe that Vāmana may have come into personal contact with Jagannātha especially during the closing years of Paṇḍitarāja's career and perhaps as a result of this contact Vāmana may have undertaken to translate the *Gaṅgālaharī* into Marāṭhi verse. A manuscript of Jagannātha's चित्रमीमांसाखण्डन is dated *A. D. 1652–3*. This work mentions his रसगङ्गाधर, which mentions the five लहरीs of Jagannātha, including the गङ्गालहरी. We may, therefore, presume that the गंगालहरी was composed before *A. D. 1650* and was thus available to Vāmana for translation.

close on Jagannātha's literary career. The flower of Jagannātha's poetic genius was not born to blush unseen or to waste its sweetness on the desert air but it emitted its fragrance far and wide, away from the Mughal court and the banks of the Ganges, where lived some of his contemporary rivals and enemies in the latter half of the seventeenth century[1].

The chronology of the Deccani authors influenced by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja may now be recorded in the following table :—

Name	Chronology	Remarks
Bhāskara Agnihotri.	Composed works in *A. D.* 1673, 1676 & 1695.	Hailed from Nasik but resided at Benares.
Hari Kavi *alias* Bhānubhaṭṭa.	Composed works about *A.D.* 1685.	Family hailed from the Deccan, though residing at Surat in Gujarat in the seventeenth century.
Vāmana Paṇḍita,	Between *A. D.* 1636 and 1695.	Native of Bijapur but later went to Benares and studied Sanskrit there.

I close this paper with a request to Sanskritists and historians for collecting more data on the subject of this paper.

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1. Leaving aside Jagannātha's rivals we must study in detail the life-history of Jagannātha's pupils who were influenced by his poetry and learning. Jagannātha was a Tailanga Brahmin. A work called कुलप्रबन्ध was composed by हरिहर भट्ट an ancestor of कृष्णकवि (court-poet of Sevai Jayasing). This हरिहर states that his uncle नारायण was the pupil of जगन्नाथ पण्डितराय. Nārāyaṇa's brother रामकृष्ण was in the favour of Raja Ramsing I of Jaipur who came to the throne in *A. D.* 1667. Verse 77 of कुलप्रबन्ध reads as follows :—

"लब्धा विद्या निखिलाः पण्डितराजाज्जगन्नाथात् ।
नारायणस्तु दैवादल्पायुः स्वपुरीमगमत् ॥"

हरिहर brings the history of this तैलंग Brahmin family upto *A. D.* 1700 (*Vide B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly XXII*, p. 16, 1941).

54. Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, a romantic and pugnacious Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his Works — Between A. D. 1610 and 1670 *

So far only two MSS of the poem *Cimanī-Carita* were known. Both of them are in the Govt. MSS Library under the following numbers :—

(1) *No. 698 of 1886-92*, dated Saṁvat 1800 = A. D. 1744.

(2) *No. 357 of 1884-87*, dated Saṁvat 1744 = A. D. 1688.

Both these MSS record the date of composition of the work represented by the chronograms "मिहरमुनींदु" in MS *No. 357 of 1884-87* and "महीरमुनींद्रदु" in MS *No. 698 of 1886-92*. In 1928 I proved in a note[1] published in the *Annals* of the B. O. R. Institute that the chronogram "मिहरमुनींदु" found in the MS of A. D. 1688 was correct, being equal to 12 (मिहर = मिहिर = Sun), 7 (मुनि), 1 (इंदु) = Saṁvat 1712 or A. D. 1656. Recently I have published a paper[2] on the historical background of the चिमनीचरित in which I have presumed the identity of the author of the *Cimanī-Carita* with the author of a work on grammar called the *Śabda-Śobhā* composed in A. D. 1637, both these authors having the same name and surname viz. नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल. After the publication of this paper my friend Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University informed me that there is a third MS of the *Cimanī-Carita* in the Anūpa Library of Bikaner. Through the courtesy and kindness of the Director-General of Education of Bikaner and the Librarian of the above library I got prepared a copy of this MS which bears No. 3036 of that Library. This MS is very important as it is dated "*Saṁvat 1726*" = A. D. 1670. It was written 14 years after the date of

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* *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 177-183.

1. *Annals*, Vol. X, pp. 331-332.

2. Vide pp. 149-158 of the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VI, (1941 - "The Historical Background of the Cimanī-Carita, a Romantic love-poem by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita dealing with the love of the daughter-in-law of Allāha Vardī Khān Turkmān (Between A. D. 1606-1659)."

composition of the *Cimanī-Carita*. It is also older than the B. O. R. Institute MS of A. D. 1688 by 18 years. We get, therefore, the following dates of the work and its subsequent copies :—

A. D. 1656 — *Cimanī-Carita* composed by नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल.
,, 1670 — Date of the Bikaner copy of the poem.
,, 1688 }
,, 1744 } — Dates of the B. O. R. I. MSS of the poem.

It is clear from the above dates that the Bikaner MS of the poem is the oldest dated copy and hence very useful from the textual point of view. This copy contains the correct reading of the chronogram viz. "मिहिरमुनीन्दु" unlike the approximately correct reading "मिहरमुनीन्दु" or the hopelessly incorrect reading "महीस्मुनींद्रदु" or its suggested emendation "महीमुनींद्र" (= 1471 Saṁvat) by Peterson. The Bikaner MS justifies my correct interpretation of the date viz. A. D. 1656 and at the same time illustrates the importance of the oldest-dated copies of works not only for determining their texts but also for the verification of dates left uncertain by the readings of comparatively later copies of these works. It should, therefore, be noted that in the present stage of our chronology we must endeavour to bring to the notice of scholars all dated MSS[1] of works and then to point out the oldest dated MSS of these works. I have accordingly published some papers[2] on these lines with a view to studying the chronological perspective of both the original works and their subsequent copies. With these remarks about the oldest dated MS of the *Cimanī-Carīta* I record below my evidence regarding the identity of the authors of the *Cimanī-Carita* (a love poem) and the *Śabdaśobhā* (a work on grammar). This work was composed in A. D. 1637.[3] A MS of this work is dated 1680 (Saṁvat 1736).[4] This is

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1. My friend Dr. S. M. Katre has been collecting some data regarding dated MSS in different MSS Libraries.

2. So far I have published the following papers on the oldest dated MSS of works :— *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol. XX. pp. 145-152 ; *A.* Vol. XX, pp. i-iv ; *J. O. R.* (Madras), Vol. XIII, pt. i, pp. 47-53; *NIA.* Vol. I, pp. 249-253 ; *NIA*, Vol. I, pp. 558-561.

3. Vide *Annals* (Tirupati) Vol. I, pt. 2 — My paper on Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, p. 122.

4. MS *No. 183 of 1882-83* in the Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute). The Bikaner copy of the *Cimanī-Carita* was prepared in A. D. 1670.

the oldest dated MS of the *Śabdaśobhā* so far discovered by me. In the concluding verses[1] of the *Śabdaśobhā* we get the following details about its author :—

(1) He was the son of शुक्ल जनार्दन.

(2) He was the son of the daughter of one वछाचार्य.[2]

(3) He was the pupil of भट्टोजिदीक्षित and had studied शब्दशास्त्र.

(4) His name was नीलकंठ कवि.

There are similar verses[3] at the end of the चिमनीचरित, which

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1. These verses read as follows in MS *No. 183 of A 1882-83* :—

" शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्रो भट्टोजिदीक्षितछात्रः ॥ १ ॥
महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा कवि नीत (ल) शर्मा निर्मितमेनम् ।
विनिर्ममे शैवः ॥ २ ॥
यद्यपि खल बहु लोची न दृषाक्लेषस्तदप्येषः ।
तुष्यतु तदेव तेजो विलसति यस्य प्रसादोयम् ॥ ३ ॥
त्रिनवषडेकमब्देतिक्रांते विक्रमादित्यात् ।
शिवरात्रौ शिवपदयो निजकृतिराधायि नीलकंठेन । "

The chronogram त्रिनवषडेक = Saṁvat 1693 = A. D. 1637, the date of composition.

2. This वछाचार्य needs to be identified.

3. I quote verses from the Bikaner MS of the *Cimanī-Carita* dated A. D. 1670 :—

" शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
पठितालंकृतिशास्त्रो भट्टश्रीमंडनछात्रः ॥
हीराभिधान पातिव्रत महासिप्राप्त निजजन्मा ।
कवि नीलकंठशर्मा निरमाच्चिमनीचरित्रमिदम् ॥
मिहिरमुनीन्दुमितेब्देतिक्रांते विक्रमादित्यात् ।
शिवरात्रौ शिवपदयो निजकृतिराधायि नीलकंठेन ॥
इति नीलकंठकविकल्पितं चिमणीचरित्रे समाप्तम् । संवत १७२६ ॥ "

The genealogy of the author as recorded in the above verses is as follows :—

जनार्दन शुक्ल × हीरा daughter of वछाचार्य
|
Son
नीलकंठ [pupil of भट्ट श्रीमंडन who was his guru in *alaṁkāraśāstra* (पठितालंकृतिशास्त्रः). Compare the epithet "अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्र" in the verses of शब्दशोभा].

bear close objective similarity to the verses at the end of the *Śabdaśobhā*, besides furnishing identical details regarding parentage. The verses of the *Cimanī-Carita* give us two important details about नीलकंठ शुक्ल viz. (1) हीरा, the name of his mother, (2) भट्ट श्रीमंडन the guru of नीलकंठ in अलंकृतिशास्त्र. While in the शब्दशोभा he states that he was the pupil of भट्टोजिदीक्षित, in the चिमनीचरित he states that he studied *alṁkṛtiśāstra* under भट्ट श्रीमण्डन,[1] whose identity needs to be investigated. It is clear from the verses about Nīlakaṇtha in the *Cimanī-Carita* and the *Śabdaśobhā* that these works are by the same author as they contain identical particulars viz :—

(1) नीलकंठ, the name of the author.

(2) शुक्ल जनार्दन, the name of his father.

(3) वछाचार्य, the name of the मातामह of the author.

(4) Both the works viz. शब्दशोभा (A. D. 1637) and चिमनीचरित (A. D. 1656) were completed and dedicated to god शिव on a शिवरात्रि day. (In both these works we find the following line common :— " शिवरात्रौ शिवपदये निजकृतिराधायि नीलकंठेन "). To these details common to both the works we may add the following found in either of these works:—

(5) भट्टोजिदीक्षित was his guru in शब्दशास्त्र.

(6) भट्ट श्रीमंडन was his guru in अलंकृतिशास्त्र.

(7) हीरा was the name of his mother, the daughter of वछाचार्य, who was the maternal grandfather of नीलकंठ.

My study of the *Cimanī-Carita* has proved the romantic nature of Nīlakaṇtha Śukla. He appears to have composed this work in his old age (in A.D. 1656) when he was no longer under the influence of the veteran grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, his early guru in शब्दशास्त्र. We must, therefore, see if our author of a romantic bent of mind composed any works on the lines of the *Cimanī-Carita*, based on a contemporary scandal in the harem of Allāh-Vardi-Khān Turkmān, a great Muslim nobleman of Shah Jahan's Court (between A. D. 1606 and 1660 or so).

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1. I wonder if भट्ट श्रीमण्डन, the guru of नलिकंठ in *Alaṁkāraśāstra* is identical with मण्डनमिश्र साहित्यरसपोषिन्, the author of नानार्थशब्दानुशासनम् (Vide Burnell's *Cata. of Tanjore MSS*, p. 50, London, 1879). This work is described as a dictionary of homonyms alphabetically arranged according to the finals. It appears to have been based on the lexicon *Vaijayantī* to a considerable extent. (Vide Aufrecht *CC I*, 285).

A poem of the name ओष्ठशतक by one नीलकंठ has been recorded by Aufrecht[1]. The only MS of this poem is described by Weber[2] in his Catalogue of Berlin MSS. It is in the Chambers Collection and consists of 118 verses. This small work of नीलकंठ is devoted to a poetical description of a young lady's lower lip as stated in verse 2 at the commencement of the poem. The concluding verses[3] of the poem mention details about the author, which are practically the same mentioned in the चिमनीचरित; viz. (1) father's name शुक्ल जनार्दन, (2) वछाचार्य maternal grandfather, (3) भट्ट श्रीमंडन, the guru of the author in *alaṁkāraśāstra*, (4) हीरा, the mother of the author. In fact there is almost complete objective identity of the verses in the चिमनीचरित with those in the ओष्ठशतकम्. It is, therefore, clear that the author of the शब्दशोभा and the चिमनीचरित composed this romantic poem viz. the ओष्ठशतक represented by the rare MS in the Berlin library.

There is another work mentioned by Aufrecht[4] called the जारजातशतक. It is also represented by a MS in the Berlin Library (Chambers Collection) described by Weber in his catalogue on the

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1. *CC I*, 76 — "ओष्ठशतक" Kāvya by Nīlakaṇṭha, W. p. 171.

2. *Cata. of Berlin MSS* by Weber, Vol. I, 1853, p. 171 ; MS 586 (Chambers 740) — "श्री कवि नीलकंठ ओष्ठशतकम्"

Begins :—

"वदनकमलमुद्यन्मन्दहासप्रचारम्
विरचयति निकारम् यत्प्रसादात्सुधांशोः ।
तदिदमधरबिम्बंजीवनं मीनकेतो—
मम वचसि विधत्तां धुर्यमाधुर्यधाराम् ॥ १ ॥
कस्याश्चिन्नववयसो लवणिमकल्लोलनीयमानमनाः ।
विरचयति नीलकण्ठो बिम्बाधरवर्णनं तदपि ॥ २ ॥"

3. *Ibid.*, these verses read :—

"शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
पठितालंकृतशास्त्रो भट्टश्रीमंडनछात्रः ॥ ११७ ॥
हीराभिधान पातिव्रत महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा
कविनीलकंठशर्मिनिर्मितामेना विनिर्ममः (मे) शैवः ॥ ११८ ॥
इति श्रीकवि नीलकंठ विरचितम् ओष्ठशतकम् संपूर्णम् ॥"

4. *CC I*, 206 — "जारजातशतक by Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman, Weber, p. 171,"

same page[1] where he has described the ओष्ठशतक MS. This MS begins :—

" यः कश्चनास्मदीये काव्ये परकीयतामवदन् ।
तस्य कृते कर्तुमिदमारब्धम् जारजातशतकम् ॥
यः परकीयं काव्यं स्वीयं ब्रूतेऽथ चोरयेद्योऽर्थम् ।
इह तावपि प्रसक्तौ मन्तव्यौ जारजाततया ॥ "

The purpose of the जारजातशतकम् as defined by our author नीलकंठ in the foregoing lines seems to be a tirade against literary plagiarism, a subject of perennial interest in all countries and in all ages characterized by literary activity. This whole poem is not before me but judging by the 2 introductory verses I have reason to believe that the poem contains a fling and also a sting at some of the contemporary critics of Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the शब्दशोभा, चिमनीचरित and ओष्ठशतक,[2] who may have entertained feelings of

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1. *Weber's Cata.*, Vol. I, p. 171 — कविनीलकण्ठशर्मन् जारजातशतकम् in 110 verses.

It contains a chronogram :—

" मुनिमि हि कांशुपहाधरमहीमिते रादम् "

which Weber corrects as —

(" मुनि सितांशु महीधर महीमिते वर्षे ? "

= *1717*. This chronogram is continued as —

" व्यतिक्रान्तो (क्रान्ते) नृपसाहसांकसमयात् ")

If Weber's correction of the chronogram is approved the date of composition of the work is Saṁ. 1717 = A. D. *1661*. चिमनीचरित was composed in A. D. *1656* (Saṁ. 1712).

2. Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar notes a MS of अधरशतक by नीलकंठशुक्ल in the State Collection at Bikaner not catalogued in R. Mitra's Catalogue of Bikaner MSS (Vide p. 49 of S. R. B. *Report of Second Tour* — 1904-05, 1905-06). He observes on page 51 as follows :—

" अधरशतक by Śaiva Kavi Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Śukla Janārdana and Hīrā, grandson on the mother's side of Vatsācārya and pupil of Bhaṭṭa Maṇḍana (same as ओष्ठशतक, Weber's Berlin Cata., p. 171). The author seems to be the same as that of the शब्दशोभा noticed above (p. 44)."

Page 44 — शब्दशोभा by Nīlakaṇṭha, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and

(*Continued on the next page*)

pugnacity towards his contemporaies. A work of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla not recorded in Aufrecht's catalologue is शृङ्गारशतक in 124 ślokas. A MS of this work has been described by H. P. Shastri[1] in his *Catalogue of Kāvya MSS* in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This work also shows the romantic vein of Nīlakaṇṭha

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

son of Śukla Janārdana and grandson on the mother's side of Vatsācārya" — This MS was in a private collection at Jesalmere. Prof. Bhandarkar's suggestions contained in the above remarks are amply borne out by the details about the works of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla set forth in the present paper.

1. *Des. Cata.* of Kāvya MSS. (Vol. VII) A. S. B. Calcutta, 1934 — Page 168 — MS No. 5204 — शृंगारशतकम् by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, son of Śukla Janārdana and Hīrā, daughter's son of Vatsācārya and the pupil of Bhaṭṭa Maṇḍana, Folios 28.

Beginning :—

"तानि प्राधि दिनानि येषु रजनी सेहे तमिस्त्रापदं
सृष्टिः सा विरराम यत्र भवति ज्योत्स्नामयो नातपः ।
अद्यान्यः समयस्तथाहि तिथयो यस्यामुखस्योदये
हस्ता हस्तिकया हरति शतशो राकावराकी यशः ॥ १ ॥

गुरुमध्ये हरिणाक्षी मृद्गुटिकाभिः प्रहर्त्तुकामं मां ।
दरयंत्रितरसनाग्रं सचकितनयना निवारयांचक्रे ॥ २ ॥"

End on Folio 13A :—

"शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वत्साचार्यस्य दौहित्रः ।
पठितालंकृतिशास्त्रो भट्टश्रीमण्डनछात्रः ।
हीराभिधान पातिव्रत महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा ।
कवि नीलकण्ठशर्मा निर्म्मितिमेनां विनिर्म्ममे शैवः ॥

त्रिदिवमपि विजेतुं प्रस्थितात्साहसाङ्कात्
मुनि वसुरसचन्द्रैः सम्मितेब्दे व्यतीते ।
अपचिति विधयैनामात्मनः काव्यक्लृप्तिं
शिवपदि शिवरात्रौ नीलकंण्ठो व्यधत्त ॥

इति नीलकंठकल्पितं शृङ्गारशतकं शिवार्पणमस्तु"

From Folio 16 to 24A the MS contains अधरशतकम् of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, which begins as in the Berlin MS described by Weber and ends as "इति नीलकंठ कविकल्पितमधरशतकं ।"

I have not been able to trace any MS of जारजातकम् of our author in Indian libraries so far.

Śukla even from the very commencement of his career as the work was composed in *Saṁvat 1687* i.e. A. D. 1631. He composed his work on grammar six years later in A. D. 1637. This work also was completed by the author on a Śivarātri day like the शब्दशोभा and the चिमनीचरित. I close this paper with the following tabular statement regarding the works of Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla :—

Work	Date of Composition	Dates of MSS	Remarks
	A. D.	A. D.	
1. शृङ्गारशतक	1631	...	A poem.
2. शब्दशोभा	1637	1680	A work on grammar.
3. चिमनीचरित	1656	1670 1688 1744	A poem based on a Contemporary scandal in the harem of a Muslim nobleman.
4. ओष्ठशतक or अधरशतक	1661 (?)	...	A poem on the lower lip of a young lady.
5. जारजातशतक	...	...	A poem on plagiarism. No date has been recorded by Weber.

55. Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata — His Genealogy and Descendants *

In April 1938 Mr. Sadashive Vishnu Chaudhari, the present Registrar of the Law College, Poona, approached me with a request that I should investigate the tradition current among his family members about their direct descent from Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*. He further told me that he was unable to link up his known genealogy with that of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara as we find it recorded in his works partially. I gladly agreed to investigate the above tradition as I was then preparing a paper[1] on the identification of Nārāyaṇatīrtha, the author of the work *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāsikā* with Nīlkaṇṭha's guru in Mīmāṁsā of the same name. Some information[2] given by Mr. Chaudhari about his family together with what

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* *Annals* (B. O, R. Institute), Vol. XXIII, pp. 141-161.

1. This paper was published in June 1938 in the now extinct *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa*, Poona (Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 65-71) edited by the late Pt. V. R. Kinjawadekar.

2. I note here for ready reference the dates recorded by me in my paper on Nārāyaṇatīrtha as also those discovered by me subsequently :—

A. D.

1680 — Nīlakaṇṭha composed his *Śivatāṇḍavaṭīkā*.

1687 — Date of a Ms of आदिपर्वटीका by नीलकण्ठ (folios 120) dated Śaka 1609 = A. D. 1687 (vide p. 94 of Cata. of Vaṅgīya Sāhītya Pariṣat, Calcutta, 1935).

1691 — Date of Berlin Ms of भा. भा. दीप belonging to गोविंद चतुर्धर (Weber, p. 107).

1693 — Nīlakaṇṭha composed his गणेशगीताटीका at Benares.

1746 — Śivadīkṣita, the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha composed his धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश at प्रतिष्ठानतीर्थ or Paithan.

1746 — Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita, the great grandson of नीलकण्ठ, received a grant from King Shahu.

I could collect from a study of the works of Nīlakaṇṭha has already been recorded by me incidentally in the above paper, though I could not then record the full evidence in support of my statements based on the information supplied by Mr. Chaudhari. I, therefore, propose to record here the full evidence regarding the genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara as reconstructed by me on the basis of my study of his works and the information supplied by Mr. Chaudhari.

In all the colophons of Nīlakaṇṭha's works he is called the son of Govinda Sūrī.[1] We may, therefore, take it that Govinda was the father[2] of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara. This parentage of Nīlakaṇṭha is

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1. शिवताण्डवटीका (Ms No. 994 of 1884-87 — B. O. R. Institute, fol. 90b and 10b — " चतुर्धरवंशावतंसगोविंदसूरिसूनोर्नीलकंठस्य कृतौ " etc.).

गणेशगीताटीका (Ms No. 110 of 1899-1915 — B. O. R. I., fol. 140b — " चतुर्धरवंशावतंस गोविंदसूरिसूनोर्नीलकंठस्य कृतौ " etc.).

भारतभावदीपिका (Ms. R No. 26 — Trien. Cata. Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Madras, 1913 — Page 44 of Vol. I, Pt. I — Sanskrit A — colophon as above).

रुद्रसारसंग्रहव्याख्या-रुद्रमीमांसा (Ms R No. 2070 P. 2803 of Vol. iii, Pt. I — Sanskrit A — Trien. Cata. Madras, 1922 — colophon as above).

वेदान्तकतक (Ms No. 348 of 1899-1915 — B. O. R. I. — fol. 6b — colophon as above).

मन्त्रभागवतव्याख्या (Vide p. 588 of Ind. Office Cata., Pt. III — Ms No. 1798 — colophon as above).

सौरपौराणिकमतसमर्थन (Vide p. 1024 of I. O. Cata. Pt. V — Ms No. 2885 — colophon as above).

2. Śiva Dīkṣita, the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha in his धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश records the following verses in which he mentions his genealogy :—

" विख्याते कविकचमध्यवर्त्ति
गोदोदक्तीरे नगरमहिम्निकूर्पराख्ये ।
गोविन्दः श्रुतिनयसिन्धुपारदृश्वा
श्रीचातुर्धरकुलमण्डनं पुरासीत् ।
श्रीकण्ठं मनसि विभाव्य नीलकण्ठ-
स्तत्सूनुः श्रितवटकाननं सुरशां-।
वेदांतैः शमनदिगाननं श्रुतीनां
व्याख्याने किल चतुराननो बभूव ।
गोविन्दस्तद्वपुर्भूः श्रुतिहृदयमुनिः सर्वतंत्रस्वतंत्र-
(स्तज्ज)स्तच्छिक्षितार्थः शिवमिदमकरोद्धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाशः ।

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further supported by the following genealogy,[1] of the family recorded by Śiva Dīkṣita in his *Dharmatattvaprakāśa* composed by him at Pratiṣṭhāna or Paiṭhana in A. D. 1746 (Śaka 1668)[2]:—

गोविंद (चतुर्धर) of कूर्परनगरं or Kopargaum on the banks the Godāvarī.
|
Son
नीलकंठ
|
Son
गोविंद
|
Son
शिव author of धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश, composed at Paiṭhana in 1746 A. D. He calls himself by the epithet "वाराणस्यात्तजन्मा" or born at Benares.

The *gotra* of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara was Gautama[3] and his mother's name was फुल्लाम्बिका. He had three brothers : (1) शिव- (2) त्र्यम्बक and (3) कृष्ण as pointed out by Holtzmann.[4] The above genealogy recorded in A. D. 1746[5] is further supported by con-

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भूय: प्रीत्यै शिवाख्यै शमदमिनि महानैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्ये
वाराणस्यात्तजन्मा सुरसरिदमले श्रीप्रतिष्ठानतीर्थे
नागांगरसभूशाके शालौ(लि)वाहनजे क्षये ।
नभस्यसित तुर्य्येह्नि ग्रन्थोऽयं पूर्णतां गतः ॥ ६ ॥"

(Vide p. 73 — Ms. No. 81 — *Cata. of Sanskrit Mss*, Pt. II, R. A. S. B., Calcutta. See also p. 192 of H. P. Shastri's *Cata. of Nepal Mss*, Calcutta, 1905).

1. Ibid.

2. Vide p. 73 of *Cata. of Sanskrit Mss* (Calcutta Sanskrit College, Part II) — Ms No. 81.

3. Vide p. 154 of Hall's *Bibliography*, Calcutta, 1859. Ms of वेदान्तकतक — " By Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, Son of *Govinda* and *Phullāmbikā*. Nīlakaṇṭha was of the gotra of *Gotama*. He resided at the village of Kūrpara, now called Koṅpar—, to the west of river Godāvarī, near the temples of Śukreśvara and Kaceśvara in Mahārāṣṭra. "

4. Vide p. 75 of *The Mahābhārata* by Dr. Adolf Holtzmann, 1894, Keil. (North Indian Recension).

5. Besides the Nepal and Calcutta Mss of the धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश there

(*Continued on the next page*)

temporary records[1] of the priests at Tryambakeśvara near Nasik so far as the names of *Śiva Dīkṣita* and his father *Govinda Dīkṣita* are concerned. Both the father and the son are described[2] in these records as bearing the surname चौधरी[3] and having *Shrigonde* as their native place but residing at *Vārāṇasī* or Benares. It appears that नीलकण्ठ, गोविन्द and शिव normally resided at Benares and were educated at this seat of learning, though the family hailed from Kopargaum in the Ahmadnagar district of the Bombay Presidency.

Like Nīlakaṇṭha an author of the name कमलाकर went to Benares from कूर्परग्राम and composed there a work called आचारप्रदीप (B. O. R. I. Ms No. 84 of 1884-86). कमलाकर seems to have been a contemporary of नीलकंठ and possibly his neighbour at Kopargaum. He quotes Bhaṭṭoji Bhaṭṭa in the above Ms which is dated A. D. 1729 and refers to gods शुक्रेश्वर and कचेश at Kopargaum ("ग्रामे कूर्परसंज्ञिके......यत्रास्ति शुक्रेश्वरः। गोदा पश्चिमवाहिनी विजयते देवः कचेशः परः").

The genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha's family so far reconstructed

(*Continued from the previous page*)

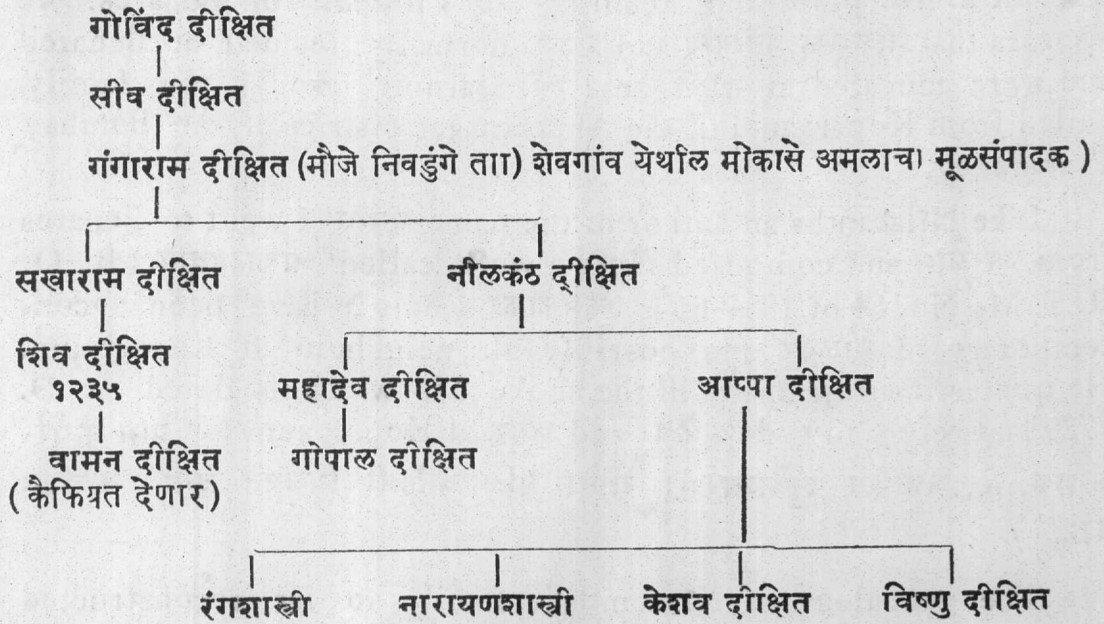
is a Ms of it recorded by Hultzsch. See *Report in Sanskrit Mss in South India*, No. III, Madras, 1905 (Ms *No. 1780*, 263 leaves)-P. 5— "Śiva Dīkṣita of Benares, son of Govinda of the Caturdhara family wrote the धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश No. 1780) at प्रतिष्ठान in A. D. 1746."

1. Mr. Vasudeva Vishnu Meghashyam of Trymbak near Nasik has kindly furnished the pertinent extracts of these records to Mr. S. V. Chaudhari, from which I am quoting in this paper.

2. The record reads "गोविंद दीक्षित पु. शिव दीक्षित. उ. चौधरी गांव श्रीगोंदे मुक्काम वाराणसी." We already know from धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश that शिव दीक्षित was born at Benares. It appears that at the time of their visit to Tryambakeśvara both the father and son must have been residing at Benares as stated in the above extract.

3. In verse 10 at the beginning of his शिवताण्डव टीका composed in A. D. 1680 Nīlakaṇṭha refers to his surname चौधरी in the expression— "श्रीमच्चौधरिनीलकंठवशिना." This statement shows that the surname चौधरी was current in Nīlakaṇṭha's time, if not earlier. (Vide folio 2a of Ms No. 994 of 1884-87 of शिवताण्डवटीका — B. O. R. Institute)— Historian V. K. Rajawade derives the surname चौधरी from the Sanskrit word चक्रधारी (= चकरधारी = चअरधारी = चवधारी = चौधरी). Vide p. 72 of B. I. S. Mandal, *Itivṛtta*, for 1913 — Note No. 14 — "चौधरी."

may now he linked up with the subsequent genealogy of the family as filed on 2nd September 1854 with the Inam Commissioner Poona, by Vaman Shiv Dikshit Chaudhari of the Village Pathardi[1] in the Ahmadnagar District. This genealogy is as follows :—



A comparison of the above genealogy with that given by Śiva Dīkṣita in 1746 A. D. shows that the names of गोविंद and his son शिव are common to both these genealogies. The earlier and the later fragment of genealogy being thus riveted at two joints, the accuracy and continuity of the genealogy of the Chaudhari family from Govinda (c. A. D. 1600), the father of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, up to A. D. 1854 is now proved beyond challenge.

Three days before the composition of the work *Dharmatattva-prakāśa* by Śivadikṣita at Paiṭhaṇa the Maratha King Shahu gave a village as *inām* to Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita, the son of Śiva Dīkṣita–on *Wednesday, 6th August 1746.*[2] The *Sanad* in respect of this *inām* is

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1. Vide p. 644 of *Bombay Gazetteer* XVII (Ahmadnagar) Bombay, 1884 — The villages *Pathardi* and *Nivaḍuṅge* belong to Shevgaon Paragana of 161 villages in the Ahmadnagar District. The members of the Chaudhari family migrated from *Kopargaum* in the Ahmednagar District to *Shrigonde* and *Pathardi* in this district and *Paiṭhaṇa* (प्रतिष्ठान) on the left bank of the Godāvarī river in the Nizam's territory, 2 miles east of the Ahmadnagar frontier and about 50 miles north-east of Ahmadnagar (Ibid, p. 351).

2. Shahu's *Sanad* is dated *Rājyābhiṣeka Śaka 73, Kṣaya Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada, Śuddha Pratipadā, Saumyavāsara-Wednesday, 6th of August 1746.* धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश was completed on the 4th day

(*Continued on the next page*)

reproduced in the Appendix to this paper from a certified copy of it furnished by the Alienation Record Office, Poona, to Mr. S. V. Chaudhari on 16th December 1927. In this *Sanad* Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita is described as the son of Śiva Dīkṣita, of the surname *Chaudhari*, *gotra Gotam*, *Sūtra Āśvalāyana*, hailing from Benares, then resident at *Paiṭhaṇa*. Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita obtained this *Sanad* through the good offices of Fattesing Bhosale (A. D. 1707–1760) who was regarded by Shahu as his own son.

The names in the genealogy reconstructed and recorded above are supported and supplemented by the Tryambakeśvara Records[1] referred to by me already. Mr. V. V. Meghashyam who possesses these records states in his letter to Mr. S. V. Chaudhari dated 30th April 1941 that he has in his possession some writing of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, son of Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita dated Śaka 1706 = A. D. *1784*. This date is consistent with King Shahu's *Sanad* to Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita issued in A. D. 1746.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

(तुर्यैह्नि) of the bright fortnight (सिते) of the Bhādrapada month (नभसि) of Śaka 1668 (नाग, अंग, रस, भू) the name of the year being (क्षय, क्षये). These details correspond to *Saturday 9th August 1746*. Thus while the work was completed at Paiṭhaṇa on Saturday the *Sanad* was issued on Wednesday of the same week. (Vide p. 295 of *Indian Ephemeries*, Vol. VI).

1. I reproduce below the extracts from these records kept at my disposal by Mr. S. V. Chaudhari :—

"शिव दीक्षित ब. शंकर दीक्षित उ. चौधरी."

"उमाबाई भ्र. शंकर दि. दीर शिव दि. पु. मल्हार दि. व गंगाराम दि. सून रमाबाई उ. चौधरी गा. श्रीगोंदे मु. पैठण."

काशिनाथ दि. मल्हार दि. आ. शंकर दि. प. गोविंद दि. चु. गंगाराम दि. बं. विश्वनाथ दि. चु. ब. विश्वेश्वर दि. व नीलकंठ दि. गोत्र गौतम उ. चौधरी गा. श्रीगोंदे मु. वाराणसी."

"गंगाराम दि. पि. शिव दि. आ. गोविंद दि. बं. मल्हार दि. व चिंतामणि दि. चु. शंकर दि. मा. आकाबाई उ. चौधरी गा. श्रीगोंदे."

"नीलकंठ दि. पि. गंगाराम दि. आ. शिव दि. प. गोविंद दि. बं. सखाराम दि. उ. चौधरी गाव श्रीगोंदे मु. प्रतिष्ठान."

"आपा दि ऊर्फ कृष्ण दि. चु. बं. शिव दी. उ. चौधरी गांव श्रीगोंदे ह. पैठण."

The value of the above entries for the reconstruction of a complete genealogy of the family will be easily recognized.

Hall in his *Bibliography*[1] states that Nīlakaṇṭha "resided at the village of Kūrpar, now called Koṅpar to the west of the river Godāvarī, near the temples of Śukreśvara and Kaceśvara in Mahārāṣṭra". The above statement occurs in Hall's description of a Ms of the *Vedāntakataka*. I have no means of verifying it but presuming that the topography of the residence of Nīlakaṇṭha at Kopergaum recorded above is based on any references in the *Vedāntakataka* itself, I have to point out that in the description of Kopergaum in the *Bombay Gazetteer*[2] we find a reference to the temple of Kaceśvara as follows :—

"In the elbow of the Godavarī and surrounded on three sides by its bed stands a fortified cut-stone enclosure (65′ × 58′ × 60) with massive black walls. It has one gate but the side towards the river is open. In the centre is the cenotaph or *thadge*, a very small work of timber and brick upon a coarse stone plinth with no writing or ornament. Near the site of the old palace in the island stands the temple of *Kaceśvara* a set of plain modern buildings held in great honour." The editor of the *Bombay Gazetteer* in a footnote on the above passage records "the local story of the Kaceśvara temple" which is the same as the story of Kaca and the Devayānī found in the Purāṇas. This footnote is concluded with the remark : "To this day a stone *Shukra* and *Kach* sit side by side on the island and receive much worship."

If the images of *Śukra* and *Kaca* are still worshipped on the island at Kopergaum they must be identical with those in the temples of *Kaceśvara* and *Śukreśvara* referred to by Hall in 1859. If Hall's remarks are based on Nīlakaṇṭha's own statement we shall not be wrong in supposing that the residence of Nīlakaṇṭha

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1. Pub. Calcutta, 1859, p. 154.

2. Vol. XVII (Ahmadnagar) 1884, p. 723 — Kopargaum is 60 miles north of Ahmadnagar. It is on the north bank of the Godāvarī. It was the favourite residence of Raghunātha Rao Peshwa. In an island in the Godāvarī there were two palaces which have been pulled down and sold. Raghunatha Rao Peshwa died at Hingani three miles off and his cenotaph is still at this place.........In 1818 Kopargaum was occupied by Madras troops. — In the Marathi ballads (लावण्या) by Paraśarāma (Ed. by V. N. Kolharkar, Bombay, 1924) there is a reference to कच and शुक्र at Kopargaum-Vide Pp. 38-39 (लावणी २६) — "गुरु शुक्र कचेश्वर ऋषी गोदातीरवासी." This ballad refers also to the garden of Raghoba Dada Peshwa on the island. Paraśarām belongs to the last quarter of the 19th century.

at Kopergaum was near these temples situated on the island in the elbow of the Godāvarī. This tentative suggestion regarding the topography of the house of the Chaudhari family at Kopergaum say about A. D. 1750 needs to be verified on the strength of other contemporary evidence.[1]

We have already referred to the three brothers[2] of Nīlakaṇṭha viz. (1) शिव, (2) कृष्ण and (3) त्र्यम्बक. All these brothers were

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1. Śiva Dīkṣita in his धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश composed in A. D. 1746 states in the following verse that Govinda Caturdhara, the father of Nīlakaṇṭha lived at Kūrpara town on the bank of the Godāvarī, where stood in the centre कवि and कच :—

" विख्याते कविकचमध्यवर्ति-
गोदोदक्तीरे नगरमहिम्नि कूर्पराख्ये
गोविंदः श्रुतिनयसिन्धुपारदृश्वा
श्रीचातुर्धरकुलमण्डनं पुरासीत् ॥ "

This reference to कवि (= शुक्राचार्य) and कच by the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha leaves no doubt that the Chaudhari family had its residence near the temples of *Kaceśvara* and *Śukreśvara* on the island at Kopergaum referred to in the the *Bombay Gazetteer*.

2. Vide Ms No. 1523 of Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Harivaṁśa described by Weber in his *Catalogue of Berlin Mss*, Vol. II (1886), pp. 112-113. In the following verses Nīlakaṇṭha refers to his native place कूर्परग्राम, his gotra गौतम, his surname चतुर्धर, his father गोविंद, his mother फुल्लाम्बिका and his younger brother शिव, कृष्ण and त्र्यम्बक :—

" ज्ञानाचार्यमिवोत्तमोत्तमकचास्या तद्वया गौतमी
यं प्रत्यक्प्रवणा प्रसूय कृतनी(?)सिद्धेशलाभाभवत् ।
विद्वद्रत्नसुवर्णवर्णघटितं संभूषणं कूर्पर-
ग्रामं यं समुपाश्रयन्ति सुधियो दुरास्तसंवत्सरम् ॥ १ ॥

तत्र ब्रह्मकुलं महद्विजयते गोत्रेण यद्गौतमम्
धर्मज्ञानविरागवैभवचतुर्भद्रेण चातुर्धरम् ।
गोविंदः स्वयमत्र जन्म धृतवान् यो नीलकण्ठं शिवम्
कृष्णं त्र्यम्बकमित्यमून् अजनयत् फुल्लाम्बिकायान्सुतान् ॥ २ ॥

तेषां ज्येष्ठो नीलकण्ठः काश्यां विश्वेशतुष्टये ।
व्यतनोद्भारते भावदीपमान्ध्यविनाशगम् ॥ "

The above verses have been discussed by Wilhelm Printz in his Inaugural Dissertation : " *Bhāṣā-Worter in Nīlakaṇṭha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa etc.*", Berlin, 1910, p. 9. I am thankful to Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar for drawing my attention to these verses.

younger than Nīlakaṇṭha. It remains to be investigated if these brothers left any descendants, whose lines could be traced among the present members of the Chaudhari family residing either in the Mahārāṣṭra or outside.[1]

From the data recorded above the following facts regarding Nīlakaṇṭha's family and its subsequent history become clear :—

(1) Nīlakaṇṭha mentions his own gotra "*Gautama*" which is the gotra of Mr. S. V. Chaudhari, the present Registrar of the Law College, Poona. This gotra has been recorded in King Shahu's grant of A. D. 1746 to Gaṅgārāma, the great grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha.

(2) The genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha's family as given by his grandson Śiva Dīkṣita has been linked up with the genealogy filed with the Inam Commission in A. D. 1854 by Mr. Vāmana Śīva Dīkṣita, who is the 6th in descent from Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara.

(3) The surname *Chaudhari* now current in the family was also current in Nīlakaṇṭha's time as Nīlkaṇṭha in his work composed in A. D. 1680 calls himself "श्रीमच्चौधारि नीलकण्ठ."

(4) The place of residence of Nīlakaṇṭha's father Govinda was somewhere near the temples of *Śukreśvara* and *Kaceśvara* on the island of the river Godāvarī at Kopergaum. Śiva Dīkṣita, the grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, refers to these images of कवि (= शुक्र) and कच in his work composed in A. D. 1746. The memory of this residence may have then been fresh in the mind of Nīlakaṇṭha's grandson.[2]

(5) From Kopergaum the members of the family of Nīlakaṇṭha Govinda Chaudhari migrated to Shrigonde, Pathardi,

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1. Mr. S. Chitrav states that the descendants of Nīlkaṇṭha are now residing at Benares (Vide p. 499 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937).

2. Even Nīlakaṇṭha seems to refer to शुक्र and कच on the island of the Godāvarī in the following line of verse 1 from his commentary on the *Harivaṁśa* which I have quoted above :—

"ज्ञानाचार्यमिवोत्तमोत्तमकचास्या तद्वया गौतमी"

Here ज्ञानाचार्य = शुक्राचार्य = कवि mentioned by Śiva Dīkṣita, गौतमी = river Godāvarī. कच mentioned in the above line is also mentioned by Śiva Dīkṣita. So in Nīlkaṇṭha's line the images of शुक्र and कच stood on the bank of the Godāvarī.

Nivaḍuṅge and Paiṭhaṇa in the Ahmadnagar district or near its border and settled there. The education of the early descendants of Nīlakaṇṭha upto A. D. 1750 or so appears to have been carried out at Benares. Perhaps the contact with Benares lessened after Shahu's grant of the village Nivaḍuṇge to Gaṅgārāma in A. D. 1746.

(6) It remains to be seen if any member of this Chaudhari family composed any important work after the composition of the *Dharmatattvaprakāśa* by Nīlakaṇṭha's grandson Śiva Dikṣita[1] in A. D. 1746. Perhaps with a settled life in the Ahmadnagar District the ambition for achieving eminence in the literary sphere, so characteristic of Nīlakaṇṭha's life did not stir up the Chaudharis to take to learned pursuits in the manner of their illustrious ancestor.

P. S. — After this paper was completed I happened to read a letter[2] of A. D. 1683 addressed to one नारायण दीक्षित by हरि दीक्षित from Benares. In this letter one "गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" is mentioned as the son-in-law[3] of the addressee नारायण दीक्षित. This letter is addressed to नारायण दीक्षित then in Konkan according to Mr. Pimputkar. In the preamble of this the writer informs नारायण दीक्षित the father-in-law of "गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" as follows :—

"I took your leave and came to Benares. Thereafter your son-in-law *Govinda Dikṣita Chaudhari* wss approached by certain Vaidika Brahman Pandits who bore some rivalry to him. They said to him that they would no longer bear any feelings of rivalry to him if he

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1. Vide Aufrecht *CC I*, 647.

"शिव दीक्षित, son of Govinda Dīkṣita of the Caturdhara family :—
Japavidhi
Dharmatattvaprakāśa
Namaskāravidhi
शिव Son of Caturdhara :
Ṣaṇṇavatiśrāddhanirṇaya"

Vide also *List of Ujjain Mss*, 1936 p. 29 — Ms No. 759.

— 2330 — षण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय (leaves 8) by शिव गोविंद चतुर्धर copied by Cintāmaṇi Bhadkamkar in Śaka 1745 = A. D. *1823*.

2. Vide p. 82 of चितळे भट्ट प्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar, Bombay, 1926 — परिशिष्ट 3, dated Śaka 1605 = *A. D. 1683*.

3. Ibid. "उपरि तुमची आज्ञा घेऊन वाराणसीस आल्यानंतर तुमचे जांवई गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी" etc.

gives a dinner to 100-200 Brahmans. Then myself and *Govinda Dīkṣita Chaudhari* considered the proposal and brought about the dinner in question. All Mahārāṣṭra Brahmans attended the dinner, *Saṁvat 1740 Śaka 1605, Rudhirodgāri Saṁvatsara, Āśvina Kṛṣṇa Dvitīyā, Guruvāsarā.*"[1] After this preamble is recorded a list of Brahmans.

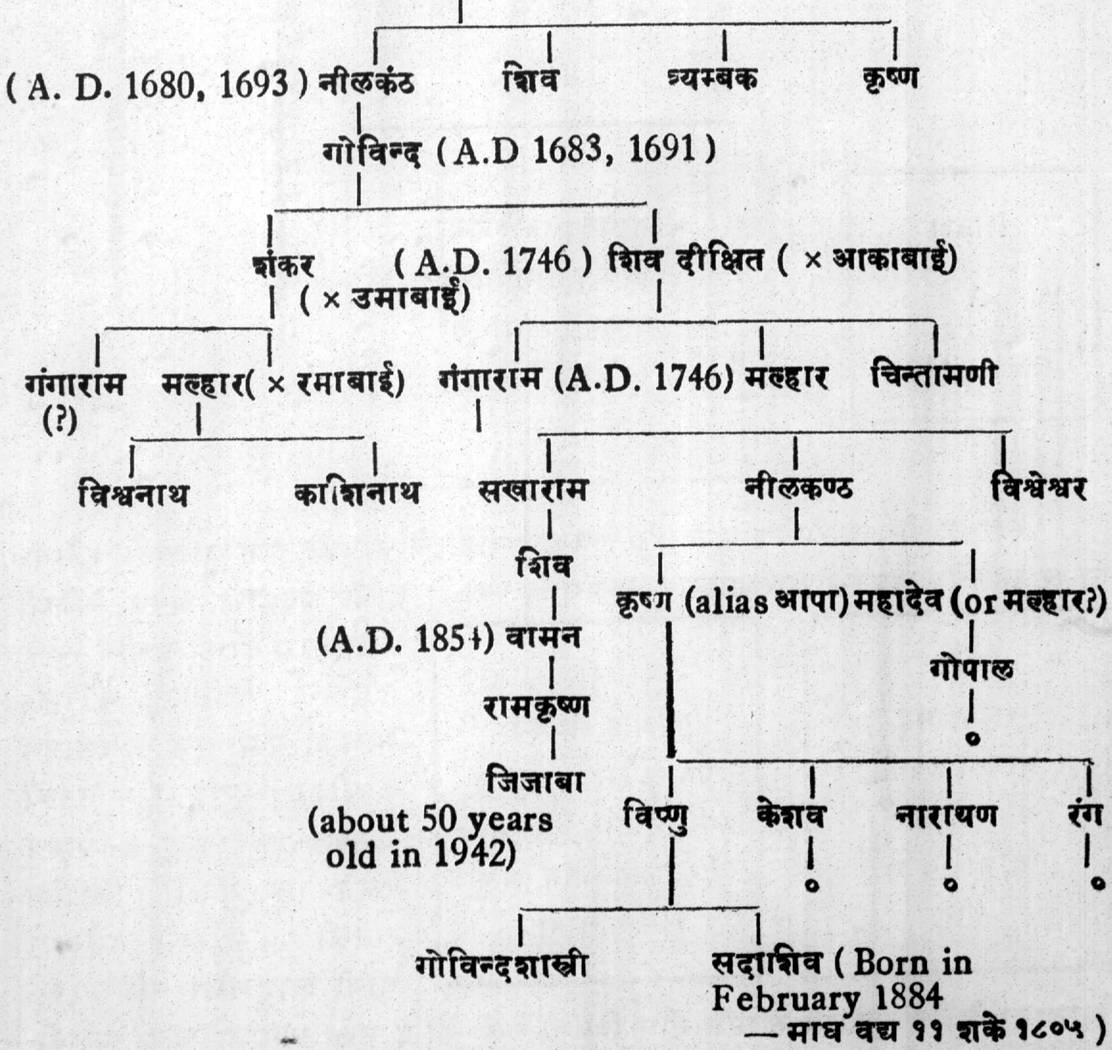
I am inclined to identify गोविंद दीक्षित चौधरी of the above letter of A. D. 1683 with गोविंद चौधरी the son of नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर who compossed one of his works in A. D. 1680. If this identification is accepted it shows that in A. D. 1683 Nilakaṇṭha's son Govinda was already a married man, holding some status in Benares society of Mahārāṣṭra and other Brahmans. The letter also reveals for the first time the name of the father-in-law of Nīlakantha's son. This man was obviously in Konkan as stated by Mr. Pimputkar and his name was नारायण दीक्षित."

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1. This date corresponds to *Thursday, 27th September 1683* (Vide p. 169 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol, VI).

APPENDIX I

Genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator of the Mahābhārata :—



The above genealogy has been reconstructed by me on the strength of manuscripts of the works of the Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara and other members of his family. It is correct so far as the main line is concerned but needs more evidence for the verification of names in the branch-lines. Some names have been inserted in the above genealogy on the strength of extracts from the records of priests at Trymbakeśvara as they were sent to me by Mr. Sadashiv Vishnu Chaudhari, the present Registrar of the Law College, Poona. It will be seen from the above genealogy that there is unbroken continuity of descent from Govind Caturdhara (c. A.D. 1625) to Sadashiv Vishnu Chaudhari 1942).

APPENDIX II

The *sanad* from King Sahu to Gaṅgārāma Dīkṣita A. D. 1746

नक्कल

श्री

INAM A COMMISSION	श्री वर्धिष्णु रविक्रमा विष्णो सामूतिरिव वामनी शंभूसूनो रसो मुद्रा शिवरा जस्य राजते

स्वस्ति श्रीराज्याभिषेक शके ७३ क्षयनाभ संवत्सरे भाद्रपद शुद्ध प्रतिपदा सौम्यवासर क्षत्रियकुलावतंस श्रीराजाशाहु छत्रपती स्वामी याणी वेदशास्त्र संपन्न राजश्री

श्री राजा शाहु नरपती हर्षनी धान बाळाजी बाजीराव प्र धान	श्री श्रीआई आदिपु रुष श्रीराजा शाहु छ त्रपति स्वामि कृपानिधि तस्य जगजीवन परशु राम प्रतिनिधि

गंगाराम दीक्षित बीन सीव दीक्षित उपनाम चौधरी गोत्र गौतम सुत्र अश्वलायन कासीकर हल्ली (वा)स्तव्य पैठण यासी दिल्हे इंनामपत्र ऐसेजे तुम्हाविसी चिरंजीव राजश्री फत्तेसिग भोसले यानीं शाहुनगर नजिक किल्ले सातारा येथील मुक्कामी स्वामीसनीध विनंती केली की हे भले सत्पात्र यांचे चालवीलीया श्रयस्कर ऐसे जाणुन यासी आपलेकडून मौजे नीवडुगे येथील मढीयात्रा कान्होबा ता॥ तीसगाव पा॥ सेवगाव सरकार आमदानगर हा गाव इंनाम दिल्हा आहे तो माहाराजांही याचे वंशपरंपरेने इंनाम करून देऊन चालवीला पाहिजे म्हणून वींनंती केली त्यावरून मनास आणुन तुम्ही भले सत्पात्र तुमचे चालवीलीया श्रयस्कर ऐसे जाणून स्वामी तुम्हावरी कृपाळु होऊन मौजे मजकूर पेशजीच्या मुकासीयाकडून करुन हाली देखील यात्रामढी कान्होबाची कुलबाब व कुलकानु हालीपटी व पेस्तरपटी खेरीज हकदार व इंनामदार करून तुम्हास व तुमचे वंशपरंपरेनें नूतन इंनाम करून दिला असे तरी तुम्ही मौजे मजकूर सदरहूप्रमाणें आपले दुमाला करून घेऊन तुम्ही आपले पुत्रपौत्रादी वंशपरंपरेनें इंनाम अनभऊन सुखरूप राहणे जाणीजे लेखनालंकार

मर्या देयं रा जते

रुजुसुरू

नं वी सामंत सुमंत मंत्री सरकार

तारीख २९ माहे रजब सु॥

सब अबेन मया अलफ

बारसुद्रसुरु सुद्र बार बार बार बार

सदरहुचे असलेस बंद दोन त्याची चीकटवणी एक तीजवर – लेखनसीमा – या अक्षराचे एक मोर्तब असे.

नकल करणार आत्माराम रावजी कारकून
ता॥ ४ माहे शपटंबार सन १८५४ इ॥
रुजु पाहाणार वामन कृष्ण कारकून ता॥ ७
सपटबर सन १८५४ ईसवी

Copied by
Y. L. Thakar

Compared by
H. R. Guruji

सदरहू खरी नकल मीळणेबद्दल सदाशिव विष्णु चौधरी याणी ता. २०।१०।२७ चे अर्जाने मागणी केल्यावरून खर्चवगैरेबद्दल फी ०५०६ व्ही. पी. ने मागवून त्यांस देण्यांत आली आहे. ता. १५।१२।२७.

H. R. Guruji

J. R. Barve
असी॥ कमीशनर मध्यभाग
इंनचार्ज अेलिनेशन ऑफीस रेकार्ड

Genealogy of the Chaudhari family

INAM A COMMISSION

नक्कल

कैफीयतीचे तेरावे जबाबाप्रमाणें

वंशावळ वामन दीक्षीत बीन सीव दीक्षीत चौधरी रा. मौजे पाथर्डी ता॥ सेवगांव जिल्हानगर याणी मौजे निवडुंगे ता॥ सेवगांव जिल्हानगर येथील मोकासे अमलाबद्दल

अलाहिदा कैफीयत लिहून देऊन त्याजबरोबर ही वंशावळ मुळ संपादकाचे आज्यापासून लिहून दिल्ही असे तारीख २ सपटेंबर सन १८५४ इ।। मुक्काम पुणें.

दस्तुर बापूजी विठल हुजूर कारकून ता. सरकार
सही तारीख १६ सपटेंबर १८५४

सही वामन बिन सिव दिक्षित दस्तुखुद

Signed before me at Poona on the 16th September 1854
Sd. THOS. A. COWPER
Captain Inam Commissioner

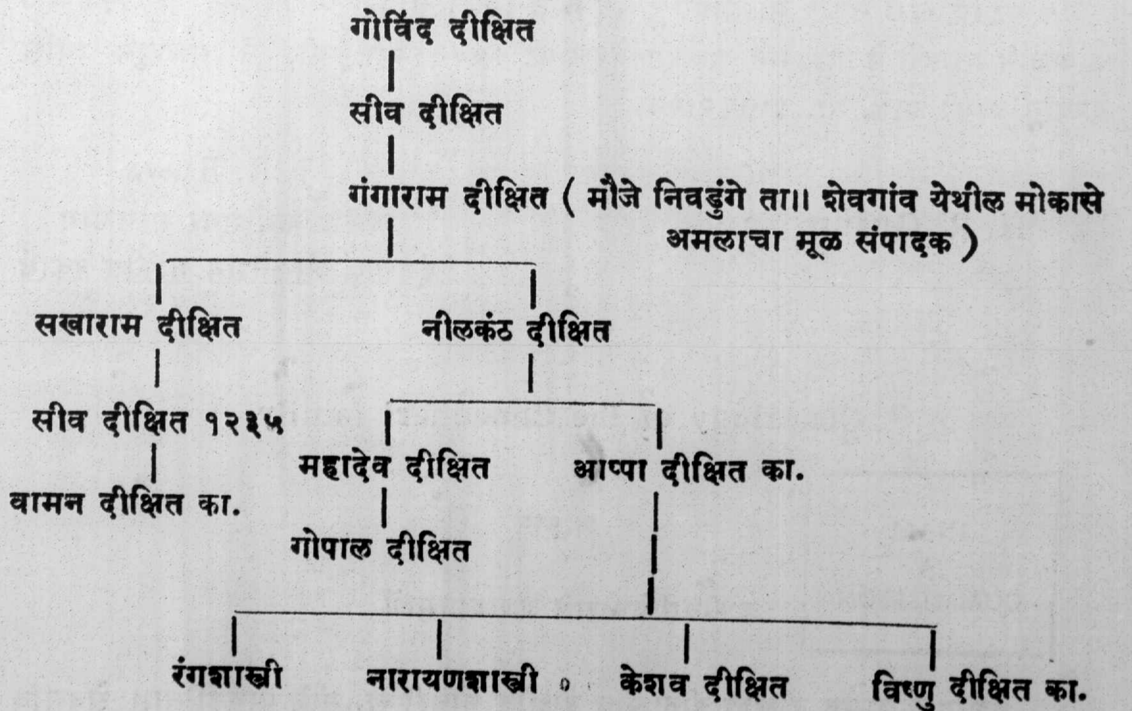
Copied by
Y. L. SHAHA

Compared by
H. R. GURUJI

सदरहू खरी नक्कल मीळणेबद्दल मि. सदाशिव चौधरी याने तारीख २० आकटोबर सन १९२७ चा अर्ज केलेवरून सदरहु नक्कल ली......वगैरे फीबद्दल ८५८९ व्ही. पी. नें मागवून त्यास देण्यांत आली आहे.

तारीख १६ माहे डिसेंबर सन १९२७.
H. R. GURUJI

J. R. BARVE
असीस्टंट कमीशनर मध्यभाग
इंचार्ज एलीनेशन रेकार्ड ऑफीस



56. Some contemporary Manuscripts of the Works of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata — Between A. D. 1687 and 1695*

In my paper[1] on *Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara*, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata* I have recorded the following contemporary Mss of *Nīlakaṇṭha's* works :—

A. D. 1687 — Ms of आदिपर्वटीका dated Śaka 1609 — A. D. 1687 (p. 94 of *Cata. of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta, 1935).

A. D. 1691 — Berlin Ms of भारतभावदीप belonging to गोविंद चतुर्धर (Weber p. 107).

In August 1943 Messers R. D. Kamat and D. D. Kamat of Bombay presented to the B. O. R. Institute about 100 Mss in memory of their father the late Mr. Divakar Bhalchandra Kamat[2] whose interest in Sanskrit literature was reponsible for the collection of these Mss. In this Kamat collection I find the following contemporary Ms of *Nīlakaṇṭha's* commentary on the *Mahābhārata* :—

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* *Journal of S. M. Library*, Tanjore, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1-7.

Vide pp. 146-161 of the *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals* (B.O. R. Institute), 1942.

2. Mr. D. B. Kamat B.A. (Allahabad), B.T. (Dacca) was the Headmaster of Govt. High school at Osmanabad (Nizam's State). Sanskrit was one of his subjects for his degree examination at the Maharaja's College, Jaipur. From 1912 to 1927 he was at Aurangabad as Inspector of Schools. During his inspection tours in the whole of the Marathwada he collected many old Mss from the neighbourhood of Aurangabad and Parabhani Districts of the Nizam's State. He had collected all the Mss now at the B. O. R. Institute with the idea of studying them after his retirement but unfortunately he died at Osmanabad on 16th August 1934. Between 1927 and 1934 he was at Raichur, from which place he was transferred to Osmanabad in May 1934. (I am thankful to Mr. R. D. Kamat for sending me the foregoing particulars regarding his father's interest in Sanskrit Mss now with the Institute — P. K. Gode).

Vanaparvan (folios 439) containing the text and *Nīlakaṇṭha's* commentary on it. The Ms was copied in Saṁvat 1751 — (A. D. 1695) as will be seen from the following colophon — *Folio 439*[a] — " संवत् १७५१ भाद्रपद शुद्ध ९।

श्रीविक्रमार्कशरदिंदुशराद्रिभूमौ १७५१
श्रीत्र्यंबकेण रघुनाथसुतेन काश्याम् ।
श्रीनीलकंठकृतभारतभावदीपो
श्रीशंकरार्पणधिया लिखितः सनाभिः ॥ १ ॥ "

It is clear from the above extract that this Ms was copied at Benares by *Tryambaka*, the son of *Raghunātha* in A. D. 1695. On folio 439[a] we find the endorsement 'वनपर्व ४३२ इदं पुस्तकं रघुनाथपंडितस्य' which is in the same hand as the four-lined stanza in the above extract. Most probably Tryambaka, the copyist, prepared this copy for his father *Raghunātha.*[1]

I have already pointed out that *Nīlakaṇṭha* composed his शिवताण्डवटीका in A. D. 1680 and his गणेशगीताटीका at Benares in A. D. 1693. In view of these dates the Mss of his works copied in A. D. 1687, 1691 and 1695 are contemporary copies and hence valuable for a critical edition of his commentary भारतभावदीप, portions of which are represented by these dated Mss.

In the list of *Nīlakaṇṭha's* works recorded by Aufrecht[2] no work of the name ' विधुराधानविचार ' is found. There is, however, a Ms of it in the library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. It is described by Pandit *K. S. Ramaswami Śāstri Śiromaṇi* in his *Catalogue of Mss of Śrauta-Sūtras and Prayogas* (Des. Cata. of Mss Vol. II, 1942, G. O. S. No. XCVI) on *page 79* as follows :—

" *No. 526* विधुराधानविचार by *Caturdhara Nīlakaṇṭha* son of *Govinda Dīkṣita* — Śaka 1799 — Place of orgin :—वृश्चिकपुर."

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1. But this suggestion becomes doubtful as the words ' रघुनाथ पण्डितस्य ' are written as a correction in bold hand superimposed on some previously written words hidden by the application of yellow pigment.

2. Vide *CC, I.* p. 301—Nīlakaṇṭha's works :— 1 मन्त्रकाशीखण्डटीका, 2 मन्त्रभागवत, 3 मन्त्ररामायण and comm., 4 महाभारतभावदीप, 3 वेदान्तकतक, 4 शिवताण्डवव्याख्या, 5 षट्तन्त्रीसार, 6 हरिवंशटीका. *CC, II.* 65 — 7 गणेशगीताटीका, 8 सौरपौराणिकमतसमर्थन. To these works we may add 9 रुद्रसारसंग्रहव्याख्या रुद्रमीमांसा (Madras Ms R. No. 2070,-p. 2803 of Tri. Cata. Madras, 1922, Vol. III, Part I), 10 विधुराधानविचार (Baroda Ms).

Pages 338–339 — विधुराधानविचार. ' It is discussed here whether a widower is allowed to kindle the sacrificial fires once again according to the śāstras or not. The author quotes in this connection many authorities and comments upon several texts bearing on the subject. '

The Ms begins :—

" अथ चतुर्धरनीलकण्ठप्रणीतापत्नीकाधानविचारः ।

श्रीशं वन्दे —

यज्ञेश्वरं नमस्कृत्य बहून् ग्रन्थान् विभाव्य च ।
अपत्नीकस्याग्निहोत्राद्यस्ति नेति विचार्यते ॥

तत्रायं पूर्वपक्षः etc."

Colophon — " इति चतुर्धरवंशावतंसगोविन्ददीक्षिततनुजनीलकण्ठस्य कृतिः समाप्ता । "

If this work is a genuine work of *Nīlakaṇṭha* it is a definite addition to the works of *Nīlakaṇṭha* so far known.

The B. O. R. I. Ms of the *Vanaparvan* (Kamat collection) was copied at Benares by one त्र्यंबक son of *Raghunātha* in Saṁvat 1751 = A. D. 1695. As regards the identification of this copyist त्र्यंबक रघुनाथ I have to put forth the following hypothesis :—

त्र्यंबक रघुनाथ may be identified with त्र्यंबक रघुनाथ हणमंते, the son of रघुनाथ नारायण हणमंते[1] (A. D. 1653–1683) the celebrated minister of kings Shahaji and Shivaji. He died at *Valaṇ* on his way to *Karnāṭak* in A. D. 1683. His brother Janārdanapanta succeeded him as Minister during the regime of Chatrapati Rajaram. रघुनाथपण्डित हणमंते is responsible for the compilation of राजव्यवहारकोश under instructions of Shivaji the Great.

त्र्यंबक रघुनाथ composed a work ' आशौचनिर्णय ' in Sanskrit, which is popularly known as त्र्यंबकी. This work was most probably composed during the reign of king Sambhaji (A. D. 1680–1689)[2]. Prof. P. V. Kane[3] however, assigns त्र्यंबकपण्डित to about 1660 A. D.

1. Vide p. 672 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S. Chitrav, Poona 1937.

2. Ibid p. 442 — article on ' त्रिंबक रघुनाथ हणमंते '. See also भारत इतिहास मंडळ वार्षिकवृत्त (Saka 1836 = 1914 A. D. क १५) quoted in this article.

3. Vide p. 517 of *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, 1930 (B.O.R.I.) ' आशौचनिर्णय ' by त्र्यम्बकपण्डित son of रघुनाथ, son of नारायण of the अङ्गिर-

(*Continued on the next page*)

but this chronology seems to be incorrect. There are some Mss of the आशौचनिर्णय in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, one of which viz. No. 334 of 1891-95 is dated Saṁvat 1842 — A. D. 1786. As त्र्यंबक पंडित was a contemporary of *Nāgojibhaṭṭa*, his reference to नागोजिभट्टीय pointed out by M. M. Prof. Kane is obviously a contemporary reference to *Nāgojibhaṭṭa*.

In June 1943 Mr. *Śridhar Śāmarāo Haṇmante* the present descendant of the celebrated Minister of Shivaji, *Raghunātha Nārāyaṇa Haṇmante* read a paper on the **History of the Haṇmante Familiy** based on certain documents, copies of which have been kindly made avilable to me by the Secretary of the *Bhārata Ithihāsa* Samshodhaka Mandal, Poona. I give below the genealogy of the *Haṇmante* family reconstructed on the basis of these documents:[1]—

(*Continued from the previous page*) ·

सगोत्र (divided into अंशs) (pr. at Ṇir. P.) guotes निर्णयसिन्धु and नागोजिभट्टीय about 1760 A.D.

Page 701 — " त्र्यम्बकपण्डित son of नारायण of the आङ्गिरसमुद्गलगोत्र about 1760 A. D. a. of आशौचनिर्णय. " This statement " son of नारायण " is not correct as त्र्यम्बक was son of रघुनाथ.

1. I have to thank Mr. N. M. Khuperkar M. A. of the B. O. R. Institute for drawing my attention to this paper as also the authorities of the B. I. S. Mandal for lending to me this paper together with the copies of the documents, some of which I note briefly as follows:-

No. 1 — Dated 6th Feb. 1689 — mentions तिमाजी रघुनाथ and his *inam* village बाणेरे.

No. 2 — Account sheet dated A. D. 1708 — mentions मातुश्री आमा.

No. 3 — Dated 10th December 1700 — mentions बाणेरे.

No. 4 — 26th Dec. 1700 — mentions villages बाणेरे and माण.

No. 5 — 6th Dec. 1708 — Letter of तिमाजी रघुनाथ who mentions मातुश्री आमा and तीर्थरूप आबा and village बाणेरे.

No. 6 — 30th Jan. 1709 — mentions बाणेरे.

No. 7 — 13th Dec. 1713 — Letter of तिमाजी रघुनाथ to चिंतामणिदेव of Chinchwad — mentions मातुश्री आमा — refers to some deposit with चिंतामणि देव.

No. 8 — Letter of रघुनाथ त्रिमल to श्रीस्वामी (of Chinchwad) asking for settlement of his account, as the writer was in financial difficulties.

(*Continued on the next page*)

(c. A. D. 1600) त्रिमल्ल (हणमंते)

नारायण (*Shahāji* gave बाणेरे to नारायणत्रिमल्ल in A.D. 1649– See B. I. S. Mandal इतिवृत्त, 1915).

जनार्दन — Vide चित्रमय जगत् Feb. 1915. He was minister during Rajaram's regin

(died A.D. 1683) रघुनाथ author of राजव्यवहारकोश See शिवचरित्रप्रदीप, pp. 137, 175
× (आमा)

तिमाजी (or त्रिंबक) (copied a Ms at Benares in A.D. 1695 — Author of आशौचनिर्णय - Deposited his cash and village बाणेरे with श्रीदेव of Chinchwad (Poona)-Gets back बाणेरे in A. D. 1698 from भुजबल to whom it was wrongly transferred)

Was with राजाराम छत्रपति at Jinjee, for some time

गंगाधर (A.D. 1735) Gets बाणेरे back from श्रीदेव of Chinchwad in A. D. 1735 by order of Shahu. (See इतिवृत्त, 1915, pp. 156–7). Peshwa Bajirao settled his account with श्रीदेव in A.D. 1744 for Rs. 21000.

रघुनाथ

(Died c. A.D. 1781) त्र्यंबकराव —— (was in financial difficulties)

बलवंत (died early)
× अन्नपूर्णा (about 100 years old in A. D. 1818 — Her गुरु was वासुदेवस्वामी — Her गुरुबंधु was त्रिंबक गणेश आपटे — She donated her properties for religious purposes).

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(*Continued from previous page*)

No. 9 — 17th July 1744 — An account sheet — refers to गंगाधरपंत and रघुनाथपंत, मातुश्री आमा, तिमाजीपंत, बाजिराऊपण्डित प्रधान (who had settled the Hanmante account for Rs. 21000) and गंगाधरत्रिमल and रघुनाथत्रिमल.

(*Continued on the next page*)

Another dated Ms of *Nīlakaṇṭha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa* dated Saṁvat 1749 (= A. D. 1693) is available in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, according to the information kindly sent to me by my friend Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, M. O. L., the Curator of this Library.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

No. 10 — 20th Feb. 1736 — Receipt from गंगाधर त्रिमल and रघुनाथ-त्रिमल to श्रीदेवस्वामी (of Chinchwad) for Rs. 1500 (out of an instalment of Rs. 3000.)

No. 11 — Letter of गंगाधर and रघुनाथ reporting to श्रीदेवस्वामी the death of their father (कार्तिक अमावास्या शनिवार दोनी घटिका रात्री.)

No. 12 — 26th March 1742 — Letter of रघुनाथ त्रिमल to श्रीस्वामी (of Chinchwad.)

No. 13 — 12th October 1742 — Letter of बाबुराव शंकर on behalf of रघुनाथत्रिमल to श्रीस्वामी.

No. 14 — 11th July 1744 — mentions गंगाधरपंत and रघुनाथपंत हणमंते and his settlement of their account for Rs. 21000 payable by instalments.

No. 15 — वेंकटराव गंगाधर to विश्वनाथभट वैद्य — mentions येशवंतराव पवार, बाबुजी नाईक etc.

No. 16 — वेंकटराव गंगाधर to बाबुराव वैद्य — refers to गबाजी बाबाजी दंगा as an occurrence of the previous year.

No. 17 — Letter from नारायण and रघुनाथ refers to the death of वेंकटराव गंगाधर. The letter mentions अन्नपूर्णाबाई, आनंदराव दादा रास्ते आबा जोग etc.

No. 18 — यादी — mentions बाबुराव विश्वनाथ, कृष्णराव बलाल वैद्य, अन्नपूर्णाबाई, the daughter-in-law of व्यंकटराव.

No. 19 — यादी dated A. D. 1781-82 — refers to the death of व्यंकटराव and also mentions अन्नपूर्णाबाई, त्रिंबकराव परचुरे.

No. 20 — यादी — refers to the death of बाबुराव विश्वनाथ and कृष्णराव बलाल वैद्य to वेंकटराव गंगाधर and his daughter-in-law अन्नपूर्णाबाई.

No. 21 — Letter from Peshwa माधवराव नारायण to आनन्दराव भिकाजी, dated 29th December 1792 — mentions कृष्णराव बलाल, बाबुराव विश्वनाथ, deceased व्यंकटराव गंगाधर and अन्नपूर्णा-

(*Continued on the next page*)

The colophon of this Ms as supplied to me by Mr. Sarma reads as follows :—

" इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणमर्यादाध(धु)रंधरचतुर्धरवंशावतंस श्रीगोविंदसूरिसूनोः श्रीनीलकण्ठस्य कृतौ भारतभावदीपे शांतौ राजधर्मार्थः प्रकाशः समाप्तिमगमत् । एकोनत्रिंशदधिकशततमोऽध्यायः समाप्त ॥ संवत् १७४९ समै नाम कातीक वदी द्वादशी । "

I now conclude this paper with the following table recording the dated Mss of the works of *Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara* mentioned in this paper :—

Serial No.	Works	Place of Deposit	Date Śaka	Date Saṁvat	A. D.
1	आदिपर्वटीका	Calcutta *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*	1609		1687
2	टीका on 8 parvans आदि, सभा, वन, विराट्, उद्योग, भीष्म, कर्ण, and अश्वमेध "excellent Ms"	Berlin		1747	1691
3	शांतिपर्वटीका	Bikaner Anupa Sans. Library		1749	1693
4	वनपर्वटीका	Poona (B.O.R. Institute)		1751	1695

(*Continued from the previous page*)

बाई. The letter orders that a maintenance allowance of Rs. 100 be paid to अन्नपूर्णाबाई.

No. 22 — Letter of Peshwa माधवराव नारायण dated, 29th December 1792 to गंगाजलनिर्मल अन्नपूर्णाबाई regarding maintenance allowance to her and other matters.

No. 23 — Letter dated 30th December 1810 to त्रिंबक गणेश आपटे मालपेकर — refers to the grant of lands by अन्नपूर्णाबाई.

No. 24 — Letter to कृष्णाजी त्रिंबक आपटे (गोत्र कौशिक, शाखा हिरण्यकेशी) of Satara, dated 15th Feb. 1825 from अन्नपूर्णाबाई, wife of

(*Continued on the next page*)

I have already pointed out that *Nīlakaṇṭha* composed his शिवताण्डवटीका in A. D. 1680 and his गणेशगीताटीका in A. D. 1693. These dates prove the contemporaneity of the four dated Mss recorded in the above table and discussed in this paper.

(Continued from the previous page)

बलवंतराव व्यंकटेश हणमंते. The lady states that she is 100 years old and that she wants to donate her properties for religious purposes. She has no issue. She refers to the death anniversary of her Guru वासुदेवस्वामी. She states further that she had expressed her desire to donate her properties for religious purposes when she met प्रतापसिंहराजे छत्रपति of Satara.

(This document has been recorded under No. 547 of 1st August 1854 in Government Records.)

57. Vāñcheśvara alias Kuṭṭi Kavi and his Contact with Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country *

Aufrecht[1] refers to Vāñcheśvara, the great commentator of the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*[2] as follows :—

" वाञ्छेश्वर होशनि कर्णाटक of शहजीन्द्रपुर (Tanjore) son of Narasiṁha, grandson of Vāñchānātha (*Māhiṣaśataka*)[3] wrote about 1800: *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhyā*.[4] "

Aufrecht records three Mss of the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhyā* but no Ms of the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* or other works of our author. In the introductory verses of this work Vāñcheśvara states that he composed the following works :— (1) माहिषशतकव्याख्या, (2) हिरण्यकेशिसूत्रव्याख्या, (3) दत्तचिन्तामणि, (4) श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, (5) ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थचिन्तामणि, (6) काकतालीयवादार्थ.

The writer of the Introduction to the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* states

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* *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute), Vol. XX, pp. 9-20.

1. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, 561.

2. Edited by M. M. Venkatasubrahmanya Shastri, Law Journal Press, Madras, 1934. Vide my critical review of this edition in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVII, 1936, pp. 400-405, where I have recorded an alphabetical list of works and authors mentioned in the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*. This edition is based on a single Ms of the commentary in the possession of Mahāmahopādhyāya Venkata Subrahmanya Shastri of Madras (died 1928), who was the son of the daughter of Vāñcheśvara, the author of the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*.

3. Vide B. O. R. Institute Ms No. 148[a] of 1866-68—माहिषशतकम्.

4. *Cat, Catalo*., I, 766 — " सत्याषाढहिरण्यकेशिन्-श्रौतसूत्र comm. by Vāñcheśvara " composed about 1800 "—Khn. 10, Burnell 21[a], Bühler 553.—Burnell describes the Ms of this commentary as follows:—*Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhyāna* by Hośanikarṇāṭaka- Vāñcheśvara of Śahajīndrapura (or Tanjore) written about 1800 A. D. The author belonged to a Canarese (? Mysore) family settled in South India "..." This seems a very excellent commentary, considering the state of learning at the time it was composed. "

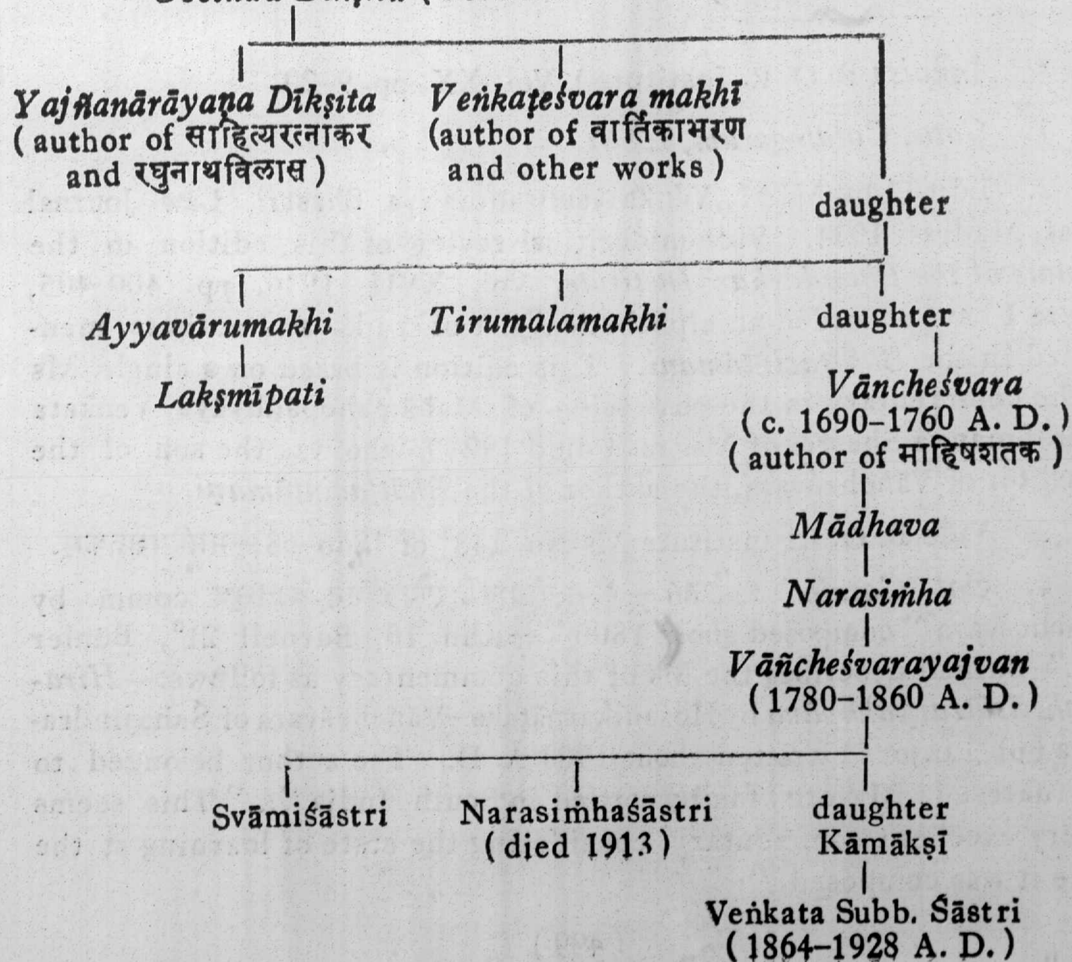
that Vāñcheśvara composed the following works :—(1) हिरण्यकेशि-सामान्यसूत्रव्याख्या, (2) धूर्गानचन्द्रिका, (3) श्लेषार्थचन्द्रिका, (4) तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या.

These titles of works ascribed to our author show him to be a voluminous writer. Kuṭṭi Śāstri or Kuṭṭi Kavi[1] was the popular name of Vāñcheśvara. He travelled far and wide from Benares to Rāmeśvaram. Several pass-ports[2] were issued to him by M. Elphinstone and other officers between A. D. 1816 and 1824. Kuṭṭi Kavi was descended[3] from Govinda Dīkṣita, the well-known mini-

1. Vide Appendix VI to the Madras Edition of the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi — This is a letter dated *11th February 1828* to Vedamūrti Kuṭṭy Sāstry by Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja Wodaiyar.

2. Ibid. Appendices I, II, III, IV and V, dated 26th November *1816*, 8th October *1818*, 25th September *1822*, 24th January *1824*, and 31st January *1824*. These pass-ports show the facilities offered to Kuṭṭi Kavi during his pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram to ensure a safe and comfortable journey.

3. Vide p. 20 of Introduction to *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*. The Genealogy recorded here is as follows :—



ster of Acyutadevarāya of Vijayanagar (1529–1542). According to the genealogy recorded in the edition of the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* Kuṭṭi Kavi (= Vāñcheśvara) was born in A. D. 1780 and died in 1860 evidently at an advanced age of about 80 yeaas. If these dates are correct he must have been about 36 years old when the British Resident at Poona (M. Elphinstone) issued to him a pass-port on *26th November 1816* permitting him to pass without molestation to Rāmeśvaram. This pass-port is historically important as it enables us to know for the first time the contact of Kuṭṭi Kavi with the Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country. This pass-port bears No. 292 of the Poona Residency and mentions the bearer as "in the Service of *Mhadhow Row Purshuram Patwardhun.*" It allows the bearer to carry with him a Dooly, a camel, six Tuttus, five armed men and five followers. Pandit Āryasvāmī informs[1] us that this and other pass-ports were issued to Kuṭṭi Kavi while he was returning from Benares and during his halt at Poona, Dharwar and also at the village Cinchini, where he was honoured by Madhavrao Parashuram Patwardhan. He stayed with the Patvardhans upto 1818 and then started for Mysore. This information is corroborated not by the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* but by the *Hiraṇyakeśi Śrautasūtravyākhyā*[2] which was composed in response to a request from the ministers of the Patwardhans as stated by him in verses[3] 12 to 22 at the beginning of the *Hiraṇyakeśīśrauta-*

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1. Introduction to *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*, p. 16.

2. The Govt. Mss Library has a fine copy of this work. It is No. *16 of 1866–68*. It was prepared on *23rd April 1867* by a copyist of the name Vyankāji Nārāyaṇa Ghalsāśī who calls himself *Karhāḍkar* and who states that he copied by order of "Meherban Bular Saheb" who is identical with Dr. G. Bühler, vide folios 46[b] (or 111[b] — "इति श्रीवांछेश्वरसुधीविरचिते श्रौतसूत्रव्याख्याने द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः। शके १७८८ ... नकल लिहिणार व्यंकाजी नारायण घळसाशी कऱ्हाडकर याने मेहेरबान बुलरसाहेब यांचा हुकमाने तयार केली असे." On folio 39[a] (or 305[a]) we have the endorsement which reads :— "सखो अनंत लिमये यांचा पुस्तकावरून नकल तयार केली असे." It is clear, therefore, that the original Ms of the commentary belonged to one Sakho Anant Limaye. His identity with a minister of the Patvardhan Sardar would be discussed in this paper on the strength of evidence furnished by the above commentary.

3. These verses read as follows :—

"काशीयात्रेच्छया गच्छन् कृष्णातीरनिवासिभिः।
पट्टवर्धनवंशस्थैः प्रभुभिः संगतो मुदा ॥ १२॥

(*Continued on the next page*)

sūtravyākhyā. He informs us that he came into contact with the Patavardhan Sardars on his way to Benares for pilgrimage[1] (v. 12). On account of this association he has thought it advisible to record the genealogy[2] of these Sardars, who belong to the *Cittapāvana*

(*Continued from the previous page*)

तेषां वंशक्रमोप्यत्र किंचित्संगृह्य लिख्यते।
चित्तपावनजातीयो हरिनामा महानभूत् ॥ १३ ॥
यो गणेशप्रसादेन प्राप राज्यश्रियं कुले।
तस्य पुत्रो महानासीद्रामचन्द्राभिधः प्रभुः ॥ १४ ॥
सार्वभौमात्तु यो लेभे राज्यश्रियमनुत्तमां।
सुतः परशुरामाख्यस्तस्यासीद्धार्मिकोत्तमः ॥ १५ ॥
तुङ्गभद्रां समारभ्य गोदान्तं शौर्यनिर्जितं।
राज्यं तु पालयामास यथा दशरथः पुरः ॥ १६ ॥
तत्पुत्राः सन्ति चत्वारो विख्याताः सर्वदिक्षु ते।
प्रथमो रामचन्द्राख्यः प्रभुः सर्वगुणान्वितः ॥ १७ ॥
हरिनामानुजस्तस्य देवब्राह्मणपूजकः।
तस्यानुजो महादेवनामा भूतदयापरः ॥ १८ ॥
तस्यानुजस्तुतिमान्नाम्ना गणपतिः स्वयं।
तेषाममात्या बहवो नीतिमन्तः सुधार्मिकाः ॥ १९ ॥
सखारामप्रभृतयः कपिगोत्रोद्भवा द्विजाः।
*लिमयोपपदास्तद्वज्जोगाख्याश्च सुधार्मिकाः ॥ २० ॥
ते सत्याषाढसूत्रस्थाः श्रौतस्मार्तपरायणाः।
व्याख्यां सूत्रस्य विमलां वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीं ॥ २१ ॥
इच्छन्तीति प्रवृत्तोऽहं तद्व्याख्याकरणे मुदा।
क्वाहमल्पमतिः क्वेदं सूत्रं मुनिमुखोद्गतं ॥ २२ ॥ "

* In the *Tañjore Mss Catalogue* IV, 1929, p. 1684 where the Ms of this commentary is described we have the words " हिमपोपपदाः " for " लिमयोपपदाः " the correct reading. Evidently the copyist was not aware of the surname लिमये current in the Deccan.

1. While Kuṭṭi Kavi states that his contact with the Patvardhans came about on his way to Benares, Pandit Aryaswami states that this contact took place on Kuṭṭi Kavi's return journey from Benares (काशीतः आगमनसमये...अयं यज्वा ... ... माधवराव परशुराम पट्टवर्धनादिभिः प्रभुभिः अतिमात्रमादृतः— p. 16 of Intro. to *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*.)

2. This genealogy appears to be correct. Vide *Mahārāṣṭra Jñānakośa* by Ketkar, Vol. XIII, (ज. p. 84).

caste and whose first great ancestor was known by the name *Hari* (v. 13). He obtained the glory of Kingship by the grace of god *Gaṇeśa*[1] and had an illustrious son by name *Rāmacandra*[2] (v. 14). He obtained unparalleled princely glory from the Sovereign. He had a son with a highly religious mind called *Paraśurāma*[3] (v. 15). He protected his kingdom like King Daśaratha of old — a kingdom which extended from the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* to the river *Godā* and was conquered by his valour (v. 16). He has four sons renowned in all quarters. Prince Rāmacandra, endowed with all good qualities, is the first of them (v. 17). His brother is Hari, who is devoted to the worship of Gods and *Brahmanas*. His brother is Mahādeva by name. He is noted for his kindness to all beings (v. 18). His brother's name is Gaṇapati, who is very much praised (by the people) and who has, as his ministers, many highly moral and religious personages (v. 19) like Sakhārām and others. This *Sakhāram* is a Brahman of *Kapi gotra*[4] and surnamed *Limaye* and is equally religious like the other minister of the name *Jog* (v. 20). He belongs to the *Satyāṣāḍha Sūtra* and is devoted to duties in accordance with *Śruti* and *Smṛti*. It was his wish, " I should write a commentary on the *Sūtra* (*Hiraṇyakeśisūtra*) following the *Vedabhāṣya* and easy to understand. In accordance with this wish I have gladly undertaken to write this commentary but where am I, a person of small intellect as compared with the *Sūtra*, which has come directly from the mouth of the sage (*muni*)?" (vs. 21-22).

In view of the details furnished by Kuṭṭi Kavi in the foregoing verses it is clear that the credit of the composition of the commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśisūtra* must go to a great extent to Mr. Sakhāram Limaye, the minister (amātya) of Mahādevabhaṭṭa Patvardhan as it was at his request that our author commenced the

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1. Vide p. 1 of हरिवंशाची बखर (composed by Balkrishna Harihar Patvardhan Ambekar) Ed. by V. V. Khare, Poona 1909 — The family deity of the Patvardhan Sardars is Gaṇeśa of the place *Puḷe* in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency — " हरिभट यांनीं पुळ्याच्या श्रीगणपतिजवळ अनुष्ठान द्वादशवर्षे दूर्वारस प्राशन करून केले. "

2. Died in A. D. 1749 (Vide *Mahā. Jñānakośa*, XIII-ज. p. 84).

3. *Parashuramabhau Patvardhan* — Born A. D. 1739, Died A. D. 1799. Vide p. 507 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa* by Chitrava Shastri, Poona 1937. Here a detailed account of his life and exploits is recorded with dates.

4. The Gotrāvalī of Citpāvan Brahmans in the Mahārāṣṭra mentions *Kapi* as the *gotra* of the Limaye families.

composition of this work. We must now examine the date of composition of this commentary.

According to Burnell[1] this commentary was "written about 1800 A. D." Aufrecht[2] also repeats this statement about the date of this commentary. Burnell's statement is, however, wrong as it is directly contradicted by the date of commencement of the work recorded in verse 31 by Kuṭṭi Kavi himself. This date corresponds to A. D. 1816 (Śaka 1738).[3] The question now arises: What period of time was required by our author to complete this voluminous commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtra* and in what year it was completed by him? This question can be answered on the strength of the following extract on folio 43^b (266^b serially) of Ms No. 16 of 1866–68 of this commentary :—

" वांछेश्वरसुधीभिश्च वेदशास्त्रप्रवर्तकैः ।
साक्षात् व्यासस्वरूपैश्च कृतोयं ग्रन्थविस्तरः ॥ १ ॥

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1. *Cata.* of *Tanjore Mss*, Part I, 1879, p. 21. Būrnell gives extracts from the beginning and end of the Ms described by him. In these extracts we do not find the verse containing the year in which the composition of the commentary was begun by Kuṭṭi Kavi. This verse as recorded in the B. O. R. I. Ms No. 16 of 1866–68 reads as follows :—

"वस्वन्य(ग्न्य)द्रिक्षितिमिते शके वांछेश्वरः सुधीः।
हिरण्यकेशिनां सूत्रं व्याख्यातुमुपचक्रमे ॥ ३१ ॥

The chronogram वसु, अग्नि, अद्रि, क्षिति gives us Śake 1738 = *A. D. 1816* as the year in which Kuṭṭi Kavi states, he began the composition of the commentary. This date is in harmony with the date of the passport given to Kuṭṭi Kavi by M. Elphinstone, the British resident at Poona on *26th November 1816*. In this pass-port Kuṭṭi Kavi is stated to be in the service of Mahādevabhaṭṭa Patvardhan, the son of Parashuramabhau Patvardhan.

2. *Cata. Catalo.* I, 766.

3. In the *Tanjore Catalogue*, Vol. IV, p. 1929, p. 1687 the correct date of the commencement of the commentary represented by the chronogram "वस्वग्न्यद्रिक्षिति" is mentioned and the discrepancy of this date with the date given by Burnell has been. also mentioned. No reference has, however, been recorded in this description to the date of completion (A. D. 1828) of the commentary found recorded in B. O. R. I. Ms No. 16 of 1866–68.

हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रस्थपदभावार्थदीपकः ।
पीतांबरेण लिखितो तन्मुखान्निसृतो यथा ॥ २ ॥
शके १७५० सर्वधारी नाम संवत्सरे मार्गशीर्षकृष्णाष्टम्यां इंदुवासरे समापितं ॥ "

This extract is obviouly recorded by Pītāmbara who wrote down to dictation this commentary as composed by Vāñcheśvara and delivered orally (तन्मुखान्निसृतो यथा). It was completed in Śaka 1750 (=A. D. 1828) on Monday (*8th tithi*, *Kṛṣṇapakṣa* of the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, the name of the *Saṁvatsara* being *Sarvadhārī*. We do not know the place where the completion of the commentary was effected. It is, however, certain that a work commenced by Kuṭṭi Kavi in A. D. 1816 was completed by him after full 12 years in A. D. 1828. The statement of Mr. Vyankaji Narāyaṇa Ghaḷsāśī which follows the above extract reads as follows :

" सखोपंत दादा लिमये यांचा पुस्तकावरून नकल तयार केली आसे ॥
शके १७८९ प्रभव नाम संवत्सरे चैत्र कृष्ण ४ चतुर्थ्यां भोमवासरे तारीख २३ माहे अप्रेल सन्न १८६७ इसवी रोजी नकल लिहिणार व्यंकाजी नारायण घळसाशी याने लिखितं ॥ श्री कृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ "

Mr. Ghaḷsāśī states on *23rd April*[1] *1867* that he completed his copy from the original Ms belonging to one सखोपंत दादा लिमये. Elsewhere (on folio 39ª or 305ª serially) he refers to this owner of Ms as सखो अनंत लिमये. It is very much probable that Sakhopant Limaye[2] whose Ms was copied for Dr. Bühler is identical with

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1. The sheet at the beginning of the Ms which records the मन्त्रसंख्या contains the following endorsement :— " तारीख २२ माहे मे सन्न १८६७ इसवी रोजी नकल समाप्त झाली असे हस्ते व्यंकाजी नारायण कऱ्हाडकर. " Evidently this appendix was prepared on 22nd May 1867. *Folio 65* records the date *2nd April 1867* and the scribe calls himself " कऱ्हाटकक्षेत्रस्थ. " *Folio 46* records the date *25th March 1867*, *Folio 75*, *4th June 1867*, *Folio 37*, *17th April 1867*, *Folio 43–23rd April 1867*, *Folio 58— 8th may 1867* copied at अष्टे (" अष्टे येथे समापित "), *Folio 56— 21st May 1867*. These dates show that the Ms was being copied from *March to June 1867* at the village अष्टे [from the copy of सखो अनंत लिमये as stated by the scribe on folio 58 (सप्तमप्रश्न)]. The B. O. R. Institute acquired in 1938 about 450 Mss from Mr. Shambhurao Govinda Limaye of अष्टे. It is probable that he belongs to the family of सखो अनंत लिमये referred to above.

2. This Limaye collection of Mss acquired by the B. O. R. Insti-

(*Continued on the next page*)

Sakhāram Limaye of *Kapi Gotra* living in A.D. 1816 and acting as an amātya or minister to Mahadeva Parashuram Patvardhan. It seems, however, possible that a copy of the commentary in question commenced in A. D. 1816 and completed in A. D. 1828 by Kuṭṭi Kavi was given to Sakharam Limaye and it was from this original contemporary copy that Bühler's copy i. e. No. 16 of 1866-68 was made and completed on 23rd April 1867.

It is now clear that the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhyā* was composed between A. D. 1816 and 1828 and was not composed "about A. D. 1800" as stated by Dr. Burnell.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

tute in 1938 supplies the following evidence about this identity :—

(1) *Vākyasudhā* — (folio 10) — "लिमयोपनाम्ना सखोपंतस्य पुस्तकं ज्ञेयं" शके १७५१ (= A. D. 1829) विरोधिनामाब्दे पौष शुक्ल ११ भौमे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तं ॥......इदं पुस्तकं कृष्णभट्टात्मजेन आबाभट्टेन लिखितं गणकाष्टेकरेण"

(2) *Jīvanmuktiviveka* — "शके १७५१ विरोधिनामसंवत्सरे कार्त्तिककृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां गुरुवासरे समाप्तेयं ॥"

(3) *Hiraṇyakeśīśrautasūtra* — (2nd Ṣaṭka) — "इदं पुस्तकं १७५३ खरनाम संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल १३ त्रयोदश्यां सौम्यवासरे समाप्तं गोविंद रघुनाथ फळणीकरेण लिखितं ॥ सखो अनंत लिमये यांचे पुस्तक असे."

(4) Ibid. (*Pūrvaṣaṭka*) — "सखो अनंत लिमये यांचे पुस्तक ......" इति हिरण्यकेशी श्रौतसूत्र पूर्वषट्क समाप्तः शके १७५३ खरनामसंवत्सरे."

(5) Ibid. (*4th Ṣaṭka*) — 'शके १७५५ विजयनाम संवत्सरे फाल्गुन कृष्ण तृतीया गुरुवासरे समाप्तः गोविंद रघुनाथ फळणीकरेन लिंखितं ॥ राजेश्री सखो अनंत लिमये यांचे पुस्तक असे ॥"

(6) Ibid. (3rd *Ṣaṭka*) — "शके १७५५ विजयनाम संवत्सरे माघ"

(7) Ibid. (5th *Ṣaṭka*) — "शके १७५६ चैत्र शुद्ध प्रतिपदा गुरौ तद्दिनेदं पुस्तकं गोविंद रघुनाथ फळणीकरेन लिंखितं ॥ राजेश्री सखो अनंत लिमये यांचे पुस्तक असे ॥"

(8) *Śivatatvaviveka* — "शके १७५७ मन्मथाब्दे फाल्गुन शुद्ध पंचम्यां पुण्यग्रामे लेखनं समाप्तिमगमत्"

(9) *Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānavasūtra* — (Prathama puruṣa) *Folio 12*— शके १७५७ मन्मथनाम संवत्सरे चैत्र वद्य ४ गुरुवासरे ते दिवस सखोपंतदादा लिमये यांचे पुस्तक पांडुरंगेन लिखीतः ॥ *Folio 9* — "शके १७५७ मन्मथनामाब्दे चैत्र वद्य ८ तद्दिनेदं पुस्तकं सखोपंत लिमये अष्टेकर फडणीस याची पोथीस फार जपाव"

(10) *Paśubandha* — Folio 15 — "शके १७५८ दुर्मुख"

(11) *Pañcadaśī with commentary of Rāmakṛṣṇa* — "शके १७६२ शार्वरीनाम संवत्सरे वैशाख शुक्ल षष्ठयां गुरुवासरे इदं पुस्तकं समाप्तिमगमत्"

We have already mentioned a work called the *Dattacintāmaṇi* among the list of works composed by Kuṭṭi Kavi. This is a treatise dealing with adoption. In the beginning of this work he tells us that he composed the following works[1] :—

(1) "विवृत्ति शतकस्य" i. e. commentary on the माहिष शतक composed by his grandfather, (2) " हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रस्य विवृतिं ", (3) " काकतालीयवादार्थ " (4) " निर्णयो मलमासस्य " and (5) दत्ताचिन्तामणि.

Let us now try to fix the relative chronology of some of the works of Kuṭṭi Kavi on the basis of evidence recorded in this paper. The following tabular statement will be of some use in fixing the relative chronology in question :—

Works	Chronology	Source of Chronology
1 हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रव्याख्या	A.D.1816 to 1828	B. O. R. I. Ms No. 16 of 1866-68
2 दत्तचिन्तामणि	after A.D. 1816	दत्तचिन्तामणि mentions हि. के. सूत्रव्याख्या
3 भट्टचिन्तामणि	after A.D. 1816	भाट्टचिन्तामणि mentions दत्ताचिन्तामणि
4 माहिषशतकव्याख्या	Probably after A. D. 1816	mentioned in दत्तचिन्तामणि and भाट्टचिन्तामणि
5 काकतालीयवादार्थ	,,	,,
6 मलमासनिर्णय	,,	mentioned in दत्ताचिन्तामणि
7 श्राद्धचिन्तामणि	,,	mentioned in भा॰ चिन्ता॰
8 ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थचिन्तामणि	,,	,,
9 धूर्गांनचान्द्रिका	unknown	not yet determined
10 श्लेषार्थचान्द्रिका	,,	,,
11 तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या	,,	,,

1. Hultzsch : *Reports on San. Mss*, No. II, Madras, 1895. Appendix pp. 144-145 — Extract No. 1528. Hultzsch summarises this extract on p. vi of his Report II as follows :—

(*Continued on the next page*)

In verse 10 at the beginning of the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhya* Kuṭṭi Kavi calls himself "मलमासनिर्णयपटुः". If we understand this epithet to refer to his composition of मलमासनिर्णय we shall have to look upon the मलमासनिर्णय as earlier than A. D. 1816. With reference to item Nos. 4, 5 and 7 to 11 the chronology indicated is only probable as the Mss of these works are not before me and hence I have no means of making a closer study of the problem of their exact chronology. I may, however, note here the Mss of the works of Kuṭṭi kavi mentioned by Aufrecht. These are as follows:—

(1) दत्तचिन्तामणि[1] — dh. by Vāñcheśvara, son of Narasiṁha Hz. 1091. 1528 (Vide CC III, 53).

(2) भाट्टचिन्तामणि — No Mss recorded by Aufrecht. The Madras Edition of this work of 1934 is based on a rare Ms.

(3) माहिषशतकव्याख्या — Burnell 164^{a} (Vide CC I, 444) and BC 434 (CC III, 96).

(4) काकतालीयवादार्थ — Hz. 2, p. 144 (CC III, 19).

(5) मलमासनिर्णय[2] — Hz. 1528 p. 144 (CC III, 93).

(6) श्राद्धचिन्तामणि[3] — Some works of this name are mentioned by Aufrecht but none is ascribed to Vāñcheśvara.

(*Continued from the previous page*)

"No. 1528 is a copy of *Dattacintāmaṇi*, a work on the same subject by Vāñcheśvara, the son of Narasiṁha or Nṛsiṁha, grandson of Mādhava and great grandson of another Vāñcheśvara. He also wrote a commentary on his great-grandfather's *Māhiṣaśataka* (*Tanjore Cata.* p. 164^{a}), a commentary on the whole *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtra* (a portion of this is found in No. 682), a logical work entitled *Kākatālīyavādārtha* and the *Malamāsanirṇaya*. According to the colophon of No. 682, his great-grandfather, whose name was likewise Vāñcheśvara, had been the minister of (the Maratha king) Tukoji of the family of Bhosalā. Govindadīkṣita, an ancestor of Vāñcheśvara had been the prime-minister of Raghunātha, one of the (Nāyaka) rulers of Tanjapura (Tanjore)."

1. Mentioned by Kane: *Hist. of Dharma.*, I, 557.

2. Ibid. p. 601.

3. Not mentioned by Mr. Kane, who mentions works of this name by Vācaspatimiśra and Śivarāma. On p. 736 Mr. Kane refers to Kuṭṭi Kavi as „ वञ्चेश्वर, son of नरसिंह, author of दत्तचिंतामणि and मलमासनिर्णय." The correct name appears to be "वांछेश्वर" (=वांछानाथ)—Vide Krishnamachariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 1086, footnote.

(7) ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थचिन्तामणि — No Ms has been recorded by Aufrecht under this title.

(8) धूर्गानचन्द्रिका — No Ms recorded by Aufrecht.

(9) श्लेषार्थचन्द्रिका — Do

(10) तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या — Do

(11) हिरण्यकेशीसूत्रव्याख्या — 3 Mss (Vide CC I, 766).

On the basis of the evidence recorded in this paper the following conclusions may be arrived at :—

(1) The literary activity of Kuṭṭi Kavi lies mainly between A. D. 1816 and 1840 or so.

(2) The commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtra* was commenced by him in A. D. 1816 and completed in A. D. 1828.

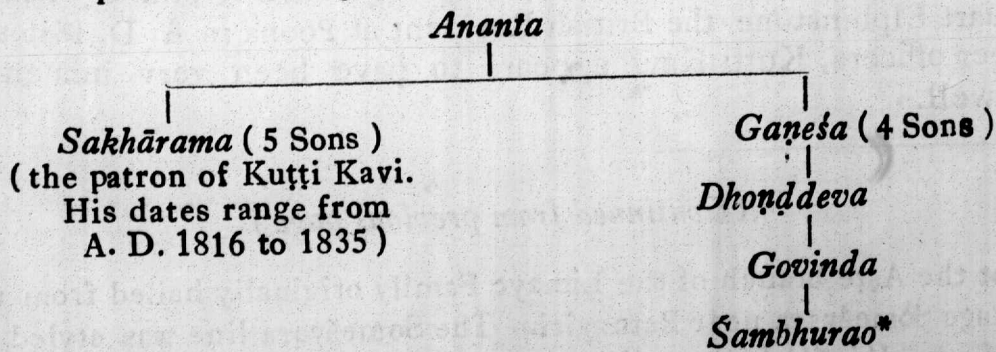
(3) Kuṭṭi Kavi gives us a genealogy of the Patvardhan Sardars of the Southern Maratha Country at the beginning of the commentary on the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtra*. This genealogy is correct so far as it goes.

(4) Kuṭṭi Kavi composed the above commentary at the express desire of Sakharam Limaye of *kapi gotra*, whom he describes as the *amātya* or minister of Mahadeva Parashuram Patvardhan. The surname of another minister mentioned by him is Jog, who needs identification.

(5) Sakharam Limaye mentioned by Kuṭṭi Kavi as *amātya* appears to be identical[1] with Sakho Ananta Limaye of Aṣṭe (Dist.

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1. My surmise about this identity has since been corroborated by the genealogy of the Limaye Family of Aṣṭe, kindly sent by Mr. Shambhurao Limaye on 7th July 1939. I reproduce below only the pertinent portion of this genealogy :—



* Shambhurao Limaye is a middle-aged man in 1939. He states

(*Continued on the next page*)

Satara) who was a *Faḍṇīs* or Finance minister of the Patvardhans with his native place at Aṣṭe (Āṣṭekar). The B. O. R. Institute acquired in 1938 about 450 Mss from Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of Aṣṭe, who is evidently descended from Sakhopant Dādā or Sakho Anant Limaye. This Limaye collection contains Mss with the endorsements that they belonged to Sakho Ananta Limaye Aṣṭekar Faḍṇīs. These endorsements are dated A. D. 1829, 1831, 1833, 1834 and 1835.

(6) The B. O. R. Institute Ms No. 16 of 1866-68 of the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhyā* by Kuṭṭi Kavi was copied for Dr. Bühler between March and June 1867 at Aṣṭe from the original belonging to Sakho Anant Limaye and dated A. D. 1828, the date of completion of the commentary.

(7) Of the eleven works known to have been composed by Kuṭṭi Kavi, Mss of about six have been traced and recorded in Catalogues. An effort should be made to locate the Mss of the remaining five works.

(8) For the present the relative chronology of only three works has been established in this paper, according to which the *Hiraṇyakeśīsūtravyākhyā* (begun in A. D. 1816 and finished in A.D. 1828) was started first. The *Dattacintāmaṇi* which mentions this commentary was composed later while the *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*, which mentions both the above works is evidently the 3rd work in this order. The *Malamāsanirṇaya* may have been composed before A.D. 1816 as Kuṭṭi Kavi calls himself " *Malamāsanirṇayapaṭu* " in the above commentary. The remaining works are not mentioned in this commentary, an omission which may suggest that they were composed after A. D. 1816. This point, however, needs further investigation.

(9) Kuṭṭi Kavi was a very learned man. Judging by the details recorded in the several pass-ports issued to him by Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the British Resident at Poona in A. D. 1816 and other officers, Kuṭṭi Kavi appears to have been very influential as well.

(*Continued from previous page*)

that the Aṣṭe branch of the Limaye Family originally hailed from the village Someśvara near Ratnagiri. The Someśvara line was styled as '*Dharmādhikāri Limaye.*" I intend to publish an account of Sakho Ananta Limaye and his interest in Sanskrit Mss along with my list of the Mss in the Limaye collection acquired by the B.O.R. Institute.

P. S. — The following further colophons containing references to Sakhopant Limaye are found in the Mss of the Limaye collection :—

Ms of मांडूक्योपानिषद्भाष्य — dated Śaka *1716* (A. D. *1824*) — " मांडूक्योपनिषद्भाष्यलेखनं यदि पुस्तके । श्री सखोपंत लिमये ज्ञानमार्ग प्रदर्शकः "

Ms of प्रश्नोपनिषद्भाष्य — dated Śaka *1748* (= A. D. *1826*)
" सख नाम्न इति ख्यातस्त्वन्मुक्तिः पाठयेद्बुधैः "

Ms of वेदांतपरिभाषा — date Śaka *1748* (= A. D. *1826*)

" दादाभिधान लिमये सखपंत नाम ।
नित्याचनः श्रवणमंगलवेदमार्गः । "

Sakhopant appears to have been a pioneer in the work of collection and preservation of Mss, later started in 1866 by the Bombay Government.

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NOTE : "Asterisk (*)" refers to the particular page-number and the foot-note thereon, while "n" to the foot-note on that page.

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[a., author.]

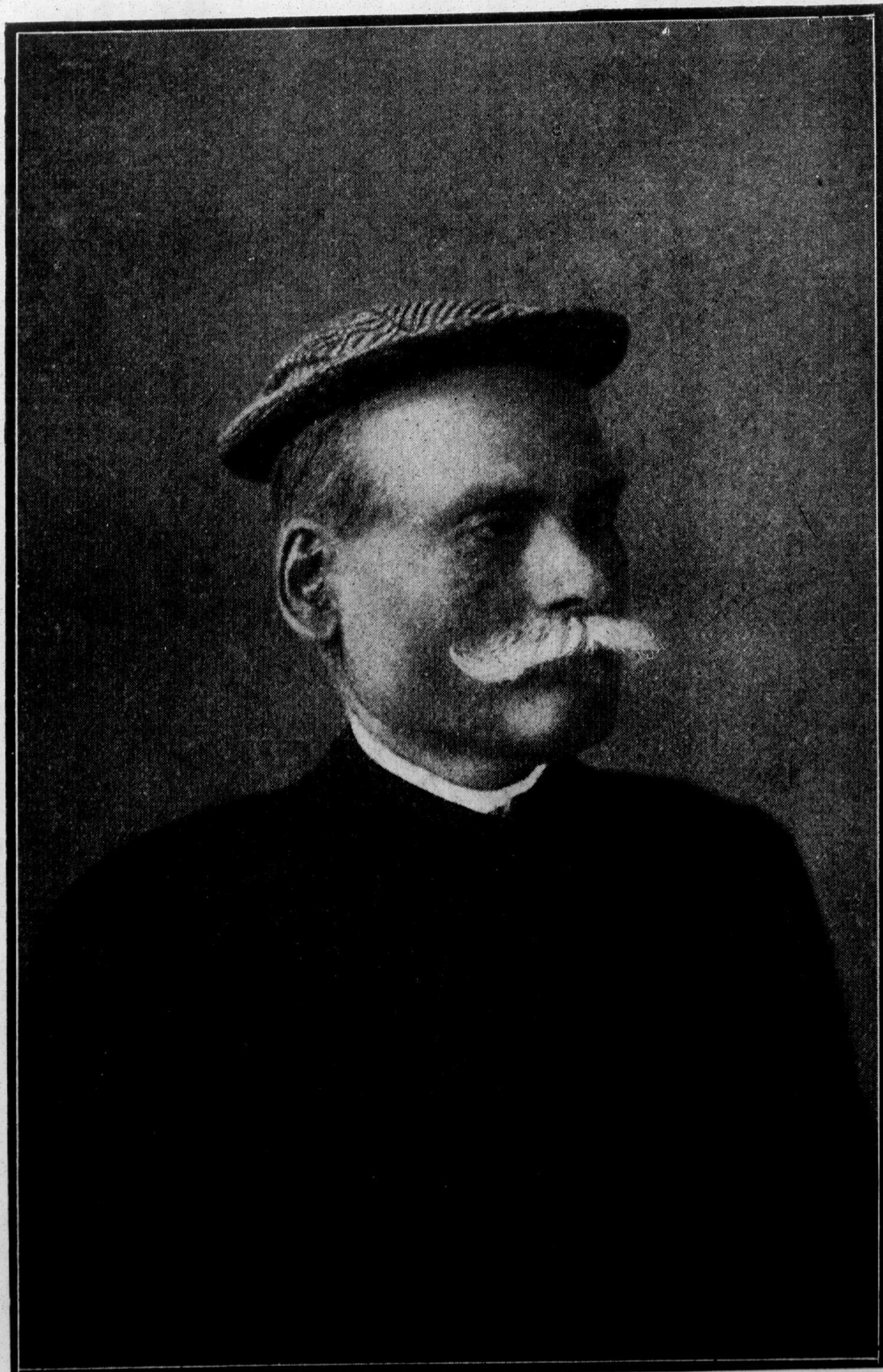
1. Critically Edited by N. A. Gore in the Journal of the University of Poona, Vol. I, No. 1 (September, 1953).

1. Critically edited by N. A. Gore, 1950.

1. Critically edited by Shri. N. A. Gore.

Published by—S. Ramakrishnan, Registrar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7.

स्वर्गवासी साधुचरित श्रीमान् डालचन्दजी सिंघी



बाबू श्रीबहादुर सिंहजी सिंघीके पुण्यश्लोक पिता

जन्म-वि. सं. १९२१, मार्ग. वदि ६ 卐 **स्वर्गवास**-वि. सं. १९८४, पोष सुदि ६